

**THE LIBRARY, SCRIPTORIUM AND COMMUNITY
OF ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL PRIORY**

c. 1080-1150

**Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements
of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy by Katharine Mary Waller, October 1980.**

Thesis Abstract

Established after the Conquest as a new priory under a Norman bishop, Rochester cathedral is an excellent subject for the study of the influences on monastic culture in England at the beginning of the twelfth century, a time of development for English monasteries, particularly in the realm of learning. Much information for such a study can be drawn from two valuable contemporary sources, a life of the first Norman bishop, the Vita Gundulfi, and a collection of documents of local interest, known as the Textus Roffensis.

In this collection is a most unusual document, a twelfth century library catalogue, one of the earliest known in England. This is the starting point for an examination of the Rochester library, which is the basis of new insight into monastic culture in the post-Conquest period. Of the ninety-six items listed in this catalogue, over half are extant and the volumes which have been preserved are the focus of attention in the thesis. The skills of paleography and codicology have never before been applied to the Rochester collection, yet such an examination reveals much about the growth of the library and the influences on its development, and hence the foundations of monastic learning at the priory.

After an introduction to the priory, based on original documentary sources, and a description of the cultural context, as reflected in contemporary narrative sources and book lists, attention is turned to the actual manuscripts. Through an analysis of the handwriting and make-up of these manuscripts, the development of the scriptorium is traced and the possibility that a house-style was established is critically investigated.

Once the house-style has been defined, it is possible to compare Rochester manuscripts with those from other scriptoria to ascertain what is distinctive about Rochester products and to trace the relationships between specific manuscripts from different scriptoria. The scope of the discussion is therefore widened to include the two most important and direct influences on Rochester, namely Christ Church priory, Canterbury, and several Norman abbeys. From these comparisons, it is possible to establish the extent of the influence on the Rochester scriptorium from each of these two centres of manuscript production and make some preliminary observations about the position of the Rochester scriptorium within the Anglo-Saxon and Norman traditions. The relationships between a few manuscripts of specific texts are examined in search for exemplars of Rochester manuscripts from Canterbury and Normandy.

In the last two chapters of the thesis the connection between the acquisition of books and scholarly attainment at Rochester is examined. The learned works of the Norman leaders of the priory are studied and linked with the contents of the library and with contemporary scholarship. The other writings of Rochester monks, which are examples of the more traditional interests of record-keeping and hagiography, are also examined. A picture emerges of a peak in academic standards at the priory while the library was still in embryo. This was followed by a concentration on manuscript production and a diversification of intellectual interests which meant an increase in output but a decline in quality, a pattern of development which conforms to the general outline of the Benedictine revival of this period.

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| I | B.L., Royal 2 C.iii, f.105 ^V |
| II | B.L., Royal 2 C.iii, f.123 ^V |
| III | B.L., Royal 5 D.i, f.1 |
| IV | B.L., Royal 6 C.x, f.48 ^V |
| V | San Marino, Huntington, MS. 62 ('Gundulf' Bible) |
| VI | B.L., Royal 12 C.i, f.3 and Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. 0.2.24, f.2 ^V |
| VII | B.L., Royal 5 A.vii, f.85 and Royal 6 A.xii, f.149 |
| VIII | B.L., Royal 6 C.iv, f.2 |
| IX | Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. 0.4.7, f.1 |
| X | B.L., Royal 15 A.xxii, f.17 ^V and Royal 6 B.vi, f.23 |
| XI | Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 332, f.20 and Royal 6 B.vi, f.2 |
| XII | B.L., Royal 6 A.xii, f.1 |
| XIII | B.L., Royal 5 D.ii, f.1 |
| XIV | B.L., Royal 3 B.i, f.3 |
| XV | Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 187, f.145 |
| XVI | B.L., Royal 5 D.iii, f.168 |
| XVII | B.L., Royal 4 B.i, f.4 |
| XVIII | B.L., Harley 3680, f.105 ^V and f.106 |
| XIX | B.L., Royal 6 C.vi, f.38 ^V |
| XX | B.L., Royal 5 C.viii, f.3 |
| XXI | B.L., Royal 4 A.xii, f.2 |
| XXII | Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B.3.25, f.90 (Christ Church) |
| XXIII | Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B.4.2, f.32 ^V (Christ Church) |
| XXIV | Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B.5.28, f.45 (Christ Church) |
| XXV | Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B.2.34, f.2 (Christ Church) |
| XXVI | Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B.3.32, f.4 (Christ Church) |
| XXVII | Avranches, b.m., 102, f.48. (Mont S. Michel) |
| XXVIII | Rouen, b.m., 511, f.64 (Bonne-Nouvelle) |
| XXIX | Rouen, b.m., 467, f.24 ^V (S. Ouen) |
| XXX | Rouen, b.m., 456, f.16 ^V (S. Evroul) |

Abbreviations

Alexander, Norman MS. III.	Alexander, J.J.G., <u>Norman Manuscript Illumination at Mont S. Michel, 966-1100</u> , Oxford, 1970.
Arch. Cant.	<u>Archaeologia Cantiana</u> , Kent, 1850 onwards
Avril, MSS Normands	Avril, F., <u>Rouen: Manuscrits Normands, s.xi-xii</u> , Paris, 1975.
Avril, "MSS <u>benedictins normands</u> "	Avril, F., "Notes sur quelques manuscrits <u>benedictins normands</u> ", <u>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire</u> , 75 and 76, <u>École française de Rome</u> , 1964 and 1965, pp.491-525 and 209-247.
Bishop, "Notes"	Bishop, T.A.M., "Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts", <u>Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society</u> , vols. I, II and III, 1954, 1957 and 1963.
B.I.H.R.	<u>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</u>
B.L.	British Library, London
b.m.	bibliothèque municipale
B.N.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Catalogue I	Rochester Catalogue 1122/23, ed. Rev. P. Coates, <u>Archaeologia Cantiana</u> , VI, 1866, pp.120 ff.
Catalogue II	Rochester Catalogue 1202, ed. W.B. Rye, <u>Archaeologia Cantiana</u> , III, 1860, pp.54-61.
C.C.	<u>Corpus Christianorum</u> , Turnholt
C.C.C.C.	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
C.D.H.	Anselm, <u>Cur Deus Homo</u> , ed. F.S. Schmitt, <u>Anselmi Opera Omnia</u> , vol. II, Edinburgh, 1946
C.S.E.L.	<u>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</u> , Vienna, 1860
C.U.L.	Cambridge University Library
Dodwell, Canterbury School	Dodwell, C.R., <u>The Canterbury School of Illumination</u> , Cambridge, 1954
E.H.R.	<u>English Historical Review</u>

- Epp. Anselmi Anselm, Epistolae, ed. F.S. Schmitt, Anselmi Opera Omnia, vol. III-V, Edinburgh, 1946.
- G.P. William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, R.S. 52, 1870.
- H.N. Eadmer, Historia Novorum, ed. M. Rule, R.S. 81, 1884.
- James, A.L.C.D. James, M.R., The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, Cambridge, 1903.
- Ker, English MSS. Ker, N.R., English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest, Oxford, 1960.
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- M.C. The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc, ed. D. Knowles, London, 1951.
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- O.V. Orderic Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, ed. and transl. M. Chibnall, vols. I-VI, Oxford, 1969-78.
- P.L. Patrologia Latina, ed. J.P. Migne.
- Regesta Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 4 vols., ed. H.W.C. Davis, R.J. Whitwell, C. Johnson, H. Cronne, R.H.C. Davis, Oxford, 1913-69.
- Reg. Hamo Register of Hamo of Hethe, Bishop of Rochester, ed. C. Johnson, Canterbury and York Society, vol. xlvi and xlvii, 1948-9.
- Reg. Roff. Registrum Roffense, ed. J. Thorpe, 1769.
- R.S. Rolls Series
- Textus Textus Roffensis, ed. P.H. Sawyer, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vols. vii and xi, 1957 and 1962.
- Trinity Trinity College, Cambridge
- V.A. Vita Anselmi, ed. R.W. Southern, Oxford, 1972.
- V.G. Vita Gundulfi, ed. R.M. Thomson, The Life of Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, Toronto, 1977.

a The Foundation of the Priory

By the middle of the eleventh century, Rochester cathedral had fallen into a state of decay: its bishop, Siward, was rather a nonentity who had been consecrated by the pluralist Archbishop Stigand, as he built up an ecclesiastical empire in the south of England, and the cathedral was maintained by four or five impoverished canons. By the beginning of the twelfth century, the cathedral had been completely transformed and was now a large monastic priory of fifty or sixty monks who had a more than adequate income. This change in the fortunes of Rochester cathedral was noted by all the Anglo-Norman historians and is not purely the manifestation of the Norman Benedictine bias which condemned the Anglo-Saxon Church because it was unreformed. The documents which will be examined in the course of this chapter all support the report of the chroniclers.

The most extended account of the establishment of a monastic community at Rochester which occurs in a general history is the one by William of Malmesbury:¹

(Siwardus) eo tempore erat episcopus quo Normanni venerunt Angliam, paucisque diebus supervivens fatum explevit; derelicta ecclesia miserabili et vacua, omnium rerum indigentia intus et extra. Vix enim quattuor canonici erant, qui victu exili, et ipso ad horam vel prece vel pretio comparato, et indumento plebeio, vitam tolerarent. Has miseras corrigere volens sapientissimus Lanfrancus archiepiscopus Arnostum quendam monachum pontificem loco dedit. Sed eo veloci morte praerepto, Gundulfum aequo monachum induxit. Sub eo res ecclesiae auctae magnifice, monachi plus L. facti, quibus et amatur regula et omnia habundant necessaria. Deputatur id Gundulfi gloriae, maximeque Lanfranci industriae, qui etiam ex suo villam Heddraam coemptam, monachorum S. Apostolo famulantium usibus victuro iure transcripsit.

Eadmer, writing independently,² gives similar information of the derelict state of the cathedral and adds that when the chapter was converted to a priory, the canons either became monks or left the cathedral, having received a stipend.

The statements in these general accounts can be supplemented by a contemporary

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1. William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, R.S. 52, 1870, p.136.
 2. Eadmer, Historia Novorum, ed. M. Rule, R.S. 81, 1884, p.15.

local source, the Vita Gundulfi¹, whose author claims to have been a 'coetaneus' of the Norman bishop, Gundulf, who established the priory at Rochester. There is internal evidence to support this claim. On several occasions the author of the life refers to the community at Rochester in the first person plural. The first time is when he records a sermon delivered by Gundulf to the brethren during Lent.² Stronger evidence that the author was at Rochester priory while Gundulf was alive lies in a second claim to the authority of his account because he, with others, shared the life and routine of Gundulf:³

Nos autem qui eius vitam usu et auditu satis cognovimus, hanc illi semper fuisse consuetudinem frequenter experti sumus.

Undoubtedly, too, the author was present at Gundulf's death, which is described in great detail.⁴ His account of the foundation can therefore be regarded as the closest to the truth so it is interesting to read that:⁵

Igitur perfectis omnibus quidam ex quinque tantum clericis qui ibi inventi sunt ad religionis habitum confluentes associatis multis aliis sexagenarium et amplius numerum in brevi sub doctrina patris Gundulfi succrevit monachi.

This was the tradition which was absorbed by later Rochester chroniclers, who all state that there were five, not four, canons in the old cathedral.⁶

1. Vita Gundulfi, P. L. 159, cols. 812-36. Edited more recently by R.M. Thomson, The Life of Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, Toronto 1977, which will be cited throughout, numbers referring to paragraphs, not pages. (henceforward V.G.)
2. V.G., ed. Thomson, Toronto 1977, 23.
3. Ibid., 33
4. Ibid., 41-49
5. Ibid., 17. c.f. Textus Roffensis, f.172, facsimile ed. P. Sawyer, Early English MSS in Facsimile, vols. VII, 1957, and XI, 1962. The part relevant to the post-Conquest period is the second half of the MS, which is vol. XI in the facsimile series. Henceforward referred to simply as the Textus plus a folio number for the foliation in the edition is that of the MS itself.
6. Miracula S. Ithamari, ed. D. Bethel, Analecta Bollandiana, vol. 89, 1971, pp.421-37 esp. p.429

There are also accounts of the foundation in the Liber Temporalium and Haddenham's Chronicle. The first is a thirteenth century compilation on the relationship between Canterbury and Rochester, parts of which are printed. The foundation is recorded on f.133-7^v, printed in Thorpe, Registrum Roffense, 1769, p.3-8. (henceforward Reg. Roff.) The second is a fourteenth century chronicle by a Rochester monk, part of which is printed in Wharton, H., Anglia Sacra, vol. 1, 1691, pp.341-55. The author reproduces long passages from the V.G. and extant charters. On Gundulf, see Anglia Sacra, p.342.

These statements by contemporary chroniclers raise several interesting points on the new foundation. When exactly did monks come to Rochester and what were the respective roles of Archbishop Lanfranc and Bishop Gundulf? The exact date of the foundation of the priory is difficult to establish. It is not to be found in any of the narrative sources nor in the other contemporary record for the history of Rochester at this period, the Textus Roffensis.

There does exist, however, in the British Library, a charter,¹ one of many early Rochester charters, which details the endowment of the monastic chapter by Bishop Gundulf and this is dated 1089. Unfortunately, internal evidence shows that this document is a forgery. The witness list appears to be copied from a document in the Textus, in which both Ralph, abbot of Seez, and Ralph, abbot of Battle, testify. Ralph, abbot of Seez, did not come to England until after 1105² and the other Ralph was not appointed abbot of Battle until 1107.³ They could not have witnessed together a document of 1089. Furthermore, the document strikes a false note in that one of the provisions relates to serjeants, officials who were well established in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries but not in the eleventh. None of the other surviving charters relating to this period⁴ contains a dating clause and all except one are of dubious authenticity, anyway. The only authentic one is a confirmatory charter of Henry I confirming lands to the priory which had been received before 1103, the date of the confirmation.

In the absence of references in contemporary sources, it is necessary to resort to later ones and these provide two dates for the foundation of the priory. The fullest source is the fourteenth century chronicle, composed by the Rochester monk, Edmund de Haddenham in his Chronicon Rofense. He notes that in 1177 there was a fire which destroyed part of the church and all the conventual buildings and adds that this was 97 years from the time when monks were first instituted.⁵ This would make the date of the foundation

1. B. L., Cotton Claudius viii.10.

2. Orderic Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, VIII, ed. M. Chibnall, Oxford, 1973, vol. VI, p.171.

3. Greenway, D.E., ed. Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae vol. 2, Monastic Cathedrals, 1971, p.70

4. These are in the dean and chapter archives:-

DRc T.47 A charter recording Gundulf's grant of churches and manors to the priory and arranging the exennium.

DRc T.57 An inspeximus by Archbishop Theobald of Gundulf's charter.

DRc T.50 Henry I's confirmation = Textus, f.218.

5. Wharton, H., Anglia Sacra, 1691, p.345.

of the priory 1080. The second later source is a set of brief local annals copied in the early thirteenth century in which there is an entry for the year 1083, as follows:¹

Lanfrancus archiepiscopus et Gundulfus Roffensis episcopus miserunt
monachos in ecclesiam sancti Andree apostoli Roucestr.

In the same annals there is an entry under the year 1179 recording the fire which Edmund de Haddenham mentions and in the annals too there is the tail-piece that this was in the ninety-seventh year after monks had first been instituted in the cathedral. This statement can be reconciled with the date of 1083 if it is noted that the chronicler writes that the fire is during the ninety-seventh year, that is after ninety-six complete years and a few months. Evidently, Edmund de Haddenham had found the figures difficult and had deliberately or mistakenly copied the date of the fire as 1177 instead of 1179. The establishment of the monastic priory must therefore be dated 1083 and no earlier.²

The origins of the first monks at Rochester are not mentioned in any of the sources. There is a report in the Textus that the original community consisted of twenty-two monks.³ Since the archbishop of Canterbury shared in this project, it is likely that he permitted monks from the cathedral priory of Christ Church to transfer to Rochester. There had been friction between the Norman and Anglo-Saxon elements at Christ Church⁴ so the diversion of some of them to Rochester may have solved some problems at the former. These probably included Normans among their number since Gundulf was Norman and probably could not speak Anglo-Saxon. Certainly all the early leaders of the community had originally been professed in Norman abbeys.⁵ The first three bishops, Gundulf, Ralph and Ernulf had all been at Norman houses, Gundulf and Ernulf having spent part of their lives at Bec.⁶ Similarly, the first known prior of Rochester was Ralph, who had been a monk at Caen, probably chaplain to Lanfranc.

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1. B.L., Cotton Vespasian A.xxii, f.28
 2. c.f. Victoria County History. Kent. vol. II, 1926, p.121 which gives the date 1080.
 3. Textus, f.172
 4. Memorials of St. Dunstan, ed. W. Stubbs, R.S. 63, 1874, pp.234-8.
 5. Greenway, D.E., ed., Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, vol. 2, 1971, pp.76-8.
 6. Nomina Monachorum Becci, printed in Porée, A.A., Histoire de l'Abbaye du Bec, Evreux 1901, p. 629.

Significantly, in this list which probably reflects the chronological order in which the monks at Bec were professed, Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, is immediately before Anselm, and Ernulf, the third Bishop of Rochester, comes immediately after Anselm.

An unusual aspect of the accounts of the foundation of Rochester cathedral priory is the important role assigned to Lanfranc by the local Rochester observer and the general historians. He conceived the scheme to convert the secular cathedral chapter to a monastic priory and was the champion of Rochester interests, according to the Textus, at the plea of Penenden Heath when he recovered several Rochester manors, namely, Fawkham, Stoke and Denton, for the see from Odo of Bayeux, earl of Kent.¹ Furthermore, he assisted Gundulf in the acquisition of Haddenham² and granted to the priory the rich manor of Freckenham which the King had granted to him.³ He also made gifts of vestments and ornaments for the cathedral.⁴

On the other hand, Gundulf was one of Lanfranc's chief supporters, particularly in practical matters. He had been a 'coadiutor' of Lanfranc when the latter was abbot of St. Stephen's, Caen.⁵ The meaning of this term is unclear but the context suggests that Gundulf was in some way a second-in-command at Caen, although in that case it is difficult to understand why he was not prior, or if he was prior, why he is not described as such. Certainly, temporal matters were in Gundulf's charge at Canterbury where he was not prior but 'procurator'. In this capacity he was sent to relieve the poor in London.⁶ It was only after he became bishop of Rochester that Gundulf performed any episcopal functions in place of Lanfranc,⁷ ordaining clerks, distributing the chrism and consecrating churches, particularly as Lanfranc neared the end of his life. Gundulf was to do the same for Anselm during the latter's exiles.

The unique feudal relationship between the archbishopric and the Rochester see was probably of long standing.⁸ In some sense it stretches back to the seventh century

1. Textus, f. 168-170^v

2. Textus, f. 172^v-173, f. 214-214^v; V.G., 27 and Vita Lanfranci, ed. J.A. Giles, Oxford, 1844, p. 290; G.P., p. 137.

3. Textus, f. 170^v-172

4. V.G., 25 c.f. B.L., Cotton Vespasian A.xxii, f. 87^v printed in Reg. Roff., p. 120.

5. V.G., 9

6. V.G., 10

7. V.G., 30

8. The clearest explanation of the relationship between Rochester and Canterbury is in Churchill, I.J., Canterbury Administration, 1938, pp. 279-87. c.f. Smith, R.A.L., "The Place of Gundulf in the Anglo-Norman Church", Collected Papers, 1947, pp. 83-102.

when Canterbury was the seat of the archbishop because it was the capital of the Kingdom of Kent and Rochester was the seat of a bishop because it was the capital of the sub-Kingdom of West Kent. In a geographical sense, then, Rochester was close to Canterbury and because of dynastic arrangements, it was always regarded as the lesser see. This special relationship was generally recognised after the Conquest for the King did not impose knight service on Rochester, the bishop being a sub-tenant of the archbishop, not a tenant-in-chief.¹

Against this background the fact that Lanfranc nominated the first two bishops of Rochester, is not altogether surprising. In his capacity as temporal lord, the archbishop, not the king, approved the choice of a new bishop. Given this freedom from royal interference, Lanfranc had unique power to revitalise the see with a man of his own choice. A monk himself, Lanfranc was not inclined to allow the canons, tainted as they were by their connection with the old regime, to choose a successor to Siward, especially if he desired to appoint a monk as bishop. It is clear from his first two choices that Lanfranc was seeking a monastic bishop probably with a view to transforming the see into a cathedral priory.² His first choice was not Gundulf, but Arnost, prior of Caen, but because he died after a short interval, Lanfranc was obliged to seek a new man and he turned to Gundulf, a man of similar background to Arnost, a monk of Bec and prior of Caen before coming to Canterbury.³

The consecration of Gundulf at Canterbury is not necessarily of special significance. During the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, most bishops in the Canterbury province were consecrated at Canterbury, which suggests that Lanfranc and Anselm preferred to consecrate at their own cathedral,⁴ as long as this did not conflict with their itinerary. The consecration at Canterbury does not necessarily indicate that the bishop of Rochester was in a particularly subordinate position in relation to the archbishop. The suggestion that the bishop of Rochester was regarded from the first as particularly close to the archbishop, is rendered even more unlikely in view of the fact that, although Arnost was nominated by

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1. Historians of the Church of York, vol. III, ed. J. Raine, R.S. 71, 1894, p.21. The rights of York were established at Selby in the same way that the Archbishop of Canterbury had rights in Rochester.
 2. Also suggested by William of Malmesbury in G.P., p.136.
 3. It is possible to identify Arnost with Hernost, prior of Caen, who is mentioned in one of Anselm's letters, ed. Schmitt, F.S., Anselmi Opera Omnia, vols. III-IV, 1946, nos. 25, 9, 53.
 4. Richter, M., Canterbury Professions, Canterbury and York Society, vol. lxxvii, 1973,

Lanfranc and invested with the temporalities by the archbishop in Canterbury, he was consecrated at St. Paul's, London. Since the consecration was in London, it is clear that Lanfranc did not regard the bishop of Rochester as a special servant of the Canterbury see. Consecration outside Canterbury was hardly appropriate if the bishop was to play the role of 'chorepiscopus'.

It could be argued that since the bishop of Rochester was always nominated by the archbishop, the archbishop would ensure that his nomination would be subservient to him. Yet it is by no means certain what role archbishops after Lanfranc did play in the nomination of the bishop of Rochester for there is no fixed pattern during the twelfth century. Gundulf indicated that Ralph d'Escures should be his successor and Anselm did indeed appoint him.¹ Ernulf, on the other hand, was nominated on the King's orders and appointed at a royal council — which may be one reason why Ernulf was so reluctant to accept the office.² There is no further evidence concerning the nomination and consecration of a Rochester bishop until 1148 when Walter was elected by the Rochester monks in the presence of the archbishop and consecrated at Canterbury.³ Confirmation of the election by the archbishop was within his rights as temporal lord but this does not mean that the Rochester bishop was always an archbishop's man. As the Rochester bishop's temporal lord, the archbishop controlled the appointment as little or as much as the king controlled other sees. Although the Rochester monks did protest against interference by Christ Church priory in the election of their bishop,⁴ they accepted the archbishop's role for nearly a century.⁵ After all it was probably preferable to have the archbishop, rather than the king, as temporal lord.

The archbishop probably appeared to be a protector of the see rather than an oppressor. Because the archbishop was temporal lord, he, not the king, had charge of the temporalities when the see fell vacant. Moreover, writs from the king came to the bishop of Rochester through the bailiffs of his lord, the archbishop. In both these ways,

1. V.G., 45

2. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, vol. II, ed. B. Thorpe, R.S. 23, 1861, p.212. c.f. H.N., p.25. c.f. The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, ed. W.T. Mellows, Oxford, 1949, p.96.

3. Gervase of Canterbury, Opera, vol. I, ed. W. Stubbs, R.S.73, 1879, pp.132-3.

4. Ibid., pp.327-31

5. Reg. Roff., pp.95-102

correspondence reveals that he entrusted all temporal and spiritual matters to Gundulf including the collecting of the revenues of the see, negotiating with the King and pronouncing excommunication.¹ This role as vicar of the archbishop was the most important aspect of the Rochester-Canterbury relationship as far as the Rochester bishops were concerned. It is the best documented aspect of the relationship during the twelfth century, for the expenses owed to the bishop by the archbishop for episcopal functions performed on behalf of the latter are listed in all the major Rochester sources.² And from other records, it is clear that other bishops sought to act in the same role. Ralph d'Escures, Gundulf's immediate successor, performed a similar function from 1108-14 when the archbishopric was vacant until he was actually promoted to the more senior position himself.³ At the very end of the century, Gilbert Glanville claimed that he was deputy to the archbishop in consecrating bishops, taking precedence over the bishop of London.⁴

From the above, it is clear that the archbishop of Canterbury was always closely connected with the bishop of Rochester and a unique feudal relationship was evolved between the two sees. For a while, when Lanfranc was compelled because of circumstances, to appoint a bishop of Rochester, the archbishop had unprecedented influence on the spiritual direction of Rochester. This was the situation when the cathedral was transformed to a monastic priory. During the later part of Gundulf's episcopate as Lanfranc grew old and during Anselm's exiles, the independence and spiritual authority of the bishop was enhanced. In temporal matters the relationship between the two sees was such that it prevented the Rochester bishop from ever being completely independent of the archbishop, although it did mean that he was freed from lay interference. In spiritual matters, however, the strength of personality of Gundulf established the freedom of the bishop to direct his own priory and diocese. The post-Conquest Rochester see started under the special protection of the archbishop but within thirty years its independence in spiritualities was firm and the Bishop of Rochester could claim in some sense to be the protector of the archbishop's interests.

1. Epp. Anselmi, nos. 287, 293, 299, 300, 306, 330, 359, 374.

2. Textus, f.220, B.L., Cott. Vesp. A.xxii, f.119, Liber Temporalium, f.2^v.

3. Johnson, C.J., Cronne, H.A., Davis, H.W.C., Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, vol. II, Oxford, 1956, nos. 945, 1015.a, 1077-8, 1081 (henceforward Regesta)

4. Moule, J., Gilbert Glanville, bishop of Rochester 1185-1214, and the relationship of the see of Rochester to Canterbury to 1238, Manchester M.A. thesis, 1954, pp.176-99.

b Material Provision for the Priory

Interestingly, all the suggested dates for the institution of monks in Rochester cathedral have been several years after Gundulf's appointment as bishop. The time lag requires some explanation in the light of the suggestion by William of Malmesbury that Lanfranc had planned to introduce monks to Rochester when he had made Arnost his first appointment to the see in 1075.¹ Of course, at first, Gundulf and Lanfranc were both concentrating on the new church at Canterbury, completed in 1077. It is possible, too, that Gundulf and Lanfranc had met with resistance from the four or five canons already in residence. Unfortunately, little is heard of the fate of these canons. It is not surprising that the author of the Vita Gundulfi should simply state that they all became monks locally.² That some of them, as Eadmer states, were happy to receive stipends and leave is apparent from an entry in the Textus Roffensis recording a grant by Aegelric, priest of Chatham, former canon of Rochester, to the new priory.³

History, of course, was on the side of the canons although the author of the Vita Gundulfi tries to minimise the break with tradition by suggesting that Lanfranc and Gundulf had heard that there had once been monks in the cathedral.⁴ This seems extremely unlikely. Although Bede is silent on the subject, it is probable that when Justus, a priest, was consecrated bishop of Rochester in 604, he brought priests with him to his 'cathedra'. In this he would be following the example of Augustine at Canterbury as well as his own inclinations. Later Rochester sources state explicitly that the cathedral was originally a secular chapter, adducing in support of this view a transaction whereby Justus provided a piece of land known as Prestefeld for their use.⁵ The fourteenth century chronicler is most confused on the issue: following the Vita Gundulfi, he suggests that there were monks at Rochester at some time before the Conquest yet he also states specifically that Justus brought priests with him.⁶ It is conceivable that monks were introduced during the succeeding centuries, but R.A.L. Smith has shown that

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1. G.P., p.136. 2. V.G., p.17 3. H.N., p.15, c.f. Textus, f.190^v
 4. V.G., 17. Audierant enim ibi quondam monachos fuisse unde ad antiqua statuta redeuntes monachorum inibi ordinem statuere sanxerunt.
 5. Liber Temporalium, f.1 in Reg. Roff., p.1.
 6. Haddenham's Chronicle in Anglia Sacra, ed. H. Wharton, 1691, pp.341 and 342.

none of the Anglo-Saxon documents refer to monks.¹ Grants were made either to the bishop or to the church of St. Andrew and mention of 'ad augmentum sui monasterii' could refer in the ninth century, the date of these documents, to both a community of monks and a community of canons. Even in the tenth century, when records are more plentiful and there was a monastic revival, there is no account of a change in the constitution of the Rochester chapter.² Undoubtedly, then, the establishment of a priory at Rochester was a break with tradition.

The most likely explanation for the time lag between the consecration of Gundulf as bishop and the introduction of monks at Rochester is that Lanfranc and Gundulf were engaged at first in providing for the material needs of a new community. This is suggested in the Vita Gundulfi:³

Tempore brevi elapso aecclesia nova, veteri destructa, incipitur,
officinarum ambitus convenienter disponitur, opus omne intra paucos
annos, Lanfranco pecunias sumministrante multas, perficitur.

A new community required a sizeable church and conventual buildings and, of course, some kind of income, requirements which inevitably took a few years to arrange.

It is improbable that Gundulf destroyed the old church before building the new one since Rochester cathedral served as the parish church of the town so it could not suddenly be removed without an alternative being provided. Evidence that this was the case lies in the discovery of the foundations of an Anglo-Saxon church just to the west of the present cathedral.⁴ By commencing his new structure at the east end of the cathedral precinct and working westwards, he was able to leave the nave of the old church intact for the use of parishioners. The presbytery and choir were built first and could be used by the monks for their liturgy before the church as a whole was completed. Study of the eleventh and twelfth century pillars in the present cathedral reveal, contrary to the chronicler's view, that the first stage in the building programme ended after only three

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1. Smith, R.A.L., "The Early Community of St. Andrew at Rochester, 604-c.1080", E.H.R., vol. lx, 1945, p.297.
 2. Although it was during this period that monks were introduced at Christ Church, Canterbury. See Knowles, D., Journal of Theological Studies, vol. xxxix, 1938, pp.126-31 and Robinson, J.A., ibid., vol. xxvii, 1926, pp.225-40.
 3. V.G., 17
 4. Hope, W.H. St. John, "The Architectural History of the Cathedral Church and Monastery of St. Andrew at Rochester", Archaeologia Cantiana, vol. xxiii, 1898, pp.194-328, esp. pp.212-5.

bays of the nave had been completed.¹

It would be interesting to know whether or not Gundulf's church was modelled on those built under Lanfranc's auspices at Canterbury and Caen. Given Gundulf's familiarity with these churches and Lanfranc's influence in the establishment of the priory, it is likely that, following Lanfranc's earlier models, the first Norman church at Rochester would have had a triapsidal choir, small apsidal transepts and a central tower. Unfortunately, the remains of Gundulf's church are sparse and reveal little. They consist of five bays of the south nave arcade, the north tower, still known as Gundulf's tower, the foundations of three bays of the north nave aisle wall and a small portion of the north choir wall, visible between the north transept and the present choir aisle wall.²

These remains, it has been argued, suggest that Rochester cathedral was different from other churches connected with Lanfranc. Its plan instead consisted of a choir with a plain east end and narrow transepts but no central tower.³ The positive evidence for this alternative plan is rather weak and underlying the whole conception is the premise that a church based on Lanfranc's earlier designs could not have been built on a site of this small size, especially given the dimensions of the visible crypt and transepts. The only evidence adduced in favour of the alternative plan is that documentary references to two towers must refer to a pair, one each side of the church, not a central tower. There is no reason, however, why documentary references should not refer to the central tower and the north tower, and this is the most likely interpretation for there are no signs of a tower on the south side of the church apart from that built in the thirteenth century, which was always incorporated in the south wall of the church.⁴

Certainly, the area of the site is small but this does not preclude the possibility of a church on the Canterbury model. The suggestion that the size of the crypt rules out this possibility is invalid because the crypt was not built in Gundulf's time, but later in the twelfth century.⁵ This argument therefore now hinges on the transepts. There is no

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1. Hope, W.H. St. John, "The architectural History of the Cathedral Church and Monastery of St. Andrew at Rochester", Archaeologia Cantiana, vol. xxiii, 1898, pp.215-7.
 2. Fairweather, F.H., "Gundulf's Cathedral and Priory Church of St. Andrew, Rochester: some Critical Remarks upon the Hitherto Accepted Plan", Archaeological Journal, vol. lxxxvi, 1930, pp.207-8.
 3. Hope, W.H. St. John, art. cit., Arch. Cant., vol. xxxiii, 1898, pp.195-224.
 4. Fairweather, F.H., art. cit., Archaeological Journal, vol. lxxvi, 1930, pp.192-6.
 5. Ibid., pp.199-205.

the trial were drawn up at different times and include different stages in a process which appears to have been drawn out over a period of years.¹ It is possible that the time-lag between Gundulf's appointment and the introduction of monks to the cathedral may be connected with the lack of clarity concerning the ownership of the Rochester manors which were vital for the existence of any large community at Rochester.

Income to provide for the monks' food and clothing was a continuing problem. After the foundation of the priory, the problem took on two new aspects. First there was the question of how the property of the see should be divided between bishop and priory. Secondly, as the numbers in the community grew, reaching perhaps fifty or sixty, it was necessary to augment the income. Unless the income of the bishop and priory were increased from new sources, both would be competing for a share in an endowment which had been intended for the bishop and a few canons. Besides, any newly established Benedictine community sought benefactions in an attempt not only to survive but also because there was a desire to build a large and beautiful church.

The sharing of the endowment, that is the division of the mensa, between bishop and priory did not take place until after the Domesday survey for in that document, all the manors of the see are assigned to the bishop. The author of the Vita Gundulfi suggests that a division was first made before Lanfranc's death² but there is no written record of such a division until the beginning of the reign of Henry I. It appears that it took some time for the bishop and prior to agree on a precise division, partly because the lands were only gradually being recovered and possibly, too, because it was a difficult question to decide. The original royal charter endorsing the division is in the chapter archives and there is a copy in the Textus.³

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1. Bates, D.R., "Penenden Heath Revisited", B.I.H.R., vol. 51, 1978, pp.8-10.
 2. V.G., 26. The Domesday survey was completed by 1087. Lanfranc died in 1089.
 3. Textus, f.218 and Dean and Chapter Archives, T.50.
This is a huge document, in a charter hand which remains unidentified, and is authenticated by three seals, one of King Henry I, one of Archbishop Anselm and one of Gundulf. This last is a very early example of an episcopal seal: the bishop with a mitre is facing outwards and holds a crook in his left hand.

It is an attempt to establish once and for all how the manors which had been acquired during Gundulf's episcopate are to be divided between bishop and priory.¹ According to later bishops, Gundulf, by this charter, sacrificed the prosperity of the see to the interests of the community.²

That Gundulf also gave the monks some churches and tithes is likely even though there is no extant document recording a specific grant of a church or tithe. The royal confirmatory charter does allow that the priory will hold churches which are to be assigned to them by Gundulf. These churches are listed in a mid-twelfth century document which purports to be an original but is probably a forgery. According to this, Bishop Gundulf gave the monks the churches of Woolwich, Dartford, Sutton, Wilmington, Chiselherst, Aylesford, Ritherfield, Frant, Stourmouth and the altars of St. Margaret and St. Nicholas in Rochester. The same charter records Gundulf's stipulations regarding the exennium or annual payment in kind to the bishop's table by the monks. This charter, rather than the royal confirmation, was incorporated into all the later Rochester records, and was the basis of the monks' claims against Bishop Gilbert in the late twelfth century.³

A third way in which Gundulf provided for the community was by granting tithes to them.⁴ In the chapter archives there is an inspeximus by Archbishop Theobald of a purported original charter of Gundulf assigning a whole series of tithes to the priory.⁵ Again, the charter is suspect, partly because of the script, and partly because the witness list is the same as that of the previous charter and the blatant forgery discussed above. Nevertheless the contents of the charter may reflect an accurate record of the tithes in the possession of the priory since the list does coincide with the series of tithes in the Textus.

1. The manors assigned to the monks include two, Lambeth and Haddenham, which were granted to St. Andrew's, Rochester, by William Rufus. It is not known whether these grants were made before or after the original division of the mensa in 1089.
2. Reg. Roff., p.53. 'immensa donationis'
3. Dean and Chapter Archives, T.47. Copied into Cott. Dom. A.x, f.98. Haddenham's chronicle, Cotton Nero D.ii, f.109, Liber Temporalium, f.6-7, and Register of Hamo of Hethe, ed. C. Johnson, Canterbury and York Society, vol. xlvi and xlvii, 1948 and 1949, p.433. (henceforward Reg. Hamo)
4. Constable, G., Monastic Tithes, Cambridge, 1964, esp. pp.86-98. This may seem inconsistent with the attempt by reformers to wrest tithes from the laity but the principle that was established was episcopal control of tithes. If, after recovering tithes from the laity, Gundulf wished to give them to his monks, rather than retain them for his church, he was at liberty to do so.
5. Dean and Chapter Archives, T.57.

Since Gundulf acquired all these benefits for his monks it is obvious why he had a reputation for expertise in administration.¹ In this connection some of the contents of the Textus are worth studying in detail because they list the many benefactions received by the priory during the first thirty or forty years of its existence. The documents include not only copies of charters recording important benefactions of churches and manors but also lists of small grants made by a variety of members of Kentish society. Since the order of the grants is roughly chronological, it appears that the majority of benefactions were received in the course of Gundulf's episcopate. The Textus is certainly in this sense a monument to his efforts to establish the priory.

The benefactions include both temporalities and spiritualities, the larger grants being of manors or churches and the smaller ones being houses or tithes. Benefactors included all three Norman monarchs, the Conqueror, William Rufus and Henry I,² tenants-in-chief and their knights and households, and lesser folk such as Ingelburgis, the wife of the cobbler, and Aelfwine, the 'preostes sunu'.³ The last two names illustrate an interesting point since they are Anglo-Saxon. Indeed, a number of Anglo-Saxon names occur, almost a quarter of the list, which shows that Gundulf must have sought and received co-operation from the local community and received grants from Anglo-Saxons, even though he himself was thoroughly Norman. All the gifts of these Anglo-Saxons are small, a marsh, a house or a tithe. Clearly, Gundulf took trouble to seek grants, however small, and attended to the lesser as well as to the greater.

Many of the grants were given after the benefactor had received hospitality at the priory. The most notable of grants given on such an occasion was that of Henry I who when he was at Rochester in 1101 granted to St. Andrew the churches of Dartford and Aylesford and related churches and the tithes of Dartford, Strood and Chalk.⁴ The King's example was followed by William of Albin who was accompanying the King at this time. He granted his tithe at Elmham to the priory and obliged his retinue to follow suit. Thus immediately following the King's grant in the Textus is William's

1. G.P., p.137, 'in rebus forensibus acer et elimatus' and V.G., 10, 'in rebus etiam exterioribus industrius valde erat'.

2. Textus, f.170^v, 212, 186^v William I, William II, Henry I respectively.

3. Textus, f.190^v and 191.

4. Regesta, vol. II, nos. 516 and 517.

grant followed by a list of ten of William's men who each gave part of a tithe to the priory.¹ One other member of the royal retinue who did not make a grant on this occasion but had previously done so was Eudo, a royal steward.² Another steward, Haimo, also present on this occasion, did not make a grant but his father before him had been a generous benefactor of the see.³

Another occasion for a benefaction was when a son was given to the priory as an oblate. Again, about one fifth of the benefactions recorded are made in connection with a son, or once or twice, a brother, who has entered the priory. To judge from the names, Aegelnothus, Eadmer and Wlgerius, some of these oblates were from Anglo-Saxon families although the majority appear to be from the families of Norman settlers.⁴ Yet a third reason for a benefaction was to guarantee a place of burial at the priory. This service was provided for both great and small. Among the notables who required burial at Rochester was Henry de Port, sheriff of Hampshire and important land-holder there and in Cambridge and Berkshire.⁵ There is a similar request to secure the burial of a wife from the Anglo-Saxon, Aegelric, former canon of Rochester, now priest of Chatham.

Being in Kent, Rochester priory was in a difficult position to gain benefactions for two reasons. First, because most of the land was held directly from the King by only two tenants-in-chief, Odo of Bayeux and the archbishop of Canterbury. The second reason, linked with the first, is the proximity of Canterbury see, which was bound to receive grants from local notables and from afar because the archbishop was much more influential than the bishop of Rochester at both national and local level. Nevertheless there were some high-ranking individuals who did make grants to Rochester. These included Gilbert of Tonbridge, Roger Bigod, Eudo fitzHerbert, Haimo sheriff of Kent, Ernulf of Hesding⁶, Henry de Port and William d'Albini, all of whom were tenants-in-chief at the time of Domesday or inherited from the tenants-in-chief mentioned in the Domesday Book.

1. Textus, f.186^v-188

2. Textus, f.184^v

3. Textus, f.181^v

4. Textus, f.183, 184^v, 189^v

5. Textus, f.198^v, 185

6. Another possible tenant-in-chief is Arnulfus de Cilefelda, mentioned on f.184 of the Textus, who may be identical to Ernulfus de Hesding who at the time of Domesday, held Ciresfel from Odo of Bayeux. This Ernulf was a tenant-in-chief in eleven shires.

Some of them were royal officers. Only Eudo and Haimo held official positions immediately after the Conquest, both being King's stewards from about 1070.¹ Roger Bigod attests the charters of William the Conqueror and during his reign was sheriff of Norfolk but he did not reach the peak of his career until the reign of Rufus when he was the King's steward.² Gilbert of Tonbridge was the son of Richard of Tonbridge, a faithful follower of the Conqueror entrusted with large areas of land in the strategically important counties of Kent and Sussex. Gilbert inherited his father's possessions when he retired to a monastery, c.1087 after the Domesday survey, but he did not become a regular member of the King's household.³ Of the same generation as Gilbert was Henry de Port, son of Hugo de Port, another companion of the Conqueror, who also retired to a monastery in 1096.⁴ As heir of the de Port estates, Henry was a tenant-in-chief in Hampshire and a leading sub-tenant of lands previously held by Odo of Bayeux in Cambridgeshire and Berkshire. He was sheriff of Hampshire and a regular member of King Henry's retinue although never an official in the household.⁵

All these benefactors then, were connected with men who had gained positions of influence as a result of the Conquest. They are not, however, William the Conqueror's men. If, like Roger Bigod, they had come to England with the Conqueror, they did not necessarily reach the peak of their careers under him. Several of them, Gilbert, Henry de Port and William d'Albini, were not of the Conqueror's generation at all but the succeeding one. Clearly, Rochester priory was not receiving benefactions from feudal lords and tenants until after the Domesday survey, that is during the last decade or so of the eleventh century. Yet among these benefactors, the latest grants were those of William d'Albini and Henry de Port in 1101 and 1108 respectively. Of these two, only the former could be described as a 'new man'.⁶ The Albini family were tenants-in-chief in Bedfordshire at the time of the Domesday survey and William was one of the most

1. For Eudo, see Regesta, vol. I, no. 63 and 26. On Haimo, see Douglas, D. C., The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1944, p.55.

2. Regesta, vol. I, nos. 121, 122, 138 etc.

3. Douglas, D. C., Domesday Monachorum, 1944, pp.39-41.

4. Regesta, vol. I, no. 379.

5. Ibid., nos. 380 + 488, 544, 626, 684, 859, 947-8, 1070, 1125-6, 1134, 1380, 1485 etc. + p.xix.

6. Southern, R.W., "Ranulf Flambard and Early Anglo-Norman Administration", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, vol. xvi, 1933, pp.95-128.

important heirs of the fief. He was not a member of the royal household until 1100 when he became King Henry's butler, a regular member of the royal retinue, and from there he never looked back.¹ As a measure of his rise in society, is the fact that he married Maud de St. Liz, daughter of Robert fitzRichard, and hence into the aristocratic de Clare family which had descended from the Richard of Tonbridge mentioned.²

Not one of these landed men, however, made the cathedral church of St. Andrew at Rochester the central focus of their devotion. Only one benefactor, Roger Bigod, made a gift enabling the Rochester monks to establish a cell. He granted to the Rochester community the church of St. Felicity, Walton, situated in Suffolk, but at the south of the county by the side of the Thames and therefore bordering north Kent. He himself did not take a strong interest in the church there as his efforts were concentrated on Thetford but, nevertheless, this was the first Rochester cell to be established and the only one which endured. From the early twelfth century until the time of the Dissolution, a handful of monks from St. Andrew's were in residence at the church of St. Felicity, later known as Felixstowe.³

Eudo, the Conqueror's steward, mentioned above, expended his effort elsewhere, to even though at one time he relied on Rochester monks to establish his foundation of St. John the Baptist, Colchester. A dispute, however, led to the departure of the Rochester monks and they were replaced by monks from York. Shortly after this fiasco, Eudo founded St. Botolph's in Colchester, which is usually considered the first Augustinian priory in England.⁴

1. Regesta, vol. II
2. Round, J.H., Feudal England, 1895, pp.474-6. Morgan, M., The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec, Oxford, 1946, p.11. The first Maud of St. Liz was the daughter of Roger Bigod and she had a daughter by Robert, son of Richard (brother of Gilbert of Tonbridge), who was named after her mother. This second Maud married William d'Albini.
3. Regesta, vol. I, no. 452 = Textus, f.182. The foundation of Thetford is recorded in Regesta, vol. I, no. 482. Knowles, D., and Hadcock, R.N., Medieval Religious Houses, 1971, p.65. Bigod founded a priory and granted it as a cell to Rochester, c.1105. In 1381, three monks were living there and there was still that number in 1528.
4. Knowles, D., and Hadcock, R.N., Medieval Religious Houses, 1971, p.62. The foundation charter of St. Botulph's is in Regesta, vol. II, no. 677, cf. Textus, f.184^v.

Just as at Colchester, where the Rochester Benedictines were rivalled by Augustinians, so it was in other regions and with other patrons.¹ Gilbert of Tonbridge did not give anything to Rochester priory except for Ritherfield church which he agreed to hand over to the monks after a dispute. He was much more liberal, though, in his donations to Bec, granting the Bec monks, the collegiate chapel of St. John the Baptist in Clare Castle, to follow up his father's grant of several manors in Tooting for the alien priory of Tooting Bec. Gilbert also encouraged the Augustinians, establishing Austin canons at Merton priory, possibly as early as 1114.² Similarly, Henry de Port and William d'Albini, while they only made grants of tithes to Rochester, gave much more attention to the priories which they had themselves founded, namely, St. Mary and St. John the Baptist, Sherbourne,³ and St. Mary the Virgin, Wymondham.⁴ Thus, although Rochester Cathedral priory boasted some wealthy patrons, the community could not rely on any of them for extensive, regular support since they all turned their attention elsewhere.

Naturally, Rochester Priory might expect to receive benefactions from local men but because of the conditions of tenure peculiar to Kent, outlined above, these grants were not very large. The most important of these was the grant of Stourmouth church, in east Kent by Haimo, son of Vitalis,⁵ the companion of the Conqueror who is depicted on the Bayeux tapestry. Vitalis had been a leading sub-tenant of Odo of Bayeux at the time of the Domesday survey so his son, Haimo, too, must have had substantial holdings throughout Kent. Haimo seems to have made a point of making donations to the less important religious establishments in Kent for he was also a benefactor of the parish church of St. Edmund, Ridingate, Canterbury in preference to the large houses of Christ Church or St. Augustine's.⁶

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1. Dickinson, J. C., The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England 1950.
 2. Knowles, D., and Hadcock, R.N., Medieval Religious Houses, 1971, pp.87 and 166, cf. Textus, f.175, 182^v.
 3. Ibid., p.90 and Textus, f.198^v.
 4. Ibid., p.81 and Textus, f.188.
 5. Textus, f.185^v.
 6. Urry, W., Canterbury under the Angevin Kings, 1967, pp.51, 52, 53, 63-4, 211, and Douglas, D.C., The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1944, p.57.

Haimo, son of Vitalis, is an example of the second layer of the social hierarchy who supported Rochester priory, that is, leading sub-tenants of the tenant-in-chief. Their landholdings were often extensive and their influence in Kent was probably quite great. A sub-tenant in Kent might be as influential as a tenant-in-chief in another county simply because of the peculiar tenurial conditions in Kent. Besides, some of the sub-tenants of Odo may have become tenants-in-chief after the earl was disgraced and his lands confiscated. Several benefactors were important sub-tenants of Odo and therefore extensive landholders, including Ansgot of Rochester, Gosfridus de Ros, Richard, son of Malger,¹ and Robert Latimer.² All these men granted tithes to the priory and, in addition, two of them gave land. Ansgot, an important figure in Rochester, granted the monks five acres of land in Prestefeld for the extension of the priory and Robert Latimer made donations of land in Greah and Frensbury.³

All these grants were from the fief of Odo of Bayeux and all of them were quite close to Rochester. And, indeed, all the grants recorded in the Textus, with the exception of Stourmouth, are in west Kent to the exclusion of east Kent, that is the area dominated by Canterbury.⁴ Furthermore, most of the grants in west Kent are from the fief of Odo of Bayeux except for three which are grants by men who are tenants of the archbishop of Canterbury but of nobody else.⁵ Other benefactors of Rochester were tenants of both Odo of Bayeux and the archbishop but they always granted land and tithes from their holdings in west Kent which were held of the bishop of Bayeux, not the archbishop of Canterbury.⁶

There was, of course, some overlap between laymen connected with Rochester and those connected with Canterbury. This is most easily seen in the list of knights owing service to the respective ecclesiastical lords. The knights of the archbishop are listed in

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1. The identification of Malger, the knight of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with Malger of Rokesle was first made by Douglas, D.C., The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1944, p.37.
 2. This information is drawn from the text of the Domesday Book.
 3. Textus, f.197^v, 182^v, 200^v respectively.
 4. See the map of Domesday manors in the Victoria County History: Kent, vol. III, 1932, p.177.
 5. Eadmer of Tarente, the Brutin family, Gerardus of Gisleham.
 6. e.g. Henry de Port, Richard son of Malger, Gosfridus de Ros.

the Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church¹ and this can be compared with the list of benefactors of Rochester. The comparison reveals that 6 out of the 65 knights of the archbishop were benefactors of Rochester, namely, Richard, and hence, Gilbert of Tonbridge, Gosfridus de Ros, Vitalis, and therefore his son, the de Port family, the Brutin family and Malger of Rokesly and his son. Gilbert of Tonbridge and Malger of Rokesly were tenants-in-chief with holdings in several counties in England and therefore in a position to be benefactors of both Canterbury and Rochester. Gosfridus de Ros, Vitalis, the de Port family and the Brutin family, were important men in Kent who, although knights of the archbishop, had extensive holdings in west Kent from which they made grants to Rochester.

On the other hand, there is little overlap between the knights of the bishop of Rochester and those of the archbishop. The list of Rochester knights in the Textus is probably a little later than the list for Canterbury, which was compiled in the 1090's, since the Textus dates from Henry I's reign.² Nevertheless the time-lag between the two documents cannot be too great because one name appears in both. That is Gosfridus Talebot who provided one knight each to both the archbishop and the bishop. The name Brutin occurs in both lists, Radulfus Brutin owing a third part of a knight to the bishop and a Robert Brutin owing one knight to the archbishop. These two are of the same family probably, but not necessarily of the same generation. The knights of the archbishop are all Domesday tenants but few of the bishop's knights appear there. This is not because of the later date of the Rochester list but simply because those who owe service to the Bishop of Rochester are not important landholders. Only Gosfridus Talebot and Adam, brother of Eudo, dapifer, among the Rochester knights were important sub-tenants, and therefore mentioned in the Domesday Book; the rest only provide fractions of knight service and were not important enough to be mentioned in Domesday.

As a result of all these many, small benefactions the new priory made up for the absence of an inherited large separate endowment. The grants listed in the Textus bear witness to the efforts of Bishop Gundulf to gain recognition and benefactions for the priory at all levels of society, and incidentally shows that Rochester had its own resources independent of Canterbury. The result of Gundulf's work was to transform the poorest

1. Douglas, D.C., The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1944, p.105.

2. Textus, f.217. This is the date given by J.H. Round in Feudal England, 1895, p.250. See also du Boulay, F.R.H., The Lordship of Canterbury, 1966.

see in the country to a relatively well off priory.¹ After the accumulation of benefactions and the division of the mensa, the see remained poor but the priory had a modest income, less than other cathedral priories but more than most abbeys, apart from the long-established flourishing houses like Glastonbury and St. Alban's.

c Life in the Community

Once the church and conventual buildings were in a reasonable condition and the manors of the see had been recovered, it was feasible in 1083 to introduce monks into the cathedral. It is reported that there were 22 monks in the original community but this number rapidly grew to 50 or even 60.² As a new community, Rochester priory was able to develop free from the trammels of long-established tradition. Consisting of monks drawn from Canterbury and Normandy and led by monks from Bec and Caen, Rochester cathedral priory was able to develop the principles of reformed Norman monasticism without hindrance from any Anglo-Saxon predecessors. The priory should show more clearly than any other English house of the period the extent of the influence of Norman monasticism. This influence has so far been observed only in the possible plan of the cathedral and in the search for patrons. The cathedral was possibly related to St. Stephen's, Caen. Gundulf's search for patrons has parallels in Herluin's struggle to establish a community at Bec.

The daily routine of the community was based on Lanfranc's customs. In view of his role in the foundation, it is highly likely that Lanfranc's customs were the basis for the routine of the community right from the start.³ A copy of these customs, bound with the Benedictine Rule is listed in the first library catalogue.⁴ Following these the monks must have spent a great deal of time participating in an expanded liturgy.⁵ Under the Benedictine Rule, monks were obliged to worship seven times a

1. Knowles, D., The Monastic Order in England, Cambridge, 1963, App. VI, p.702, (henceforward M. O.) The revenues from the priory manors, calculated from their Domesday value totals £113 16s. 8d, and is about the median level of incomes for religious houses, which was compiled by D. Knowles.

2. Textus, f.172.

3. Knowles, D., ed., The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc, 1951, pp. xxxv-xxxvii. (henceforward M. C.)

4. Textus, f. 229

5. M. C., pp. xiv-xix

day at the offices of Matutinae, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline, and once during the night, with the addition of a Mass on Sundays and feasts. By the end of the eleventh century, however, monks were spending much more time on the liturgy and under Lanfranc's scheme of things a whole series of minor offices to different saints had been added to the daily round in the course of which intercessions were made for the dead, for immediate needs, for relatives and benefactors, and a large part of the psalter was recited. Over and above these were inserted two Masses a day.

Unfortunately, little is known about the details of the liturgical routine at Rochester because no liturgical books, psalters or missals, are extant. The documentary sources record that Gundulf celebrated two Masses a day, one for Christ, the Virgin Mary or St. Andrew, or for any Saints, and the other for the departed, and it is stated that the monks attended these.¹ The Mass is described as an occasion for beautiful music sung by the boys which moved Gundulf to tears. Gundulf's predilection for affective prayer was expressed even during a solemn Mass, and this aspect of religious life was probably more apparent in the Rochester community than elsewhere. It was Gundulf for whom Anselm wrote his prayers to the Virgin and it is to be imagined that the bishop encouraged similar prayers among his monks.²

The major festival in the church's year was, of course, the feast of St. Andrew, the patron of the cathedral, and to this was added the feast of St. Paulinus, whose relics were translated from the old Saxon church accompanied by great pomp and the usual miracle.³ The relics were placed in a silver feretory under an altar faced with silver, both of which were supplied by Lanfranc, who also provided a cross for the altar and probably the vestments.⁴ Indeed, to judge from the list of benefactions compiled in the thirteenth century, Gundulf and Lanfranc between them, ensured that the cathedral was in possession of splendid vestments and ornaments, including twenty-five copes of silk decorated with gold, and their best dalmatic in dazzling white, albs and stoles. They also supplied several crosses, candlesticks and plate.⁵ Rochester cathedral was not to be completely overshadowed by Canterbury.

1. V.G., 21

2. Epp. Anselmi, no. 28

3. V.G., 33

4. Ibid., 18

5. Ibid., 25 and B.L., Cott. Vesp. A.xxii, f.87^v, which is printed in Reg. Roff., p.120.

The second most important element in Lanfranc's 'customs' was reading. The Benedictine Rule had allowed time for reading both by the individual monks and by the community as a whole. Besides listening to readings in the course of the liturgy, the monks were to eat their meals in silence while they listened to one of their brethren reading to them,¹ and also gather together to listen to readings after Compline. In addition, at least two hours a day were to be devoted to private study and the whole of Sunday, apart from the time at the services, was to be spent in this way. This reading was a disciplined activity supervised by senior monks who were appointed to walk round the monastery to ensure that all the brothers were reading and maintaining silence.² Lanfranc, in his customs, allowed more time for reading, prescribing this activity for most of the hours between the daily office and Masses, but how many hours this added up to is not clear. In contrast to Benedict, Lanfranc allowed more time for reading during summer when it was light. In Lanfranc's time, reading took precedence over labour in the fields.³

Neither the Benedictine Rule nor Lanfranc have much to say about the nature of study in the house. The only education discussed is that of the novices.⁴ Each novice was to have a master who was to sit in the cloister with the novice, apart from the rest of the monks, and instruct him for the good of his soul and in the religious way of life. The specified teaching is limited to routine matters such as how to wear the habit, how to behave during the liturgy, and recite the psalms, and the contents of the Rule. In view of the great expansion of Rochester priory under Gundulf's rule, and the fact that the priory received oblates, the training of novices must have been a major task of the senior monks. It is hinted in the Vita that Gundulf taught the monks himself, and in the Textus it is said that he taught them to read well and to sing.⁵

Unlike other monastic customs, those of Lanfranc do not specify manual labour. Nevertheless, the monks must have executed administrative duties in relation to the priory manors even if they did not work the land themselves. The outline of the accounting

1. The Rule, ch. XXXVIII, XLII.

2. Ibid., ch. XLVIII.

3. M.C., p. xxv-xxvii.

4. The Rule, ch. LVIII, c.f. M.C., pp.115-118, 134-148.

5. V.G., 21 and Textus, f.172

system, although of a later date, probably represents early practice whereby particular monks received incomes from particular areas.¹ Individual monks acted as bailiffs for each manor belonging to the priory, directing agricultural operations and collecting the weekly render of produce.² The absence of obedientiarie's accounts from the diocese for most of the medieval period means that the details of the system cannot be given, but the existence of fragments of eleventh century rent rolls shows that not all the land was farmed by the monks themselves but was sometimes leased out.³

The general conditions of monastic life as set out in Lanfranc's customs, can be supplemented in the case of Rochester with the conditions described in a treatise entitled 'Octo Puncta' which was written at Rochester c.1100.⁴ The author draws his inspiration from Lanfranc but makes modifications which disclose something of the conditions of the religious life prevailing in Rochester priory itself. The Rochester author lists eight points on which monks should examine themselves and then writes a commentary on each point. These eight points are enclosure, silence, poverty, obedience, the elimination of murmuring and detraction, joyful charity, fidelity to the Divine Office and sincere sacramental confession. This is remarkably close to the list in Lanfranc's introduction to his monastic customs:⁵

What we have to consider with the greatest care is that what is necessary for the soul's salvation should be safeguarded in every way: faith, that is, and contempt of the world, together with charity, chastity, humility, patience, obedience; penance for faults committed and a humble confession of them; frequent prayers, silence in fitting measure, and many other things of this kind. Where these are preserved, it may truly be said that the Rule of St. Benedict and the monastic life are kept, whatever variety there be in matters which have been differently ordered in different monasteries.

This treatise does not lay down a monastic routine but seeks to explain why the principles of the monastic tradition are valuable to the individual monk. Enclosure is

1. Thorpe, J., Customale Roffensis, 1788, p.12.
2. Smith, R.A.L., "The Financial System of Rochester Cathedral Priory", Collected Papers, 1947, pp.43-4, and Brown, A.F., "The Financial System of Rochester Cathedral Priory: A Reconsideration", BIHR, vol. 50, 1977, pp.115-120.
3. Dean and Chapter Archives, FZ 1/1-4.
4. Farmer, H., "Ralph's Octo Puncta of the Monastic Life", Studia Monastica, vol. II, 1969, pp.19-31.
5. Ibid., p.24

prudent because it is the least difficult way to avoid sin. Silence is similarly commended as necessary to obtain perfection and the purgation of sin. The sacrifice of possessions is deemed a prerequisite for tranquillity of mind. Obedience is the means of doing God's will. Avoiding detraction is to be free from a chief cause of sin while joyful charity is evidence of imitation of the divine will. The individual monk is exhorted to be faithful to the Divine Office, not that he might pray for others, but because it is there that God will come to him. Regular confession is regarded as necessary before a man can be close to God and inherit eternal life.

Clearly, the religious life is conceived as a life of silence interrupted only during the liturgy, at chapter and at confession. Yet a monk was to be joyful in all he did and be content to stay in the abbey in which he made his profession. This was in line with traditional monasticism but there are two features relevant to the individual monk which perhaps distinguish the life described here from the life of former centuries, silence and confession. Continuous silence was praised in the Rule but how strictly it was observed depended on the house. Lanfranc, however, prescribed strict silence:¹

Hi religiose et ordinate maxime in circumeundo debent incedere, et exemplum religionis videntibus ostendere, dum circumeunt nulli signum faciant, nulli quacunq[ue] occasione loquantur, studiose tantum negligentias et offensiones inspiciant, et tacite praetereuntes, de eis postea in capitulo clamores faciant. Cum autem extra claustrum inveniunt aliquos fratres loquentes simul, assurgant eis ipsi loquentes, dicatque eis unus eorum, si ita est, quia per licentiam loquuntur ibi.

Anselm, too, strongly urged silence, telling his monks not to converse unless circumstances obliged them to do so and even then, they were to speak in Latin.² In respect of silence, then, the custom of Rochester priory, as maintained by the author of the 'Octo Puncta', followed the best Norman practice.

The second feature of the treatise which may be distinctive is the emphasis on individual confession and worship, rather than the corporate liturgy. This reflects the principles of the Rule and was given a place in Lanfranc's customs for all that those concentrate on corporate worship; it was encouraged among novices as a regular practice they should adopt for the rest of their lives:³

1. M.C., pp.78, 98 and 113 c.f. The Rule, ch. VI, XLVIII

2. Epp. Anselmi, no. 328

3. M.C., p.107 c.f. The Rule, 7

de his culpis, quas in seculo gessit, et quae in hoc ordine sibi
 evenerunt et eveniunt, frequentes confessiones faciat abbati, priori,
 spiritualibus fratribus quibus quibus hanc cura iniuncta est.

The insight provided in this treatise written at Rochester on the meaning of the religious life to the individual monk reveals how far the principles of Norman monasticism permeated the community. Clearly, life in Rochester priory was a rigorous and disciplined form of monasticism based on Lanfranc's customs and directed at the perfection of the individual as the Benedictine Rule had intended. The vigour and freshness of the Rochester author's statement of his aims suggests that, at times, the highest standards of monastic life were actually attained.

d Continuity and Change: Rochester Priory during the
 Twelfth Century

The structure of the monastic community at Rochester was slightly modified after its original foundation with the extensions of Malling convent and Walton Priory. As at Caen, Gundulf showed a particular concern for women and established a convent for them on the bishop's manor, Malling.¹ At first, Gundulf himself acted as abbot but just before his death he was persuaded to provide the convent with an abbess, so henceforward the convent was completely separated from the priory.² A second modification was the establishment of a priory cell at Walton as a result of the benefaction of Roger Bigod. There were never more than a handful of monks at the cell and it was hardly a drain on the resources of the cathedral since it had its own patron in the person of the wealthy Bigod³ already discussed.

Both the structure of the cathedral priory and the principles of monasticism which Gundulf had established were maintained by his two immediate successors, Ralph of Seez, Bishop of Rochester 1108-14, before becoming Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ernulf, Bishop of Rochester 1114-24, formerly prior of Christ Church and abbot of Peterborough. Both these bishops were Norman monks, much influenced by Lanfranc and Anselm, and both were content to allow the priory to develop along the lines Gundulf had laid down.

1. V.G., 9, 34

2. Textus, f.198

3. See above, p.19

This must be true of Ralph who, according to the Vita Gundulfi was designated by Gundulf as his successor when the dying bishop handed his ring to the monk from Seez.¹ Ralph was a powerful personality who rose to the highest ecclesiastical position in England after being forced to flee from his abbey at Seez. Ralph was different from Gundulf in one important respect in that he was well educated. William of Malmesbury described Gundulf as 'litterarum non nescius'² but contemporaries could say of Ralph:³

Hic litterus admodum fuit imbutus, eloquens et iocundus, ideoque amabilis omnibus.

Evidence of Ralph's learning survive in a sermon, once attributed to St. Anselm, known as 'Intravit quoddam castellum ...',⁴ and a letter to Pope Calixtus. The letter is a very clear exposition of the Canterbury case in the primacy dispute with the Archbishop of York.⁵ It is important to remember Ralph's interest in learning when considering the development of the library and scriptorium at Rochester at the beginning of the twelfth century.

There is even stronger evidence that Bishop Ernulf followed the traditions established by Gundulf. His experience was even closer to Gundulf's than Ralph's was, for, like Gundulf, he had been a monk at Bec and then had spent some time at Canterbury under both Lanfranc and Anselm.⁶ He is to be identified with the 'grammaticus' at Christ Church to whom Anselm refers⁷ and in his capacity as a scholar he wrote two short treatises, one on canon law, 'De Incestis Coniugiis', and another on the Eucharist,⁸

1. V.G., 45

2. G.P., p.137

3. O.V., vol. IV, p.168

4. Wilmart, A., "Les homélies attribuées à St. Anselme", Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire, vol. II, 1927, pp.1-20.

5. Historians of the Church of York, vol. II, ed. J. Raine, R.S. 71, 1886, pp.228-51.

6. It is just possible that Ernulf was at Bec at the same time as Gundulf although the overlap could not have been very long. It is thought that Gundulf entered Bec in 1057 and left with Lanfranc for Caen in 1063, whereas Ernulf entered Bec after 1063.

7. Epp. Anselmi, no. 64

8. Tomellus sive Epistola de Incestis Coniugiis, ed. J.P. Migne, P.L., vol. 159, col. 1457-74 and Epistola de Sacramentis, ed. L. d'Achery, Spicilegium, vol. I, 1723, pp.464-70.

The probability that Ernulf shared Gundulf's attitudes is heightened when it is recognised that the two men were obliged to work together during Anselm's exiles, Gundulf as Anselm's deputy, and Ernulf as head of the priory at Christ Church. Anselm frequently suggests that Gundulf should read the letters he has sent to Ernulf and vice versa.¹ In his work as prior, Ernulf had to cope with a variety of problems and solve them as he thought his master would have done. He shows a lively concern for the needs of the community, even writing to Anselm in criticism of the Archbishop's decision to choose exile.² He took especial notice of the younger members of the community including Anselm's nephew, Anselm.³ Ernulf dealt competently with administrative matters, in disputes with local residents, for example, and in resisting pressure from the King to hand over large sums.⁴ He carefully thought over decisions of principle, consulting Anselm on legal matters including the reception of clerics in the priory, married clerics and the conversion of a Jew.⁵

It is to be expected that Ernulf acted at Rochester as he did as prior of Christ Church, identifying with the monks and looking after their interests. Certainly, he had been a popular abbot at Peterborough whose monks were sorry to see Ernulf depart.⁶ As bishop, Ernulf took little part in the affairs of the kingdom but dedicated himself to Rochester Cathedral and its priory. Contemporaries certainly regarded him as a defender of the monks and the inheritor of Gundulf:⁷

Ibi quamvis omnia iam facta viderentur (praevenerat enim vivacitas Gundulfi omnium successorum diligentiam) tamen semper aliquid comminisci, ubi virtus enitescere posset, firmare antiqua, moliri recentia.

There is evidence of improvements in two aspects of the life of the priory during Ernulf's rule, namely in building and in learning.

1. Epp. Anselmi, nos. 314, 330, 381 and 374.

2. Ibid., no. 310

3. Ibid., nos. 289, 291, 312, 332, 335, 355, 357.

4. Ibid., nos. 307, 331, 357, 349.

5. Ibid., nos. 331, 374, 380.

6. Mellows, W.T., The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, 1949, p.90.

7. G.P., p.138

As at Peterborough, Ernulf was responsible for the extending and improvement of the church and conventual buildings, carrying on where Gundulf left off. To Ernulf is attributed the refectory, dorter and chapter house.¹ This is borne out by the Textus which contains several documents of land exchanges between Ernulf and local Rochester residents which meant an extension of the cathedral precinct and room for conventual buildings.² The new cloister was built in a most unusual position on the south side of the presbytery instead of the nave. The strongest evidence, which can be seen to this day, that Ernulf was responsible for the cloister is the diaper pattern moulding on the chapter house wall like that of the side wall of the north entrance to the crypt at Canterbury cathedral which was certainly built by Ernulf.³ Ernulf also altered the church beginning at the East end where the lozenge shape moulding on the present wall is further evidence of Ernulf's hand. He completed the nave of the church in a most unusual fashion. The nave aisles were roofed above, instead of below, the tribune arcade, so there is no gallery on the tribune storey. The tribune arcade is just an open tier of arches like a viaduct.

The second improvement which occurred during Ernulf's episcopate relates to monastic culture. It is to his episcopate that the two surviving written products of the community are assigned, the Vita Gundulfi and the Textus Roffensis, the two chief sources for the early history of the priory. It has been shown already that the Vita was written by a contemporary of Gundulf,⁴ but the date of the work can be defined even more closely. The author does not end his account with the death of Gundulf but goes on to recount a vision of Ernulf which he must have heard from the bishop himself. In this vision, Ernulf saw Gundulf offering him the episcopal ring which was regarded by the author as evidence that Ernulf was the rightful heir of Gundulf.⁵ Ernulf is the last bishop mentioned in the Vita so clearly it was written during his episcopate.

1. Haddenham's Chronicle, ed. H. Wharton, Anglia Sacra, 1691, p.342.

2. Textus, f.190^v, 192^v, 193

3. Boase, T.S.R., English Art, Oxford History of English Art, vol. III, Oxford, 1953, p.60.

4. See above, p.2.

5. V.G., 48

The date of the Textus Roffensis is not so clear but it has long been associated with Ernulf on account of a fourteenth century inscription in the manuscript suggesting that Ernulf was responsible for its compilation.¹ Part of the Textus consists of law codes which could reflect Ernulf's known interest in canon law. There is, moreover, strong paleographical evidence which establishes a connection between the Textus and Ernulf. A list of bishops in the first volume of the manuscript is written in the main hand down to Archbishop Ralph, who died in 1122 but thereafter the list is in a different hand.² It appears that the Textus was close to completion at that date which is near the end of Ernulf's episcopate. This probability is confirmed by the fact that the latest documents in the main hand are those of Bishop Ernulf.

The contents of the Textus reveal that the priory and the bishop were working in close co-operation. Although it is traditionally associated with the bishop, the Textus served the interests of the priory, not the bishop. Most of the post-Conquest charters in the Textus are addressed to the monks but some are addressed to the church of Rochester or the church of St. Andrew to whom the cathedral was dedicated, which could refer to the bishop or the monks. In fact, though, all the post-Conquest grants recorded in the Textus refer to manors which after the division of the mensa were in the hands of the monks. Thus there is a record of the acquisition of Denton, Fawkham, Stoke, Frackenhams and Wouldham,³ gained at the Penenden Heath trial or soon afterwards, and of the grants by William Rufus of Lambeth and Haddenham.⁴ Two of the bishop's manors are mentioned but in both cases there is a connection with the priory. Stone came to the see as a result of the conversion of its owner to the religious life at the priory⁵ and the land given to Godfrey Talebot is mentioned because there is a reference to the priory's ownership of tithes.⁶

Little is recorded of the bishop's manors in the post-Conquest section of the Textus, except when connected with the priory's, and little is mentioned of the bishop's activities as a diocesan although one or two personal acquisitions are, for example,

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1. Textus, f. 1 Textus Roffensis per Ernulfum episcopum. See Liebermann, F., "Notes on the Textus Roffensis", Arch. Cant., vol. xxiii, 1898, pp.101-112.
 2. Ker, N.R., English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest, Oxford, 1960, p.31 (henceforward English MSS)
 3. Textus, fos. 168-71
 4. Textus, fos. 211-12
 5. Textus, f.213^V
 6. Textus, fos. 187-202

Gundulf's receiving a house in London.¹ The inclusion of this grant could be justified because it was an act of Gundulf, the individual, not Gundulf, the bishop. The activities of the bishop as a diocesan were not the concern of the priory but since the bishop was a monk, anything relating to him as a person was included in the Textus. Thus the Textus was a compilation of the priory but this does not exclude the possibility that Bishop Ernulf gave a lead in the task.

Being monks themselves, the first bishops of Rochester identified with the priory. The corollary of this was that the monks considered the bishop as one of themselves. This unity maintained by Gundulf could not endure, particularly once a secular cleric was appointed bishop. The first sign of change was the appointment of the archdeacon of Canterbury, John of Sééz, a secular cleric, to the Rochester see. Simply because he was a secular, it must have been necessary to modify the living arrangements at the priory since the bishop could not have lived with the monks and, indeed, Bishop John is the first bishop of whom it is specifically stated that he lived separately from the monks.² Bishop John added to the prestige of Rochester Cathedral by having the relics of the first Anglo-Saxon bishop, St. Ithamar translated.³ Unfortunately, at the end of his episcopate there was a large fire in the cathedral which destroyed the church and the conventual buildings with the consequence that the monks were temporarily dispersed.⁴ In the meantime the priory was deprived of both land and privileges.⁵

1. Textus, f.210^v

2. Haddenham's Chronicle, B.L., Cott. Nero D.ii, f.113.

3. Miracula S. Ithamari, ed. D. Bethel, Analecta Bollandiana, vol. 89, 1971, pp.421-37, esp. pp.431-2.

4. Regesta, vol. II, no. 1728

5. B.L., Cott. Dom. A.xii, f.123^v = Reg. Roff. pp.6, 37 and 40. A second Bishop John was undoubtedly in charge of the Rochester see between the first Bishop John, who died in 1137, and Bishop Ascelin, elected in 1142. He was probably John, Bishop of Sééz, and was appointed merely as a caretaker of the see while the priory and cathedral were rebuilt. He issued one charter, Reg. Roff., p.37 and is referred to in another, Reg. Roff., p.8. See Saltmann, A., E.H.R., vol. lxvi, 1957, pp.71-5.

When the monks returned in 1142 after their enforced dispersal, they were naturally intent on regaining their lost lands and privileges lost so recently to the bishops of Rochester. The new bishop at this time was Ascelin, the last monastic bishop of Rochester, a fact which did nothing to mitigate the disputes between himself and the priory. His episcopate marks the end of the era when bishop and priory were as one, and the disputes of this period foreshadowed the prolonged and bitter disputes between the priory and Bishop Gilbert Glanville during the last fifteen years of the century. The main difference between these disputes and the later ones was that Ascelin was eventually forced, after a visit to the Curia and a judgement by a papal legate, to make restoration to the monks, which the later bishops were not obliged to do. The disputes during Ascelin's rule, as later, centred on the presentation of vicarages on priory manors, the possession of certain manors and churches and the appointment of priory servants.

Thus there is a record of Ascelin's confirmation to the monks of their possession of certain manors and their right of presentation to vicarages on those manors. Another surviving charter records the return of the churches of Boxley, Aylesford, Southfleet and St. Nicholas to the monks which had been taken over temporarily by Bishop John. The monks had to wait until 1145 for the return of the manors of Lambeth and Haddenham, adjudged to them by the papal legate to England, Imarus.¹ The same legate ended the third cause of dispute between bishop and priory, namely the appointment of priory servants. It is clear that the priory servants were not necessarily those of the bishop, and the monks objected to Ascelin appointing them without regard for their wishes. The legate found in favour of the monks and ordered Ascelin to rescind the appointments he had made in the priory and restore the monks' choice.²

The separate interests of the monks and bishop so much in evidence during Ascelin's episcopate were never totally reconciled and united as they had been previously. Even though the priory was not in dispute with its bishop until the end of the century, both priory and bishop had developed separate identities, a trend which became very

1. Textus, f.203^v

2. Haddenham's Chronicle, B.L., Cott. Nero D.ii, f.113

clear under the next bishop, Walter, Theobald's brother, formerly archdeacon of Canterbury, whose rule lasted twenty eight years. The records of his episcopate reveal that this is a new era in the relationship between priory and bishop in which the bishop organised his affairs quite separately from the priory. The evidence for this comes from the extant episcopal acta of which a considerable number survive, thirteen in all,¹ which is in itself, evidence of an improved chancery organisation distinct from the priory scribes.

These acta provide evidence of an extensive episcopal household. For the first time, there appear on these charters a number of officials, hitherto unknown at Rochester. In addition to the usual chaplain, Bishop Walter had in regular attendance a 'magister'² and another clerk, sometimes specified as a notary.³ A dean also occurs as a witness occasionally.⁴ Undoubtedly, Bishop Walter was extending the household organisation, and that of the diocese; an archdeacon had existed at Rochester even in the time of Gundulf and now these were appointed regularly.⁵ The appearance of a magister could be linked with an attempt to introduce at Rochester the cathedral organisation associated with secular cathedrals which consisted most frequently of an archdeacon, treasurer, magister and precentor. On the other hand, the title 'magister' may simply reflect academic attainment not a position in the diocesan hierarchy. Either way, the appearance of 'magister' represents the arrival of a new quality of person at Rochester.

In addition to the appearance of individuals with academic titles or new official positions, there is a marked refinement in the administrative organisation. By this date, the bishop had at least one or two clerks who wrote out documents for him and thus constitute a chancery. All the acta are written, not in book hand, as previously, even under Ascelin, but in chancery hand. Moreover, the wording of these documents is more pompous. The bishop is described as 'minister humilis', or even, following curial

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1. Cott. Dom. A.x, f.127^v, 128, 154^v, 155; Royal 5 A.iv, f.204, Reg. Hamo, p.12, 16, 42, 45; Register of John Fisher, f.95^v, 97, 97^v, 89.
 2. Reg. Hamo, p.42 and Reg. Roff., p.327.
 3. B.L., Cott. Dom. A.x, f.128 and Reg. Hamo, p.42. 4. Reg. Hamo, p.16.
 5. An Archdeacon Anshetillus witnesses some of Gundulf's charters, the false ones, DRc T.47 and T.57. Anshetillus is also mentioned in several grants in the Textus, e.g. f.196, but as Archdeacon of Canterbury. He may be an archdeacon of Canterbury but there was another archdeacon there, William. c.f. Smith, R.A.L., "The Place of Gundulf in the Anglo-Norman Church", Collected Papers, 1947, p.95.

practice, 'episcopus divina miseratione'. The dispositive clause is introduced by one of several phrases, 'Notum sit ...', 'Sciatis me ...', or, again in line with the papal chancery, 'ea propter ...'¹ Furthermore, Walter's episcopate sees the first occurrence at Rochester of the *inspeximus*. This was a new type of document, giving authority to earlier charters, of which the earliest known example in England was issued by Archbishop Theobald.² Clearly these documents are produced by well trained clerks working in an episcopal chancery. Officials and clerks, trained before they arrived at Rochester, established themselves under Bishop Walter and were never to depart. The bishop, by this time, obviously lived in a different world from the monks of the priory, a division which would not have been envisaged by earlier bishops, particularly Gundulf and Ernulf. It is therefore sensible to end the chronological scope of this study of the community at the end of Ascelin's episcopate and before Walter's.

During the first phase of its existence Rochester cathedral priory was a fervent Benedictine community united under its monastic bishop, a fact which distinguishes this phase in the history of the community from subsequent periods. Moreover, as is now evident, this early period is also one of the best documented parts of the cathedral's history. And among the original sources surviving is a remarkable document, a library catalogue, the earliest catalogue known to be extant. It is indeed fortunate that the library catalogue relates to a period in the cathedral's history which is well documented since this means that it is possible to study the books belonging to the priory in the context of particular events and individuals. By concentrating on a particular catalogue in a particular place at a formative period, many interesting questions can be investigated, as will emerge in the course of the next chapter.

1. e.g. B.L., Cott. Dom. A.x, f.127^v, 154^v = Reg. Hamo, p.95.

2. *Ibid.*, p.42. See Cheney, C.R., English Bishops' Chanceries, Manchester, 1950, pp.90-96.

II Scholarship and Books : the Value of Rochester Cathedral Library

a The Context of Learning : Continental Scholarship

In order to understand the significance of the library at Rochester Cathedral, it is first necessary to fill in the cultural background of the period when the library was established. The library was begun within a few years of the foundation of the priory,¹ that is during the last twenty years of the eleventh century, a time of change in the realm of scholarship. Interesting as these changes are, these cannot be discussed in full here but it is appropriate to attempt to show how learning in England differed from that on the Continent. Once the different trends in English and Continental learning have been outlined, it will become clear that Rochester Cathedral, because of geographical and historical circumstances, was likely to be in close contact with the most recent developments in Continental scholarship.²

During the eleventh century there was renewed interest on the continent of Europe in the artes, in law and in theology and growth in the application of dialectic to old texts. Famous scholars in the first two subjects had flourished at the beginning of the eleventh century, namely Fulbert of Chartres and Burchard of Worms, although their work was not much known in England. And these scholars did not study in isolation: Fulbert had followers in France.³ Cathedral schools and advanced study flourished in

1. See below, p. 83.

2. For the general background, see:- Reynolds, L.D. and Wilson, N.G., Scribes and Scholars, 1968. Lesne, E., Histoire de la Propriété Ecclésiastique en France, vol. 4 — Les Livres, Scriptoria et Bibliothèques, Paris, 1938, vol. 5 — Les Ecoles de la fin du viii^e siècle a la fin du xii^e siècle, Paris, 1940. Maitre, L., Les Ecoles episcopales et monastiques en Occident avant les universités, Paris, 1924. Matthew, D.J.A., The Norman Conquest, 1966. Barlow, F., The English Church 1000-1066, 1963, pp.277-87. Barlow, F., The English Church 1066-1154, 1979, pp.217-67. Rathbone, E., The Influence of Bishops and Members of Cathedral Bodies in the Intellectual Life of England 1066-1216, London Ph.D., 1936.

3. Southern, R.W., "Humanism and the School of Chartres", in Medieval Humanism and other essays, 1970, pp.61-85.

Liège and Cologne.¹ In Italy schools were a fact of life which seriously rivalled the monasteries offering opportunities which the religious vocation did not.²

The ferment in scholarship and the improvement in knowledge was keenly felt by Guibert of Nogent who, looking back from the beginning of the twelfth century, to his youth in the first half of the eleventh century, recorded that:³

"Erat paulo ante id temporis, et adhuc partim sub meo tempore, tanta grammaticorum charitas, ut in oppidis pene nullus in urbibus vix aliquis reperiri potuisset, et quos inveniri contigerat, eorum scientia tenuis erat, nec etiam moderni temporis clericulis vagantibus comparari poterat."

Not only had the number of those with a knowledge of grammar increased since his childhood, but also, the nature of learning had changed. Even those clerics who did not teach on a regular basis, the 'clericali vagantes', were more learned than the few masters who were teaching when Guibert was young. Evidently, they had studied beyond Grammar, the first stage in an artes curriculum, continuing with other subjects of the trivium and quadrivium: dialectic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music.

This advanced scholarship reached Normandy from other parts of France. The region soon gained a reputation for learning through the influence of Lanfranc who had studied the liberal arts and law in the best schools in Italy.⁴ In order to improve the income of the house, Lanfranc c.1057 opened a school at the abbey of Bec for non-novices and in return for his teaching, the families of the pupils granted lands to the abbey.⁵ Although there were several schools in Normandy at this period, at Rouen and Bayeux, for example, the school at Bec attracted a large number of pupils, some of whom travelled a long distance to be there, including Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, at this date still a canon

1. Orderic Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, ed. M. Chibnall, vol. IV, 1973, p.118.
2. Peter Damian in the mid-eleventh century tried to assert the superiority of the monastery over the school: 'Hoc mihi non mediocriter placuit quod ibi scholas puerorum, qui saepe rigorem sanctitas enervant, non inveni.' P.L. Vol. 145, col. 621.
3. P.L. Vol. 156, col. 844. The most recent translator of this work has observed that 'charitas' should read as 'raritas'. See C.C. Swinton Bland, The Autobiography of Guibert, 1925, p.17.
4. Vita Lanfranci, ed. J.A.Giles, Lanfranci Opera Omnia, Oxford, 1844, p.281
5. Ibid., p.290

in Beauvais, and the future Pope Alexander II, and, of course, Anselm. Gilbert Crispin may have been over-stating his case but his description of the school was based on some truth:¹

"Rumor ut hoc factum prodidit et longe lateque protulit, et fama viri praeclarissima, Beccum et abbatem Herluinum brevi per orbem terrarum extulit; accurrunt clerici, ducum filii nominatissimi, scholarum latinitatis magistri, laici potentes alta nobilitate viri multi pro ipsius amore multas eidem ecclesiae terras contulere ..."

Since some of the students were ordained clerks and Latin teachers, it is evident that Lanfranc's school embraced advanced learning. This is borne out by Orderic Vitalis who adds the information that the main subjects of study were the liberal arts and exegesis, known as the sacred page,² "Ingens in aecclesia Beccensi liberalium artium et sacrae lectionis sedimen per Lanfrancum coepit ut per Anselmum magnifice crevit ..."

Clearly this was a school where advanced scholarship was encouraged but it is not certain how long it was in existence, for all that Orderic considered that it grew under Anselm, after Lanfranc had departed for Caen. Undoubtedly, Anselm was capable of maintaining a school although he had not previously taught in the schools and did not have the reputation of Lanfranc. By 1073 the church at Bec had been completed so the *raison d'etre* of the school no longer existed, for the abbey was no longer poor. Besides, Anselm himself was clear that a monastery offered a different life from the schools. In a letter to Ernulf, later Bishop of Rochester, but at this time a monk at Beauvais, he warns Ernulf against changing monasteries in search of better students:³

"nec locum ubi vos aliis prodesse aliosque instruere, sed ubi vos per alios proficere et ab aliis ad spiritualem militiam instrui possitis, eligatis ... Praeterea quod studio scholarum vitam vestram, ex quo saeculo renunciastis, impenditis, nullatenus vobis expedire cognoscetis, si et vestri finem propositi, et quo exercitio illuc perveniatur consulitis."

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1. Gilbert Crispin, Vita Herluini, ed. J. A. Robinson, in Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster, 1911, p. 97.
 2. Orderic Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, ed. M. Chibnall, vol. II, 1969, p. 296, and see Gibson, M. T., Lanfranc of Bec, 1978, pp. 34-9, 197.
 3. Epistolae Anselmi, ed. F. S. Schmitt, 1946, no. 38.

Anselm dedicated his learning to the edification of his monks rather than of scholars and conversation with him must have been stimulating. The fact that Ernulf eventually moved to Bec is testimony to the quality of learning to be had there. After all, there were a number of monks at the abbey who had previously imbibed Lanfranc's teaching and were capable of absorbing Anselm's.

There were, of course, some particular texts which were closely connected with the contemporary learning of the Continent. The value of these texts was carefully considered by a monk, Haimeric, who at the end of the eleventh century expounded his theories in the Ars Lectoria.¹ The books he rated as valuable as gold were those of the Bible. In the second class, the books of silver, came the non-canonical books of the Bible and the works of Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, Cyprian, Hilary and the canons of the four great councils. In the third class were books of commentators, including Bede, Prudentius, Sedulius and Arator. In the fourth class were saints' lives, works of Origen and apocryphal books. Some saints' lives, however, had a higher rating, being in the silver class because they had apostolic authority. Haimeric lists separately the works of the Gentiles which he considers useful for the study of the liberal arts. The best authors were Terence, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Sallust, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal and Persius. Below these came Plautus, Ennius, Cicero, Varro, Boethius, Donatus, Priscian, Sergius, Varus and Plato. Cato, Homer and Aesop brought up the rear.

Interestingly, the catalogues which survive from eleventh century Normandy closely follow Haimeric's list in the religious section but not the classical part. Unfortunately, there is no Bec catalogue until the mid-twelfth century but there is an eleventh century catalogue from another Norman abbey, Fécamp.² It is a large collection of over sixty titles, most of which concern theology. A quarter of the titles qualify for Haimeric's silver class, as they are the works of Augustine, Jerome and Gregory, some of which are Biblical commentaries and some of which concentrate on other aspects of

1. Haimericus, Ars Lectoria, ed. C. Thurot, 'Documents relatifs à l'histoire de la grammaire au moyen âge', Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres : Comptes Rendus des séances de l'année 1870, n.s. vi. 242-51.

2. ed. H. Omont, Catalogue des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France: Départements, vol. 1, Rouen, 1886, pp.xxiv-v.

theology, for example, Augustine's 'de Trinitate', the letters of Jerome and Gregory and the latter's 'Dialogues' and 'Moralia'. Another quarter of the collection comprises Biblical commentaries of Bede, Haimo, Rabanus Maurus and Isidore, the third class in the 'Ars Lectoria'. The emphasis on theology, particularly patristic works, is in keeping with advances in contemporary scholarship.

By the mid-twelfth century, the Fécamp collection was huge, but contained as large a proportion as before of patristic works.¹ It consisted of nearly two hundred books, a substantial proportion of which were patristic works and now including writings of a controversial nature, such as Augustine 'contra Julianum' and Jerome 'contra Rufinum' and 'contra Iovinianum'. By this date, there appear in addition, several books by classical authors of the silver class, associated with the teaching of the artes, Boethius and Priscian. The Bec catalogue of the same date is remarkably similar to the Fécamp one.² The mid-twelfth century catalogue from Bec is difficult to evaluate not only because of its late date but also because it includes, in addition to the original library of the abbey, the personal collection of Philip Harcourt, Bishop of Bayeux, which he donated to Bec on his death.³ Subtracting the titles in the catalogue which also occur in the separate list of the Bishop's collection, it is possible to gain some idea of the original contents of the Bec library although this does not allow for the duplication of titles in the abbey's library and the private collection. Even so, it is clear that the Bec library approached a hundred books in which the emphasis is on theology and biblical exegesis. A third of the works in the list are by Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose and Gregory and another ten or so are biblical commentaries, bringing the total number of theological works to half the collection. The other titles are mainly saints' lives and treatises on the monastic life and, not surprisingly, the works of Lanfranc and Anselm. There are a few Latin authors including Seneca, Ovid, Macrobius and Martianus Capella.

Undoubtedly, on the Continent during the eleventh century scholarship was expanding. The numbers at schools were increasing and the subjects studied were

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1. ed. H. Omont, Catalogue des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France: Départements. vol. I, 1886, pp. xxv-xxvii.
 2. Ibid., vol. II, 1888, pp. 385-98.
 3. Gibson, M. T., Lanfranc of Bec, 1978, p. 202.

broadened to embrace all the liberal arts plus theology and law. The developments in scholarship may possibly be most closely associated with cathedrals and towns, but the example of Bec shows that advanced learning was available still in the monastic environment. Through Lanfranc and Bec, the Normans were in touch with the developments of scholarship on the Continent. It is interesting to compare these interests with those of their contemporaries in pre-Conquest England.

b The Context of Learning — pre-Conquest England

The fact that there are so few references to scholarship in England before 1066, has been used as an argument for the ignorance of the Anglo-Saxon clergy. The argument from silence is not convincing but if the few references which do exist are examined, it is evident that although the Anglo-Saxon clergy were educated, they were not in close contact with Continental developments.

Undoubtedly, the tenth century monastic reform had led to an improvement in education in England and had produced some outstanding scholars of which the second generation was still active in the early eleventh century. Both Aelfric, abbot of Eynsham, and Archbishop Wulfstan of York were important scholars and had been keen to improve the education of monks and priests. Aelfric wrote several scholarly works on the Bible, astronomy and grammar, as well as saints' lives and homilies.¹ He produced a Latin grammar with a vernacular translation in an effort to improve the Latinity of the clergy. The set of homilies was designed for the use of parish priests, providing them with sermons throughout the year which were in the vernacular, an admission that the majority of priests could not translate Latin accurately. His reason for translating the homilies from Latin, he explained as follows:²

"Because I have seen and heard of much error in many English books, which unlearned men, through their simplicity have esteemed as

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1. Barlow, F., The English Church 1000-1066, 1963, p.281, and Clemons, P.A.M., "The Chronology of Aelfric's Works", The Anglo-Saxons, 1959, pp.212-47.
 2. Thorpe, B., ed., Aelfric's Homilies, 1844, p.3.

great wisdom : and I regretted that they knew not nor had heard not the evangelical doctrines among their writings, those men only excepted who knew Latin, and those books which King Alfred wisely turned from Latin to English which are to be had ..."

Aelfric was the scholar who produced the materials for learning, while Archbishop Wulfstan was the able administrator and diocesan who wished to improve standards among the clergy. He wrote homilies and a commonplace book for the use of the clergy and produced an important scholarly work in the Institutes of Polity.¹ His concern for good government and the recognition that churchmen were a part of government led him to compile a collection of canons, known as the Canons enacted under King Edgar, which were to be implemented in the province of York.² Apart from these two individuals, there are no original minds in England between 1000 and the arrival in 1070 of Lanfranc. Of course, there were bishops who were themselves educated, notably Leofric of Exeter, Wulfstan of Worcester and Giso of Wells, but they did not produce original works, as Aelfric and Wulfstan of York had done.

Between the tenth century reform and the Norman Conquest, then, there is little information about the nature of scholarship in England. It should be borne in mind, however, that there were many places where a basic Latin education could be obtained. The life of Wulfstan shows that education was available both in the ancient abbeys, even for a boy who did not wish to be a monk, and in an episcopal household. The tenth century reformers, inspired as they were by Carolingian models, must have been familiar with the rule of Chrodegang and Charlemagne's decrees relating to education. These included a decree ordering all abbeys to maintain a school for oblates and another ordering parents to educate their children either in a monastery in preparation for the monastic vocation or under a parish priest. In some places, as a result of this decree, abbeys established two schools, one for oblates and one for other pupils or, alternatively, taught oblates and other pupils at the same time. Bishop Aethelwold of Winchester almost

1. Barlow, F., The English Church 1000-1066, 1963, p.283. Whitelock, D., "Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman", in Essays in Medieval History, ed. R.W. Southern, 1968, pp.42-60.

2. Barlow, F., op. cit., pp.138-9.

certainly established two schools in his cathedral priory¹ and a similar system was established at Ramsey by Abbo who had come over from Fleury which is known to have had two schools. Such schools were maintained well into the eleventh century to judge from the example of Wulfstan of Worcester.²

In addition, an elementary education could be obtained from a parish priest. The Canons of Edgar from the early eleventh century, included a regulation against parish priests who took charge of a pupil who had previously been taught by another priest.³ Either pupils were so rare that a priest who lost a pupil might lose a major source of income or scholar priests were so common that there was strong rivalry in the profession. The latter possibility seems unlikely because the evidence of Anglo-Saxon law codes suggests that the scholar priest had a rarity value; he constituted a separate and more expensive category of *wergild*. That these two alternatives in education were maintained in the eleventh century is supported by the chronicler Hermann of Bury, a youth in the 1030s, who later recorded King Cnut's patronage of learning which took the following forms:⁴

"Nec praetereundum silentio hic rex bonus quid elemosinae fecerit modo, videlicet sicubi monasteria vel castella nominata petiit, clericali et monastico ordini ex suo sumptu pueros docendos tradidit non quos invenerat de libertinis, verum ex elegantioribus de paupertinis. Quosdam etiam sic incedens regio more liberos

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1. Graham, R., 'The Intellectual Influence of English Monasticism between the Tenth and the Twelfth Centuries', English Ecclesiastical Studies, 1921, pp.151-4. There is mention in the "Regularis Concordia" of a 'magister scholae', ed. T. Symons, 1953, pp.8, 48.
 2. Wulfstan was educated at the abbeys of Evesham and Peterborough although he was not an oblate. He later completed his training in the household of the Bishop of Worcester and only after he had been ordained did he become a monk. ed. R.R. Darlington, Vita Wulfstani, Camden 3rd ser. vol. xl, 1928, pp.4-8.
 3. Barlow, F., The English Church 1000-1066, 1963, p.278, and Leach, A.F., Educational Charters and Documents, 1911, p.35.
 4. Arnold, T., ed., Memorials of St. Edmund, R.S.96, 1890, pt. I, p.46.

dabat propria manus datione, reminiscens paginae divinae, de pulvere egenum suscitare, pauperemque de stercore erigere." 1

Able poor boys were thus sent to monks or priests to learn.

There was plenty of opportunity, then, for boys to gain a basic education but there were no centres which had a reputation for advanced learning, not even the metropolitan cathedrals. At Canterbury, Dunstan had been surrounded by learned men but there is no evidence that there was a school at Canterbury which endured after Dunstan's death.² At York Aldred did much to revive the canonical life but there is nothing to suggest that the canons provided more than a preliminary education.³ In the last decade or so before the Conquest, a few colleges of canons, notably Ripon and Beverley, were established and it is possible that they were centres for more advanced scholarship. Details are lacking and later evidence points to the likelihood that they only provided elementary education. The one foundation for which there is some evidence of advanced study is Waltham, founded by Harold Godwin in 1060.⁴ It consisted of twelve canons under a dean and a Master Athelard of Liège, which boasted several famous schools. Nothing is known of the teaching given by Master Athelard but he is the sole datable example between 1000 and 1066 of direct contact, between English and European schools.

This exhausts the documentary evidence relating to schools in pre-Conquest England, but there are several book-lists which furnish another source for assessing the extent and nature of scholarship. These must be used with great caution because the number of extant catalogues is too small compared with the number of abbeys and cathedrals to give a complete picture of the texts available over the whole of England. Even a particular catalogue connected with an individual centre is not necessarily an exhaustive list of all the books available there. Liturgical books, for example, may

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1. 1 Sam. 2,8.
 2. Stubbs, W., Memorials of St. Dunstan, R.S. 63, 1874, p. lvi, and Arnold, T., ed. Memorials of St. Edmund, op. cit., pt. 1, p. 3.
 3. Raine, J., ed., Historians of the Church of York, R.S. 71, 1879, pt. II, p. 353.
 4. Stubbs, W., ed., The Foundation of Waltham Abbey: Tractatus de Inventione S. Crucis, 1861, p. 15 (and 35) — an unreliable source for it was written in the late twelfth century.

have been omitted because they were not kept in a library cupboard but in the church, and isolated items may not be included on a list because at the time of compilation, that particular volume was not in the cupboard but being read. Nevertheless, it is possible to characterise a collection by the type of books which occur in a book list and draw conclusions about the range of interests revealed by such a list.

There are no proper extant library catalogues for the pre-Conquest period but there are two lists of donations of manuscripts by individuals to libraries and a list of books in a general inventory of property. These are the gift of Abbot Seiworld of Bath to St. Vaast in Arras, after his flight from England soon after 1066, the gift of Bishop Leofric of Exeter to his cathedral chapter before 1072, and a list of books at Bury St. Edmund's in the time of Abbot Leofstan 1044-65.

The earliest of these, the record of books at Bury¹ is short and lacking in detail. It consists entirely of liturgical books — missals, psalters, lectionaries — a capitulary and a life of St. Edmund. There is also the tantalising statement that Abbot Leofstan had another thirty books elsewhere exclusive of church books. If only these titles had been listed!

The other lists are longer and much fuller. Even so, Bishop Leofric's donation to Exeter cathedral² contains a number of service books, missals, psalters, benedictionals, hymnaria, song books, an antiphoner and a troper. There are also several books which are of practical use to the cathedral clerk, a penitential, book of canons, a set of homilies and a martyrologium. In addition to these, are many interesting titles by Christian and classical authors. The Christian authors are Isidore and Bede, who are represented by Biblical commentaries and there is a later work, the 'de Officiis' on the liturgy written by Amalarius and the inevitable Pastoralis of Gregory the Great. Then there are the purely classical authors, Persius and Statius. And there are other works by late antique authors who were Christian, Boethius, Prudentius, Sedulius, and Arator.

1. James, M.R., On the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1895, vol. 1, p.6.

2. Forster, M., The Exeter Book, 1933, pp.25-9. Lloyd, L.J., "Leofric as Bibliophile", in Leofric of Exeter, ed. F. Barlow, 1972, pp.32-42.

This assortment is rather different from the Norman collections which lacked classical authors and were dominated by patristic works.¹ Comparing Leofric's choice with Haimeric's 'Ars Lectoria' the bishop has good taste in classical authors but was only interested in Christian authors of the third and fourth classes.

The list of Abbot Seiwold's books is the most organised of all the lists.² It is specifically a book list in which each manuscript is given a title, albeit only one title although there were often several works within one manuscript. It is partly a private, partly a community, collection built up at Bath before he transferred the books to S. Vaast, Arras, c.1068. Since all but two of the surviving manuscripts are in Continental script, the list must represent Seiwold's interests but not necessarily the books which were generally read in Anglo-Saxon England. It contains 33 titles, only two of which are liturgical books. The emphasis of the rest of the collection is in line with St. Benedict's suggestions for reading, that is saints' lives, devotional writings and some of the works of the Fathers. The two largest works are the 'Moralia' and 'Dialogues' of St. Gregory the Great. There are also some short works by other patristic authors, three by Ambrose and one by Augustine. In this list, as in the others, there are several works by Bede, including his commentary on the Catholic Epistles, as well as his 'Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum' and the devotional writings of Benedict and some saints' lives, including the 'Vitae Patrum'. There are, moreover, several history books, one book of canons, one on medicine and Cassiodorus on orthography. There are several books by late antique authors, Prudentius and Sedulius.

Seiwold possessed books from Haimeric's second class, patristic texts, a class almost absent from Leofric's donation. Both men shared interests in the third and fourth classes of Haimeric, that is Biblical commentaries and devotional writings. Unlike Leofric, however, Seiwold was not interested in classical authors. Seiwold's collection is thus more traditional in character than Leofric's for the emphasis is on theology and devotion without deviation to the classics. On the other hand, the occurrence of the patristic works points to new developments in theology although the specific titles are not the central works of the Fathers.

1. See above, pp.40-41.

2. Grierson, P., "The Books of Abbot Seiwold of Bath", Revue Bénédictine, vol. 52 (1940), pp.107-11.

The evidence of these pre-Conquest Anglo-Saxon book lists is not contradicted by the evidence of surviving eleventh century pre-Conquest manuscripts.¹ It is often argued that the number of extant eleventh century manuscripts is so small, as a result of destruction by Vikings and Normans, that they are unrepresentative. Yet manuscripts from a few centres such as Christ Church and St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Exeter and Worcester, survive in large numbers. These extensive remains may be considered representative and it is interesting that, as in the book lists, the emphasis is on liturgical and devotional books with the addition of a few classical texts. Patristic texts, however, are few and far between.

c The Context of Learning : Post-Conquest Schools and Books in English Monasteries

With the influx of Norman monks into England after the Conquest, and the presence of the scholar monks, Lanfranc and Anselm as archbishops, it is to be expected that scholarship would be encouraged. A revival of learning was most likely to occur in the Benedictine abbeys and priories which received Norman monks and particularly in those communities which had personal connections with Lanfranc and Anselm. Specific examples of the revival of learning in the monastic environment are evident at Canterbury, St. Alban's, Norwich and Winchester.

At Christ Church, Canterbury, where Lanfranc and Anselm had direct influence, the two men went to great trouble to provide for the novices. Lanfranc sent some novices to Gundulf for training, Anselm sent Bec novices to Canterbury and Lanfranc sent Christ Church novices to Bec.² In addition to being trained in the way of obedience, these novices were taught grammar, the first subject in the liberal arts curriculum. At an early date, Lanfranc appointed Ernulf, later Bishop of Rochester, as the Christ Church 'grammaticus' or grammar teacher. When he was promoted to prior, he was replaced by Walter.³

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1. Ker, N.R., Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon, Oxford, 1957.
Bishop, T.A.M., English Caroline Minuscule, Oxford, 1971.
 2. Maurice, Richard, Moyses to Gundulf, Epp. Anselmi, nos. 34, 78, 91, 141.
Osbern to Bec, ibid., no. 39. Mauritius and Bosso to Canterbury, ibid., nos. 42, 43, 146.
 3. ibid., nos. 64, 309.

We learn these few facts about schooling at Christ Church, from Anselm's letters in which he encouraged the novices to read and attend to the study of grammar.¹

"Audiui quod legas a domno Arnulfo.
Audiui quoque quod ipsum /Ernulf/ multum valeat in declinatione,
et tu scis quia molestum mihi semper fuerit pueris declinare, unde
valde minus quam tibi expediret, scio te apud me in declinandi
scientia profecisse."

This was as early as 1077 but Anselm made similar exhortations c.1103 to his nephew, Anselm, whom he had sent to Canterbury specifically to prepare him for advanced scholarship and a successful career.²

"In declinatione et virtute grammaticae cognoscenda maxime
intende; in dictamine et plus in prosa quam in versibus, te
exerce."

These letters are vital evidence of the existence of a grammar master in charge of a body of pupils at Canterbury from the time of Lanfranc until near the close of Anselm's episcopate. This school had such a reputation that Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, sent one of his novices, Nicholas, there.³ Furthermore, the correspondence between Ernulf and the exiled Archbishop Anselm, shows that many clerics were attracted to Canterbury on account of its reputation for learning. These clerics were only permitted to remain, however, if they became novices, for in Anselm's view, grammar was only one part of a novice's training. His main concern was to bring up obedient monks.

Another place where Lanfranc had great influence was at St. Alban's which he put in charge of his nephew, Paul. He was a vigorous abbot who organised the abbey along the lines of Lanfranc's Constitutions and was active in acquiring land and buildings. The result of his labour, Matthew Paris tells us, was that⁴

"Unde bono odore famae haec ecclesia totam replevit regionem
et facta est quasi schola aliarum magistralis."

1. Epp. Anselmi, no. 64

2. Epp. Anselmi, no. 290

3. Vita Wulfstani, ed. R.R. Darlington, Camden 3rd ser., vol. li, 1928, p.57.

4. Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, ed. H.T. Riley, R.S. vol. 28 (1867), p.59.

Here was an abbey directed by a man of letters whose reputation rivalled that of a school with qualified masters. Its reputation was such that the next abbot was able to attract a secular cleric, Geoffrey of Maine, to teach there during his rule 1097-1119.¹ In the event, by the time Geoffrey arrived, the post had been filled — evidently a large number of applicants — so Geoffrey took his services to Dunstable, only later returning to St. Alban's.

Other monastic centres where study was encouraged were Norwich and Winchester. Herbert of Losinga writes letters which are full of classical allusions.² He seems to have taught several pupils himself, since he states that he had spent the previous year teaching them grammar and these pupils sent him examples of their work.³ The nature of his teaching seems to have changed later in life as the result of a dream in which Christ accused him of reading the wrong books.⁴ From this time he devoted himself to the study of sacred books and encouraged his pupils to do likewise⁵

"Abrenunciavi poetis et poetarum fabulis, nullisque eorum delector scurrilitatibus. Non est episcopi sedere in scena sed praedicare in ecclesia ... Modernos videte patres, Jeronimum, Augustinum, Ambrosium, Gregorium, aliosve sacrae fidei defensores, et invenietis eos non musarum cantu sed veritatis intellectu sanctam illustrasse ecclesiam."

Throughout his life, he, like Anselm, collected books, liturgical books, patristics, and classical texts.⁶

At Winchester, Bishop Walkelin tried to introduce canons into the cathedral chapter but the opposition proved too much for him.⁷ He himself engaged in the study of law at an advanced level, about which he communicated to Ernulf, the 'grammaticus' at Christ Church, some time after the latter had been promoted to prior, that is

1. Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, ed. H.T. Riley, R.S. 28, vol. i, p.73.
2. On Fécamp, see above pp.40-41.
3. Hereberti Losingae Epistolae, ed. R. Anstruther, (1846 re-issue 1969), nos. IX, XXIV, XLVII.
4. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, XXX, XXXII.
5. *Ibid.*, XXXII
6. *Ibid.*, X, XLVI, XLIII, V, XLV, XLIX respectively.
7. Gibson, M.T., Lanfranc of Bec (1978), p.183.

c.1096-1100.¹ There had been a flourishing scriptorium at Winchester but there are no records of a school. Despite Walkelin's failure to introduce canons, however, there was an important cathedral school there by the mid-twelfth century although it was under the charge of a secular cleric, not the monks.²

The revival of learning at the end of the eleventh century in these Benedictine abbeys and cathedrals is well attested by contemporary documentary sources. Another witness to the flourishing of scholarship in the monastic environment is the growth of libraries and the multiplication of manuscripts. A large number of manuscripts of this period survive, many of them originating at Christ Church, Durham, Rochester, Worcester and Winchester, the Benedictine cathedral priories, and St. Alban's and Bury St. Edmund's, the wealthy Benedictine houses.³ To judge from the sheer number of manuscripts from this period, it appears that Norman abbots were as active in book collecting as they were in church building.

In a community which observed the Consuetudines, compiled by Archbishop Lanfranc after his arrival in England, the library was an essential part of abbey furniture, and reading,⁴ as has been pointed out, a central element in the monastic routine. The Consuetudines refer to the 'custos librorum'⁵ who is later identified with the precentor. Moreover, there is an extended passage in the customs describing the precentor's task of distributing books to the community at the beginning of Lent. Benedict had laid down that during Lent each monk was to receive a book and make a special effort to read it right through.⁶ By Lanfranc's time, the distribution had become quite a ceremony.⁷ The 'custos librorum' was to bring all the books in his care to the chapter and lay them out on a carpet. Each monk was to return the book he had received the previous year and, if he had not read it, confess the fault. All the loaned books having been returned, the precentor distributed another book to each monk to be read during the following year.

1. Ernulf, De Incestis Coniugiis, P. L. vol. 154, col. 1457.

2. Millor, W. J. and Butler, H. E., ed., Letters of John of Salisbury (1955), no. 56.

3. See Ker, N. R., MLGB, and Ker, N. R., English MSS.

4. See above, p. 25.

5. MC, pp. 19 and 82.

6. 'Per ordinem ex integro legant', The Rule, ch. XLVIII.

7. MC, p. 19

It used to be thought that if all the books were to be laid out on a carpet in the chapter, the collection must have been rather small.¹ Yet, given the size of late eleventh century abbeys, and bearing in mind that there should have been at least one book for each monk, library collections must have been quite large. The books which the precentor laid out on the carpet at the beginning of the ceremony would only be a fraction of the total collection since each of the brethren still had in their possession the books they had borrowed at the previous Lent.

d The First Rochester Library

It has been shown that scholarship flourished in late eleventh century English religious houses and that learning was particularly encouraged in abbeys and cathedrals which had Norman monks or a Norman bishop, who were keen students and book collectors. Rochester Cathedral priory was established under conditions which were especially favourable to the growth of learning. Archbishop Lanfranc played a major part in the introduction of monks to Rochester and it is most likely that his 'Consuetudines' were observed there. Besides, the first leaders of the Rochester community were personal friends of both Lanfranc and Anselm. Gundulf shared an intimate correspondence with Anselm,² even after he came to England as Lanfranc's 'procurator'. The third bishop, Ernulf, was appointed 'grammaticus' by Lanfranc, and promoted to prior by Anselm.³ Ralph, the first prior, had corresponded with Anselm and was Lanfranc's personal chaplain at Caen and Canterbury.⁴

It is most fortunate, therefore, that thanks to the survival of the library catalogue and an abundance of contemporary documents and manuscripts, it is possible to study the scholarship and books of this particular centre in depth. Such a study will shed light on the impact of Norman monastic learning on an English house.

The first Rochester library catalogue, as has been stated, is among the documents in the 'Textus Roffensis'. Henceforward this will be referred to as the first Rochester

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1. Haskins, C.H., The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, Cambridge, Mass., 1927, p.71.
 2. Epp. Anselmi, nos. 4, 7, 28, 41, 78, etc.
 3. Epp. Anselmi, nos. 64, 286, 289, 291, 310, 312, 331 etc., and Southern, R.W., St. Anselm and his Biographer, Cambridge, 1963, pp.269-70.
 4. Epp. Anselmi, nos. 12, 13, 29; Textus, f.172.

catalogue or Catalogue I. Since this list of books is in the main hand, it can be dated, like the rest of the manuscript, to 1122-3, which makes it one of the two earliest English library catalogues in existence.¹ The only other English catalogue which is possibly of the same date is from Peterborough,² which is interesting, because Bishop Ernulf, during whose episcopate, the Rochester Catalogue I was compiled, had been abbot of Peterborough before he came to Rochester. The two catalogues are similar, but it is difficult to say how far this is due to the individual influence of Ernulf and is not simply a reflection of contemporary taste.

The completeness of the Rochester catalogue has been questioned because there is a blank space at the beginning of it and the first heading is not in a contemporary hand.³ Even if there are some leaves missing from the Textus immediately before the beginning of the extant catalogue, it does not mean that many book titles have been lost. The fact that some leaves have been lost may explain the total absence of liturgical books from the catalogue but since the first titles on the present list are works by St. Augustine, which usually appeared near the beginning of a catalogue, it is unlikely that many titles have been lost.⁴ Besides, given the large size of the collection which is listed, it is hardly possible that many titles were lost when a few folios of the Textus went missing. Despite a possible loss of book titles at the beginning of the catalogue, it nevertheless contains a sufficiently long list for comparison with other later complete catalogues.

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1. A third list of books, from Durham, survives from this period but it is only a fragment so it cannot be compared with the Peterborough and Rochester lists which are comprehensive catalogues, see Mynors, R.A.B., Durham Cathedral Manuscripts, 1939, p.10.
 2. James, M.R., Lists of Manuscripts formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library, Bibliographical Society Transactions, Supplement V, 1926, p.27.
 3. Knowles, D., The Religious Orders in England, vol. II, Cambridge, 1955, p.346. The whole chapter, pp.331-353 is extremely useful. See also Knowles, D., The Monastic Order in England, Cambridge, 1963, pp.487-527.
 4. Close examination of the quiring suggests that there may be three folios missing from the manuscript just prior to the commencement of the catalogue. Sawyer, P.H., Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vol. XI, 1962, p.12. It is unlikely that the catalogue covered all three missing folios. Dr. Ker thought only one folio was missing at this point, Ker, N.R., Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon, Oxford, 1957, no. 373.

The Rochester catalogue is distinguished from book lists of Anglo-Saxon England because it records the collection of the priory as a whole, not just one individual.¹ It is also different because it contains much more information than an inventory. To a limited extent, the catalogue was arranged according to author with the manuscripts whose first text is by Augustine in the appropriate section entitled 'Libri B. Augustini sunt isti'.² Similarly, there are separate sections for Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory and Bede. At the beginning or end of some of these sections are blank spaces, perhaps deliberately left to make room for additional books to be entered in the catalogue. The catalogue is far more than a shelf-list since it gives not only the title of the first text in each manuscript, but also all the succeeding works in the same manuscript. The users of the library thus knew exactly what texts were available. Such detail and organisation was most unusual at this early date and not matched by any other extant library catalogue until the fourteenth century.³

The catalogue bears witness to the desire among the brethren at Rochester for a large number of books and indicates an advanced level of learning at the priory. The list contains 93 items in all⁴ but that is an under-estimate of the number of texts since there were often several different works listed under one item in one manuscript. The most striking feature of the list, as suggested by the section headings mentioned above, is the predominance of the works of the four doctors of the Church. There are a large number of works by Augustine and Jerome, including those of a controversial nature, and a sizeable collection of the works of Ambrose and Gregory.⁵ They included books on doctrine as well as biblical commentaries. These authors make up over half the collection, which is highly significant, because it shows that the emphasis in the library is closer to the collections in Norman abbeys and Haimeric's list than those known in Anglo-Saxon England. Books common on the Continent and associated with contemporary Continental learning had somehow reached Rochester. And the similarity with Norman libraries is not only restricted to patristic authors. The Rochester library also contained

1. ed. Coates, Rev. P., *Catalogue of the Library of St. Andrew, Rochester*, Archaeologia Cantiana, vol. vi (1866), pp. 120 ff, henceforward Catalogue I.

2. cf the Fécamp catalogue, discussed above, pp.40-41.

3. Wormald, F. and Wright, C.E., The English Library before 1700, 1958, pp.25-6.

4. This figure excludes the items added in a later hand.

5. Catalogue I, pp.122-25.

the writings of more modern masters, including the letters of Ivo of Chartres, Lanfranc's letters and his treatise against Berengar as well as his customs, and Anselm's major work, 'Cur Deus Homo' and a short treatise of his on the Virgin.¹

Books of a more traditional nature which appear in the collection, and would have occurred in Anglo-Saxon collections, are the Biblical commentaries of Bede and Haimo and treatises by Carolingian authors, Alcuin, Paschasius Radbertus (on the Eucharist) and Amalarius who is represented, as usual, by his de Officiis. Devotional writings include the lives of the Fathers, a life of St. Martin and lives of the English saints Dunstan and Aelphege, as well as a Passionalia, a collection of Saints' lives. In addition, there are the writings of Cassian, his 'Institutiones' and 'Collationes'. Several books concern the ancient and essential art of astronomy, namely Bede's 'de Temporibus', and 'de Equinoctio' in combination with Alberic's 'de Compote', and Hyginus' 'de Spera Mundi'.² There are, however, only two books in Anglo-Saxon, a collection of laws, Institutiones Regum Anglorum', an accurate description of the first volume of the Textus Roffensis, and a set of sermons, probably a copy of Aelfric's, which is still extant.³

Quite a large number of books are concerned with history, ancient and less ancient. This group even includes the 'Historia Ecclesiastica' of Eusebius, a Greek, in the translation of Rufinus. There are also the massive works of the Jewish historian, Josephus, and the writings of Solinus.⁴ History relating to the period after the fall of Rome is represented by Paul the Deacon's 'Historia Langobardorum', a history of the Goths and, of course, Bede's 'Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum'. Recent history is taken into account for there is an anonymous history of the Normans.⁵

Two categories of library book which are absent are books on medicine and Classical texts. At least one book on medicine might be expected to appear, even if it was regarded as only a source of practical guidance for when any monk fell ill, but it is conceivable that such a book would be kept in the infirmary, not in the library. Only one classical author is mentioned, Priscian, the grammarian, but he is represented only by a minor work, his 'Periegesis', which was not the usual text for the teaching of grammar in a liberal arts curriculum. There are fewer Classical authors in this catalogue than in the

1. Catalogue I, pp.125, 122, 123, 127. 2. Ibid., pp.126-7

3. Ibid., p.126

4. Ibid., p.127

5. Ibid., p.126 except 'Historia Langobardorum', p.127.

donations by Leofric and Seiwold in the late Saxon period.

As mentioned above (p.53), another type of book which is completely omitted from the catalogue is anything connected with the liturgy. There are several books of homilies and sermons, suitable perhaps for reading in the refectory as well as in church. One Bible is mentioned in the section on St. Jerome because it was his translation. There is one benedictional but the books essential for the 'Opus Dei' such as psalters, missals and processional, let alone tropers and antiphonals for the music, are lacking, except for one solitary psalter, hardly sufficient for a community of sixty monks. Despite the omission of liturgical books from this list, it is known that the priory owned some.

The list of benefactions in the thirteenth century register lists several gifts of liturgical books which were evidently very beautiful and must have had an important part in the worship of the community.¹ According to this list, which is a reliable source, Gundulf gave the priory two missals, Ralph d'Escures gave a beautiful book with a gold cover containing the life of St. Andrew, the patron saint of the cathedral, and Ernulf donated a lectionary, a missal, a Benedictional and a capitulary. Such donations were expected of a bishop and were made by Rochester bishops later in the century² but since none of these gifts occur in any library catalogue, they must have been kept elsewhere, possibly in the care of the sacrist who was responsible for anything connected with the worship in the church.

The library catalogue does not provide an exhaustive list of all the books in the priory at any one time and it is therefore dangerous to argue from silence about what the priory did not possess. Not only does it lack information on liturgical books but it also excludes the private books of the bishop. Certainly, one manuscript which Gundulf is known to have owned, namely a copy of some of Anselm's prayers, does not appear in the list.³ In addition it is possible that some books were omitted from the catalogue in error because they were not in the book cupboard when the list was drawn

1. Printed in Reg. Roff., pp.120-121.

2. Bishop Ascelin gave the priory a psalter and Bishop Walter donated a set of Gospels bound in gold.

3. Epp. Anselmi, no. 28.

up or because they were on loan outside the priory. These omissions were few but they should be borne in mind when attempts are made to compare library catalogues too closely.

The first catalogue of Rochester cathedral library provides the historian with a uniquely detailed picture of a monastic library at a very early date. The library was established before the growth of the universities and the consequent appearance of study handbooks, including glosses and sentence collections,¹ yet it contains the patristic texts which were the basis of those handbooks and the core of any respectable library through the Middle Ages. From the list of the texts available in the monastery, it is clear that Rochester cathedral priory, with its 93 items, offered as many texts as any other centre of learning could hope to provide and was particularly well equipped for the study of theology.

The value of these texts endured and even survived the Dissolution intact. Of the 93 items in the first catalogue, at least 49 manuscripts are extant. This survival is quite remarkable. It means that conclusions about the common features of the manuscripts can be based on a large proportion of the original library and are more reliable than conclusions for other libraries where the evidence is drawn from a much smaller number of extant books. Although Winchester and St. Alban's were more important artistic centres, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the general style and the sources of their books because so few twelfth century manuscripts, beautiful though they were, have been preserved.² The survival rate of manuscripts from Christ Church, Canterbury, is better, at least 161 manuscripts, but this is less than half the library there, which was huge. From the other early library catalogue, Peterborough, only thirteen out of over sixty titles survive. The fifty per cent survival rate of twelfth century manuscripts, as has occurred at Rochester, is thus unique.

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1. c.f. the mid-twelfth century catalogues from Reading and Lincoln. Barfield, S., "Lord Fingall's Cartulary of Reading Abbey", *E.H.R.*, vol. iii (1888), pp.113-25, and Woolley, R.M., Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, Oxford, 1927, pp.v-ix.
 2. See the lists in MLGB.

e Later Rochester Library Catalogues

The continuing importance of the original collection can be established from an examination of the later records relating to the Rochester library. There are two later catalogues and two later book lists which give more information on the library and allow us to see the first collection in perspective. The next document, after Catalogue I consists of fragments of a library catalogue, which were only discovered recently in the lining of a seal bag when the chapter archives were transferred to the custody of Kent County Archive Office.¹ This catalogue, following Dr. Ker's terminology, will be described as Catalogue I.a. There are two small pieces of parchment, written on both sides, which appear to have been cut down on all four sides from the original sheet, to judge from the fact that words are cut off at the beginning and end of each line. Obviously, much of the record has been lost but they are worth examining because they can be dated fairly closely. The script shows that they belong to the twelfth century but the fact that it mentions Peter Lombard's 'Sententiae' means that it was compiled some time after 1160. It therefore represents the state of the collection between the first catalogue, Catalogue I of 1122-23, and the second full catalogue, Catalogue II, which is dated 1202.

Catalogue II is cramped on to one folio at the end of the library books, an early twelfth century manuscript, rather appropriately, Augustine's 'de Doctrina Christiana'.² Most of the catalogue is the work of two scribes, one of whom wrote the following note at the top of the list:

"MCII hoc est scrutinium librarii nostri"

Hence the date of this catalogue, 1202, is beyond all doubt.³ In this catalogue the books are divided into six sections; the books of St. Andrew, the 'commune librarium',

1. MLGB, Rochester, p.160. Rochester Dean and Chapter Archives, Z.18/1-2.
2. ed. Rye, W.B., "Catalogue of the Library of Rochester Priory", Archaeologia Cantiana, vol. iii (1860), pp.54-61.
3. Thompson, S.H., Latin Bookhands of the Later Middle Ages, Cambridge, 1969, pl.88, and Watson, A.G., Catalogue of dated and datable Manuscripts c.700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, the British Library, 1979.

the 'librarium in Archa Cantoris', the collections of M. Hamo and of Alexander, cantor, and of Robert, Prior of Walton. This list contains 241 titles compared with 93 in the first catalogue. Of these, 42 possibly belonged to individuals so 199 belonged with certainty to the priory, but even this total is over twice as many titles as in Catalogue I.

Catalogue II can be supplemented with another thirteen century list of books which were supposedly written or acquired by Alexander the precentor.¹ Twenty books of this same Alexander were added to Catalogue II in a hand which is later than those of 1202 under the heading, 'Alexander huius ecclesiae quondam cantor'.² In other words, the books were added to Catalogue II after Alexander's death. The supplementary list, which will be referred to as Catalogue II.a, is on the fly-leaf of another literary manuscript and is written in a hand which is different from any of those appearing in Catalogue II. The final phrase of this list indicates that it was written after Alexander's death, too:

"Anima eius per misericordiam dei requiescat in pace."

Catalogue II.a does not overlap at all with the section in Catalogue II devoted to Alexander's books although some of the books in Catalogue II.a seem to appear in the main body of Catalogue II, including two books of sermons, works by Boethius and by Comestor, Hugh of St. Victor's de Arca Noe, Vita S. Bernardi, the letters of Sidonius, the Pentateuch and a commentary on the 'Cantica Canticorum'. The two books of sermons and the letters of Sidonius are specifically attributed to Alexander in Catalogue II,³ so it is likely that these and the five others which occur in both Catalogues II and II.a were copied or acquired by Alexander for the priory library.

The majority of the other books in Catalogue II.a were probably not included in Catalogue II because they are liturgical books, a missal, a psalter and a gradual, which would have been kept in the church, not the library. This leaves four other manuscripts in Catalogue II.a which are not in Catalogue II, namely a copy of Ezekiel, a grammar book and a collection of the letters of St. Anselm. These were perhaps written after the compilation of the catalogue and so do not appear in that list but since they are so few, probably not long after 1202. Catalogue II.a therefore represents the contribution of

1. Royal 10 A.xii, f.III^v, printed in the Catalogue of Royal Manuscripts, ed. G.F. Warner and J.P. Gilson, 1921.

2. Catalogue II, p.60.

3. Ibid., p.58.

one precentor to the library, either through his own labour, as a scribe, or through prudent acquisition. The list of Alexander's books in the main Catalogue II, on the other hand, probably represents his own private collection. All the books in this section are exclusively medical books. It is not so surprising that a precentor should be interested in medicine but it is interesting that Alexander had acquired some of the more recent translations. The example of Alexander, suggests that monks were able to possess their own books even though they were supposed to renounce all personal property on entering a monastery.

The history of Rochester cathedral library after the beginning of the thirteenth century is obscure. There are no further catalogues nor any record of expenditure on books in the few extant obedientary rolls. There is one further book list, not mentioned by Dr. Ker, which will be referred to as Catalogue III. This occurs in a charter written out in a bishop's register, recording the presentation in 1346 by Bishop Hamo de Hethe of twelve books to be kept in the cathedral.¹ The books were probably the bishop's private collection originally since they are a mixed assortment of glossed books, law books and others, which would be useful reference books for a scholar priest. There was the twelfth century 'Decretum' and several compilations of decretals, including Pope Innocent's. There were the glossed Gospels of Matthew and Mark, one Biblical commentary, the 'Historia Scholastica' and one summa. There was also a grammar book and an anonymous treatise, 'de viciis et virtutibus'. Finally, there was a book on medicine by Avicenna, a work translated from Moslem sources in the twelfth century.

Comparison of the Catalogues

It is interesting to compare the different library catalogues from Rochester from the point of view of their content. From an examination of the catalogues it will become clear that the theological texts acquired soon after the foundation of the priory, namely those listed in Catalogue I constituted a substantial part of the library throughout the medieval period.

The slight evidence afforded by the fragmentary catalogue, Catalogue I.a, suggests that although it is over forty years later than Catalogue I, the two catalogues are remarkably similar. Indeed, the fragment is in part a copy of Catalogue I. On the first part of the fragment, the works of Gregory are listed in exactly the same way as Catalogue I and these are followed, as in Catalogue I, by the works of Bede. Each item of each manuscript is listed, even to the extent that over the work 'de arte metrica' in one manuscript is written the name of the author Alcuin, instead of including the author's name in the main description. This alteration also occurs in Catalogue I. There is

1. Reg. Hamo. pp.782-3.

another note in the same hand as the rest of the fragment over the title of Gregory's 'Super Ezechielem' to the effect that the first part of the work is missing. It would seem that the compilers of Catalogue I.a were checking their present collection against the earlier catalogue. There are some notable additions to the collection as recorded in Catalogue I.a. The inclusion of Peter Lombard's Sententiae was mentioned in connection with the date of the fragments.¹ There are some other additions which reflect twelfth century scholarship; these are the glossed books of which there are several examples. There are also one or two additional theological texts, including a work by St. Augustine, the Quaestiones in Paralipomenon and Bede on the canonical epistles. Books of a more traditional nature which have been added to the collection include a work by an abbot of Cluny, a history of the Popes and several saints' lives, notably the British saints, Sts. Witburga, Sexburga and Brendan.

The additions to the original collection which are listed in Catalogue I.a are few. This may be an accident of the survival of the evidence but it may reflect a slow-down in the growth of the library. The second possibility is strengthened when it is realised that Catalogue I, although originally drawn up in 1122-23 was still in use in the middle of the century. There are several titles added at the end of Catalogue I which are in a much later hand than that of the main scribe of the catalogue.² After the first library had been established, book collecting appears to have slowed down, almost to a stop, but towards the end of the twelfth century, there had been such an increase in the collection that it was deemed once more worthwhile to compile another full catalogue, that of 1202, Catalogue II. This catalogue contains almost all the titles of both Catalogue I and Catalogue I.a but nevertheless, fourteen titles of Catalogue I are omitted from Catalogue II. These may not necessarily have been lost, but perhaps replaced or absorbed under other names. In the case of sections of the Bible, the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua were replaced by new copies.³ The collations of Moyses of Catalogue I may be covered in Catalogue II by the general title collations of the Fathers⁴ and the Institutiones regum anglorum was perhaps no longer in the library but bound with the Textus Roffensis and kept elsewhere. Even so, the priory appears

1. See above, p. 58.

2. Observed by Rev. P. Coates when editing Catalogue I.

3. Catalogue II, p. 57

4. Catalogue II, p. 55 cf. Catalogue I, p. 127.

to have lost two anonymous works and seven patristic works, including two Biblical commentaries, Bede's Super Marcuri and Gregory's Super Ezechielem, a theological work by St. Augustine, two works of St. Jerome, one of which was the life of Paul the Hermit, and two monastic writings. Only in one case did the priory possess a duplicate copy of a text which it had lost, namely the Liber prognosticorum by Julian of Toledo.

Despite these losses, patristic works still constitute more than a quarter of the collection. Obviously, this is still a large proportion of the library and, indeed, the four doctors are still the largest single group of books in the collection. A similar proportion of patristic texts was found in other libraries for which there are catalogues at this time. At Bury St. Edmunds, almost a third of the 267 titles are by the four doctors.¹ At Reading, although the glossed books take precedence over the patristics in that they are listed first, the latter still form the largest single group numbering over 40 out of 177 titles.² At Durham, too, the patristic texts are a large category, with 38 out of 176 titles.³ In the one catalogue from a secular chapter in this period, that of Lincoln,⁴ a third of the books in the book list, excluding the donations, were patristic works. The predominance of patristic works at Rochester is thus similar to other libraries of the period.

The patristic works are listed under the heading 'Librarium B. Andreae' whereas the rest of the books in Catalogue I which are included in Catalogue II are listed under the heading 'Comune Librarium'.⁵ Evidently the patristic texts were stored separately from the rest of the collection, which is a measure of their importance. The books acquired for the priory library since the beginning of the twelfth century and kept in these two sections were few. Additional patristic texts are briefly stated: Augustine Super Johannem although Catalogue I did contain a volume of extracts from the text, his Super Genesim ad litteram, de Verbo Domini, and the commentaries on Romans and Corinthians attributed to him (actually those of Florus of Lyons).

There is a more mixed assortment of additions to the section headed 'Comune Librarium'. There are multiple copies of the Psalter and the Pauline Epistles, both

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1. James, M. R., Bibliotheca Buriensis, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Octavo Publications, 1895, pp.23-32.
 2. ed. Barfield, S., "Lord Fingall's Cartulary of Reading Abbey", E.H.R., vol. iii (1888), pp.113-25.
 3. ed. Raine, J., Surtees Society, vol. vii (1837), p.117.
 4. ed. Woolley, R. M., Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, Oxford 1927, pp.v-ix.

glossed, and also single copies of the Pentateuch and Isaiah plus a commentary on Matthew's Gospel. Even so, there does not seem to have been a copy of every book of the Bible with its gloss or even a complete glossed Bible, although it is possible that some of the Bibles listed are glossed but this fact is omitted. Additions to the collections of 'authorities' include two works by Isidore.¹ Monastic writings are represented by a Life of St. Bernard and the treatise de clastro animae.² The number of history books has been augmented with the acquisition of the works of William of Malmesbury and the story of the battle of Roncevaux, more a romance than history.³ Apart from the increase in the number of glossed books, the next most noticeable increase is in the category of scholastic works. The works of the Victorine school seem to have been the most popular, being represented by Hugh's de sacramentis and de Arca Noe, and Andrew's treatise on the Jews.⁴ The catalogue includes two copies of Peter Lombard's Sententiae, and several of the writings of Peter Comestor. The library also possessed three copies of the most important canon law book, Gratian's Decretum.⁵ The nature of this part of the much larger collection of 1202 displays similar interests to those of the first catalogue, namely theology, history and canon law. The method of the study of these subjects though, had changed and this is reflected in the appearance of glossed books and scholastic writings. Patristic works still bulk large.

The third section of Catalogue II, the 'Librarium in Archa Cantoris',⁶ consists entirely of new books acquired since the compilation of Catalogue I in 1122-23. This store contains 74 titles, a similar number to the 'Comune Librarium', which suggests that each of these sections describes a cupboard which could hold a similar number of books, that is between 70 and 80. A number of the books in this section are similar to those in the previous section and occasionally, as in the case of Isidore's Ethymologia, there is an overlap of titles.⁷ The books in the 'archa cantoris' include further glossed books, a Psalter, the book of Solomon and Lamentations of the Old Testament and the gospels of Matthew, John and the Pauline epistles of the New. There are no patristic works in this section but there are several devotional works, St. Bernard's de diligendo Deo, the sermons of Elmer, Prior of Canterbury, Gervase of Canterbury's Mappa Mundi and an anonymous treatise, the de monacho et abbate.⁸ There are also references to

1. Catalogue II, pp.56 and 57. 2. *Ibid.*, p.57. 3. *Ibid.*, p.57.
 4. *Ibid.*, p.56 (Hugh) and p.57 (Andrew) 5. *Ibid.*, p.56.
 6. Catalogue II, pp.58-60. 7. *Ibid.*, p.57. 8. *Ibid.*, p.58.

the works of Gundulf, to whom is attributed excerpts from canon law, and to Prior Ernulf who is honoured with the authorship of a popular work, the de conflictu vitiorum et virtutum. There are a large number of saints' lives, particularly local saints, Paulinus and Ithamarus of Rochester, and, of course, Thomas Becket, plus, inevitably, a life of the Virgin Mary.

The largest category of books in this section, although it still totals less than the patristic collection, are classical texts. The appearance of books related to the artes is all the more striking because such books were completely absent from Catalogue I. There are now grammar books by Priscian and Donatus, prose works by Sallust, Sidonius, Seneca, Cato and Boethius and several poetic works including Virgil, Ovid, Terence, Arator, Persius, Lucan, Statius and Prudentius. The late antique author, Macrobius, also appears. In view of the presence of these texts, it is not surprising that the only two more recent scholars whose works are listed in this section are Peter Helyas, a twelfth century commentator on Priscian, and Adam of Petit Pont, an English dialectician who set up a school in Paris.

All these texts were commonly studied in connection with the artes and what is even more interesting is that there were multiple copies of several classical texts, the only type of text of which there was more than one copy. There were four copies of 'Priscian magnus', the first sixteen books of his famous study of grammar, and three of his 'de constructione', books 17-18, of the same work. Further, there were four books of Sallust and four copies of Boethius.

Why did the priory require multiple copies of these books but not others? An apparent explanation is that they were required for the teaching of the artes, but to whom? Grammar was not a subject of study prescribed in the Benedictine Rule and anyway, by the late twelfth century, there was little demand for the teaching of Latin in monasteries because novices were usually adults who had been educated before they entered the monastery.¹

1. Orme, N., English Schools in the Middle Ages, 1973, p.225. Cistercians banned the reception of boys under 15 as early as 1134. The Benedictines were moving in the same direction, as is evidenced by the papal decree procured in 1168 by St. Augustine's, Canterbury, that nobody should be received there as a novice until they reached the age of 18.

The possibility that these multiple copies were used for teaching is strengthened by the fact that the next section of the catalogue is devoted to the 'Librarium Magistri Hamonis', evidently a scholar and teacher whose books were part of the library. His books number sixteen, a large number for an individual but not a teacher. The group includes the standard text books of the time, namely a glossed Psalter, a glossed set of Pauline epistles, Peter Lombard's Sententiae, Gratian's Decretum and the books relating to logic, Aristotle's Topica, Analytica and the Elenchi Sophistici, plus the writings of Boethius. There were also some lesser, but more recent works, a grammar by Ralph of Beauvais and a summa by John of Cornwall. Magister Hamo's collection also included a few classical authors and a compotus. Hence he possessed the essential texts for foundation studies in theology, law and the artes.¹

Unfortunately, there is no independent evidence of a school at Rochester until the fourteenth century when it is recorded of John Sheppey, a learned monk and Bishop of Rochester 1351-60, that he received his basic education in Rochester cathedral school,² although he could not have been a novice because by this date, the minimum age for novices was eighteen. Sheppey continued his studies at Oxford³ before returning to Rochester where he made his profession and eventually became bishop.

In view of all these new books in Catalogue II which were not in the first library listed in Catalogue I, it is clear that the theological books did not dominate the collection any longer, as they did in Catalogue I. The library of 1202 reveals a widening of interests to embrace law and the artes as well as theology. Nevertheless patristic texts constituted a substantial part of the library. The authorities which were the basis for the advanced study of theology, had been supplemented by twelfth century commentators on the subject. The other interests displayed in the first catalogue, history and devotional literature, had not been submerged, either. Catalogue II is testimony that the impetus to learning in the priory, which had taken off with the establishment of the first library at the beginning of the twelfth century, had not been lost.

Unfortunately there are no later catalogues of the whole library collection so it is not known whether or not the number of manuscripts in the library greatly increased. The

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1. Hunt, R.W., "Studies on Priscian in the late 11th and 12th Centuries," MARS, vol. 1 (1943), pp.194-231.
 2. Reg. Hamo, pp.515-739.
 3. Emden, A.B., A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, vol. III, 1959, p.1683.

pattern of the survival of manuscripts, although not necessarily an accurate guide-line, suggests that the library did not expand much after the twelfth century. There are 49 extant manuscripts from Catalogue I and 57 out of the 124 titles added in 1202. Surviving manuscripts from the thirteenth century total 29, and there are a mere 8 from the fourteenth century but none from the fifteenth.¹ The pattern suggested by these figures does tie up with historical circumstances. The rate of growth of the library was likely to slow down for two reasons. Firstly, because once a collection as complete as the one at Rochester had been established, the only additions would be new titles. Secondly the number of monks in the priory was declining so there was no need to add duplicate copies or increase the choice of books. At Rochester the community fell from a maximum of 60 under Bishop Gundulf to 33 under Hamo of Hethe in 1333 and to 24 in 1400.² It remained at this level until the Dissolution when there were still twenty monks.

What the above figures relating to the books show clearly is that from the twelfth century, fifty per cent of the manuscripts have been preserved, a remarkable survival rate. A fifty per cent survival rate for any period, let alone as far back as the twelfth century, is exceptional. It is probably explained by the fact that the Rochester manuscripts were taken into the Royal Library at a very early date after the Dissolution.³ They were there in 1542, only two years after the priory was formally dissolved.⁴ Probably the King collected all the texts which had not been secreted away by the former monks or bishop. He was prepared to receive so many books from Rochester because it was the first library with which he came into contact although the patristic texts were not collected from other libraries because the King did not require duplicate copies. It is fortunate that such a large proportion of the earliest Rochester

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1. Figures calculated from MLGB.
 2. V.G., no. 17 cf. Reg. Hamo, p.533, cf Rochester Dean and Chapter Archives, F.12 and F.13, cf. Knowles, D. and Hadcock, R.N., Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales, Cambridge, 1871, p.74.
 3. There is no record of manuscripts at Rochester in Leland's 'Collectanea', ed. T. Hearne, 1715, or in his 'Index Britanniae Scriptorum', ed. R.L. Poole and M. Bateson, Oxford, 1902, but many Rochester manuscripts are in the earliest catalogue of Royal manuscripts which was made in 1542.
 4. On the Dispersal of manuscripts after the Dissolution, see: Ker, N.R., "The Migration of Manuscripts from English Medieval Libraries", The Library, 4th series, xxiii (1942-43) pp.1-11 and Wright, C.E., "The Dispersal of Libraries in the Sixteenth Century" in The English Library before 1700, ed. F. Wormald and C.E. Wright, 1958, pp.148-175.

library survives. With so many manuscripts to examine and a relative abundance of contemporary documentary sources, a detailed study of Rochester Library during the eighty years after the Conquest is bound to reveal a great deal about book production and scholarship in the context of Benedictine monasticism during a period of change and development in the religious and cultural life of this country.

III Book Production at Rochester : The Scribes

Although there was no provision in the Benedictine Rule for the copying of manuscripts, it has long been believed that monks were responsible for the many manuscripts which have survived from the medieval period. For the eleventh and twelfth centuries, at least, there is contemporary evidence for the production of manuscripts in abbeys. Anselm asked members of Christ Church priory to transcribe several works for him including the Regula of St. Dunstan and the medical book, the Aforismus, which were sent to Bec, and later, a copy of his own work the Cur Deus Homo.¹ He himself received requests for manuscripts, notably the Moralia in Job by Gregory the Great.² Anselm's requests to monks were accompanied by exhortations to reach high standards in the art of transcription. Concerning the Aforismus, he is most concerned that the scribe should strive for accuracy:³

De utroque hoc praecipue moneo, ut quidquid feceris, studiosissima exquisicione correctum dignum sit dici perfectum. Malo enim in ignota inusitataque scriptura partem integram veritate quam totum corruptum falsitate.

In contrast to this, other abbots built up libraries by hiring professional scribes to copy out the books they desired. Abbot Faricius of Abingdon is supposed to have established writers beside the cloister who produced a large number of books.⁴ Abbot Paul of St. Alban's assigned some tithes to the purpose of book production, not simply to pay for parchment but also for scribes:⁵

constituit quaedam diaria dari scriptoribus, de eleemosyna fratrum et Cellarii quia prompta fuerat ad edendum, ne scriptores impedirentur; propter quae, Eleemosynario, ne in conscientia laederetur, potiora commutavit. Ibiq; fecit Abbas ab electis et procul quaesitus scriptoribus scribi nobilia volumina, ecclesiae necessaria.

In the letters of Herbert of Losinga, there is the example of the professional scribe who seems to have allowed his writing skills to interrupt his monastic vocation:⁶

Arguebar solidos quos pro suarum scripturarum laboribus expostulaverat; at idem hoc abnegans, in nostro victi tuum claustro, soli cibo et vestitura se contentum fore confirmavit.

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1. Epp. Anselmi, 42, 43, 349, 60 2. Ibid., Ep. 2 3. Ibid., Ep. 60
 4. Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon, ed. J. Stevenson, R.S. vol. 78, 1858, p.289.
 5. Gesta Abbatum S.Albani, ed. H.T. Riley, R.S. vol. 28, 1867, p.57.
 6. Hereberti Losingae Epistolae, ed. R. Anstruther, 1846, p.89.

Evidently, both monks and professionals were producing manuscripts for Benedictine communities, but what was the case at Rochester? By 1122-23, the Rochester community had established a large library. Most of the extant manuscripts have been dated to the early twelfth century so it would appear that in the space of only two or three decades, Rochester priory collected 93 books. How were so many manuscripts acquired so quickly? Were they produced by professional scribes or Rochester monks? Or, since Rochester was so close to Canterbury, did the community acquire manuscripts from there? Another possibility, in view of the Norman background of the leaders of Rochester priory, is that the manuscripts were imported from Normandy. Only an examination of the Rochester manuscripts can lead to an answer to these questions.

It is relatively easy to establish which manuscripts belonged to Rochester priory in the Middle Ages because many of them contain inscriptions inserted in the fourteenth century, stating that they are the possession of Rochester cathedral. On the basis of these inscriptions, and occasionally on the grounds of script, Dr. Ker was able to draw up a list of manuscripts which were in Rochester cathedral priory in the medieval period.¹ By comparing this list with Catalogue I, it is possible to identify forty-nine extant manuscripts with items listed in the early catalogue. Another eight are of similar date but do not occur in Catalogue I although they do appear in Catalogue II, perhaps being omitted by accident or design, or perhaps acquired after the catalogue had been compiled. Obviously, the priory may have received gifts of ancient manuscripts, which are thus of an early date, but which were not necessarily in the first library collection, only being acquired much later. Alternatively, there may be some manuscripts which were written within a few years of the compilation of Catalogue I but were produced just too late for inclusion in the catalogue.

Of the forty-nine manuscripts which can be identified with titles in Catalogue I, forty-three have been examined and one studied on microfilm.² This constitutes a wide basis, just over half the original collection, from which it is possible to draw firm conclusions about scribes and book production. As a result of examining a sample of each manuscript, it is possible to divide the Rochester manuscripts into two groups. The grounds for separating the manuscripts can be observed by comparing a typical manuscript of the first group, B. L.

1. Ker, MLGB

2. San Marino, Huntington HM62, the 'Gundulf' Bible, studied on film.

Royal 6 C.x, and another one, B.L. Royal 5 D.iii, characteristic of the second group.¹ The most obvious difference is in the appearance of the script. The script of Royal 6 C.x is cramped and uneven, not necessarily upright, whereas the script of the other manuscript is much clearer, being better spaced, firm and upright. This difference is sharpened when examining the actual manuscripts because the first is in a pale brown ink and the latter in black ink which stands out from the page. Individual letter forms are different too. Minuscule 'a' does not have a head in Royal 6 C.x but it does in the other manuscript; the ampersand in the first manuscript (Pl. IV, 1, 2a) is lying on its side but in the second (Pl. XVII, 1, 3a) is upright. Abbreviation is much more extensive in the second manuscript (Pl. IV, 1, 33b) than the first (Pl. XVII, 1, 7a) and moreover, this takes different forms: in the second manuscript there are far more suprascripts. Another easily observed difference lies in the punctuation. This is not very clear in the first plate (Pl. IV, 1, 5a) because the punctuation marks are not placed regularly at the same level whereas in the second manuscript the point is carefully placed on the ruled line (Pl. IV, 1, 25a-28a). The difference in the two manuscripts could indicate that they were produced at different places. Alternatively, the difference could simply reflect different stages in the development of the same scriptorium, the first manuscript being produced before the second, at a time when scribes were not well practised in the art of transcription. Consideration in detail of the manuscripts of each group will shed light on this question.

a. Manuscripts of Group A

There are only four Rochester manuscripts containing the cramped script just described:

B. L. Royal 2 C.iii	Omēlie	2 scribes
B. L. Royal 5 D.i	Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos LI-C)	1 scribe
B. L. Royal 5 E.x	Prosper	
B. L. Royal 6 C.x	Gregory, Registrum	1 scribe

Two other manuscripts, the 'Gundulf' Bible, San Marino, Huntington, HM 62, and Royal 3 C.x, bear a superficial resemblance to these four but they cannot be considered Rochester manuscripts for reasons discussed elsewhere.²

Two of the manuscripts listed above were written by the same scribe but none of

1. Plates IV and XVI.

2. See below, pp. 80 and 158-9.

Group A : Ligatures

Ligatures in Group A MSS

<i>ſt</i>	st	Royal 2 C.iii, Royal 5 D.i, Royal 5 E.x, Royal 6 C.x
<i>NT</i>	NT	" " "
<i>N</i>	NS	" " "

Letter forms used in some Group A MSS but not others

<i>s</i>	s	Royal 2 C.iii (f.106—), Royal 6 C.x
<i>ð</i>	d	Royal 2 C.iii (f.1-105)
<i>or</i>	or	Royal 2 C.iii
<i>orum</i>	orum	Royal 2 C.iii, Royal 5 D.i, Royal 5 E.x, Royal 6 C.x

Ligatures avoided in Group A MSS

<i>rt</i>	rt
<i>ct</i>	ct

the other hands are identical. At least two scribes copied long sections of Royal 2 C.iii. These four manuscripts thus represent the work of four scribes. Although the manuscripts cannot be linked directly by means of identifying scribes, they do resemble each other and have sufficient features in common to suggest that they were all written in the same scriptorium. This will become clear from a description of the manuscripts which takes into account all the different aspects of book production: (i) script, (ii) abbreviation, (iii) punctuation, (iv) marginalia, (v) the preparation of the page and (vi) rubrics and display script.

(i) Script: These manuscripts have been distinguished from the main bulk of those that survive on account of the distinctive aspect of their script (see Pl. II, III and IV). The script of the manuscripts has a cramped appearance as if the writing had been squeezed from each end of the line. The minuscule letters are narrower than they are tall. The majuscule letters are elongated but the ascenders and descenders are short, barely showing above the minims, being only half as long again as the latter, and often do not seem that height because they are not straight. The descenders usually, but not always, end in hairline serifs at an acute angle to the stem. Sometimes they do not have feet at all. An important feature to observe in any script is the ligatures, for these were changing at this time. None of these scribes use the 'rt' ligature, a rather archaic form, and they also refrain from using the 'ct' ligature¹ (e.g. Pl. IV, I, 36b) in accordance with modern practice. All scribes use the 'st' (Pl. IV, I, 22a), 'NT' and 'NS' ligatures. Several scribes employ a round 's' which was not common in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts,² but on the other hand, two scribes avoid the use of round 'r' after 'o', which was common³ (Pl. I, I, 26a, c. f. Pl. ^{IV} III, I. 22a). One even seems to avoid the abbreviation for '-orum' also common in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.⁴

(ii) Abbreviation: It is important to observe abbreviation in a manuscript because it can be a guide to date. Abbreviation had first been used to save scribes from writing sacred words but by the eleventh century, it was employed to save space. And by the end of the twelfth century, manuscripts were extensively abbreviated to save space and time.⁵

1. B.L., Royal 5 D.i, Royal 6 C.x. 2. Not visible on plate but seen in B.L., Royal 6 C.x.
 3. B.L., Royal 6 C.x, Royal 5 D.i. 4. B.L., Royal 5 D.i.
 5. e.g. Thompson, S.H., Latin bookhands of the later Middle Ages, 1969, no. 87.

Group A : Abbreviations

Symbols

↵ = est e.g. Plate III

ē = est

ēē = esse

Contraction and Suspension

↵ for contracted or suspended 'm' or 'n' e.g. fili↵

Plate IV, I.1.a

↵ for suspended '-us' e.g. ei↵

Plate IV, I.8.b.

↵ for suspended '-ur' e.g. igit↵

Plate III

↵ for suspended '-ue' after 'q' e.g. atq↵

Plate IV, I.24.a

↵ for suspended '-us' after 'b' e.g. omnib↵




Plate IV, I.3.b

Suprascripts

ḡmo = primo Plate IV, I.34.a

ḡ = vero Plate IV, I.37.a

It will be interesting to see if earlier twelfth century manuscripts produced in a religious community, not a scholastic one, presaged later developments by extending abbreviation. Abbreviations can be divided into four categories: (a) symbols, when a sign is substituted for a whole word; (b) suspension whereby the last syllable of a word is omitted; (c) contraction, when a syllable in the middle of a word is omitted; and, finally, (d) suprascripts, that is letters which are placed above a word to indicate letters which have been omitted.

In this first group, as in all Rochester manuscripts, a cup-shaped line, not a straight line, is placed above omitted letters or syllables. The hook at the end of a word indicates a suspended '-us'. A variety of symbols, though, are used to indicate a suspended '-ur'. In the case of these manuscripts, this sign has a definite tail, viz. . The ampersand, not the Tironian sign in the shape of a seven, is substituted for 'et' in all these manuscripts. The ampersand is also used as a final symbol in a word although never as an initial or middle symbol as in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.¹ In all these manuscripts, the symbol for '-que' is always a sign resembling a semicolon and the sign for the suspension of 'us' after 'b' is the same, viz. . Another set of words for which signs are substituted are the verb 'to be' and its compounds. A whole range of signs is employed in Rochester manuscripts and most occur in this first group. There is the Tironian symbol  or a minuscule 'e' with a line above it for 'est'. Compounds of this verb are reduced to two or three letters, based on a double minuscule 'ee' with a line above.

Other forms of abbreviation by contraction or suspension are not very extensive in this first group. The syllables 'con-', 'pre-', '-r' and the letter 'm' were omitted but not very often. The suspension of 'm', 'en', 'it', '-unt', '-er' occurred but not very frequently. Suprascripts were rare too except in simple words like 'primum', 'quia', 'quando' and 'vero' in which respectively, suprascript 'i', 'a' and 'o' were used to such an extent that these abbreviations might be considered invariable.

(iii) Punctuation: During this period, punctuation, like abbreviation, was changing and could be a guide to the date and provenance of manuscripts. Anybody who has tried

1. c.f. Alexander, J.J.G., Norman Manuscript Illumination at Mont S. Michel 966-1100 Henceforward Alexander, Norman MS. III, 1970, p.29 — late group 1065-1100.

read medieval manuscripts knows how difficult it is to understand the punctuation system of the twelfth century. This difficulty arises because there are two sets of symbols within the one system, the first indicating the sense when read privately and the second showing the pitch when the text was read aloud.¹

This dual purpose of punctuation had been recognised by classical authors and their immediate successors including St. Jerome but under the classical system the same punctuation signs, points at different levels, were interpreted in two different ways depending on who was using the text, an orator or a grammarian. The high point indicated for both the longest pause, the periodus to the speaker and the distinctio to the grammarian. The low point indicated the shortest pause, the comma in the language of the rhetorician, the *medi* distinctio in that of the grammarian. The median point stood for the orator's colon and the grammarian's *subdistinctio*, that is a medium pause placed before a new clause, which was an addition to the main clause, a repetition or an expansion, but not a new concept.²

This system was modified in the Carolingian period but made more complicated by the introduction of new elements. At this time, the number of points was reduced from 3 to 2. But a second system, known as *ecphonetic notation*, was incorporated with the traditional one to give an approximation of a musical phrase and indicate oratorical delivery.³ Now a *punctus elevatus* in the shape of a tick and point was employed to show a short pause within the sentence, where the pitch of the voice should change; the *punctus versus*, viz. ; , was written to show the end of a sentence where the pitch was lowered; and the *punctus interrogativus* was placed at the end of a sentence where the pitch should be raised, namely in the case of a question. Whether these symbols were interpreted *ecphonetically* as late as the eleventh century is not yet clear but it is important to know of them because they are common in Rochester manuscripts and appear alongside the traditional punctuation system consisting of points at different levels.

The punctuation system of Rochester manuscripts is thus highly complex and its meaning can only be solved gradually. The punctuation system of Group A manuscripts is more difficult to follow than that of many other contemporary manuscripts because the signs

1. Southern, *V.A.*, pp. xxv-xxxiv.

2. Moreau-Maréchal, J., "Recherches sur la Ponctuation", *Scriptorium*, vol. xxii, 1968, pp. 56-65.

3. Parkes, M.B., *Medieval Punctuation: A Preliminary Survey* (unpublished)
 Clemons, P., *Liturgical Influence on Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts*, 1952.

Gregory, Registrum,Bk.IV, Letter 3.

Pervenit ad nos, quod quidam episcopi vestrae dioceseos exquirentes occasionem potius quam inventes, sese scindere a fraternitatis vestrae unitate temptaverint. dicentes te apud romanam urbem in trium capitulorum damnationem cautionem fecisse. Quod videlicet iccirco dicunt, quia quantum fraternitati tuae etiam sine cautione credere soleam, nesciunt. Si enim hoc esset necessarium fieri, verbis vobis nudis credi potuisset. Ego tamen, nominata inter nos, neque verbo, neque scripto, tria capitula recolo. Sed eis si citius revertuntur de suo errore parcendum est, quia iuxta Pauli apostoli vocem, non intelligunt neque quae loquuntur, neque de quibus affirmant. Nos enim, auctore veritate, et este conscientia, fatemur nos fidem sanctae calcedonensis synodi illibatam per omnia custodire, nichilque eius definitioni addere, nichil subtrahere audere. Sed si quis contra eam eiusdemque synodi fidem, sive plus minusque ad sapiendum usurpare appetit, eum omni dilatione postposita anathematizamus, atque a sinu matris aecclesiae alienum esse decernimus. Quem igitur ista mea confessio non sanat, non iam chalcedonensem synodum diligit, sed matris aecclesiae sinum odit. Si ergo ea ipsa quae audere visi sunt, zelo loqui anime praesumpserunt, superest ut hac satisfactione suscepta, ad fraternitatis tuae unitatem redeant, seque a christi corpore quod est sancta universalis aecclesia non dividant.

are not clearly formed, nor are they placed consistently at the same level, sometimes being level with the base of the letter, and sometimes being above that. This suggests that the scribes were trying to use a system which consisted of points at two levels, low and median. The median point occurs only within the sentence but the low point occurs both within and at the end of a sentence, although the end of a sentence is always obvious because it is followed by a word which begins with a capital letter, indicating a new sentence, e.g. Plate IV, left hand column, lines 1, 14, 17, at the end of a sentence and Plate IV, right hand column, 1.8 within a sentence. Examples of points of uncertain height are visible on Plate IV, left hand column, lines 8 and 26. In the first case the median point is positioned after a main clause and before a clause which grammatically is subordinate, but which adds something to the main concept. The second case is more interesting because it is an instance of a pause in a position equivalent to a classical *subdistinctio*, that is before a subordinate clause following a main clause which would be a complete concept without the additional clause but which is amplified by that clause. The meaning of this particular sign will be investigated further at a later stage.

Of the ecphonetic signs, Rochester manuscripts contain the *punctus versus*, the *punctus interrogativus*, the *punctus elevatus* and a new sign, the *punctus circumflexus*. This last mentioned does not occur in Group A, although it does appear in the Gundulf Bible, so consideration of its meaning will be deferred.² The *punctus versus* is rare and has only been observed occasionally in one or two manuscripts at the end of a section or a chapter of a text. The *punctus interrogativus* is employed regularly and accurately, as in Plate III to indicate a question which, when spoken aloud, naturally ends on a rising note preceded by a syllable which has the lowest pitch in the sentence. The *punctus elevatus* appears frequently but not in every sentence. It would be interesting to discover whether it was still an indication of pitch in the eleventh century. A superficial reading does suggest that it is more likely to be connected with pitch than with grammar, because it does not occur regularly in any one particular grammatical position. In line 2 of the page opposite it occurs between a present participle clause and an indirect statement, in line 6 between a main clause and a subordinate causal clause, in line 17 between a conditional clause and a statement, and in line 16 between a relative clause and a main clause. The punctuation sign cannot be connected with grammatical meaning but a possible connection with pitch will be tested when Rochester manuscripts are compared with those from other scriptoria.

1. See Alexander, Norman MS. III., p.29 2. See p. 186.

Group A : Punctuation

	Low Point	Median Point	Punctus Elevatus	Punctus Interrogativus	Punctus Versus	Punctus Circumflexus
	.	.	✓	✓	;	?
Royal 2 C.iii f.106—	✓	✓	✓	✓	occasionally	-
Royal 5 D.i	✓	✓	✓	✓	occasionally	-
Royal 5 E.x	✓	—	✓	✓	-	-
Royal 6 C.x	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-

The conclusions about the punctuation of this first group of Rochester manuscripts can be summarised simply. These manuscripts contain points of two levels, a low point within and at the end of a sentence and a median point within a sentence. The latter indicates a pause of uncertain length which may be an imitation of classical usage but more examples of this punctuation mark must be found before conclusions can be drawn. Of the traditional ecphonic signs, the punctus interrogativus is employed confidently and accurately in all these manuscripts. The punctus elevatus is used often and probably retains its connection with pitch rather than simply indicating a medial pause. The punctus versus is rare, only occurring at the end of a chapter or section of a text in the manuscript. Another sign, of uncertain origin, the punctus circumflexus, does not occur in Group A Rochester manuscripts. At this point, it should be noted that in these manuscripts, a majuscule letter is always placed at the beginning of a sentence although confusion remains about the introduction of quotation. If the beginning of a sentence coincides with the beginning of a line, the first letter, a majuscule, is projected into the margin.

(iv) Marginalia: An essential task after copying a manuscript was to correct and annotate it. Correction was done by erasing passages and rewriting them, or writing corrections in the margin and showing where they should be inserted in the text, by means of a signe de renvoi. These signs might be evidence of provenance or a help in distinguishing scribes.¹ In this first group of manuscripts, correction by erasure has not been observed. Signes de renvoi, on the other hand, are quite common. Usually, scribes correct for themselves the text they have written. A large number of different symbols are used but every manuscript contains a theta sign, θ . An unusual symbol is an 'h' against a correction in the margin linked with a 'ð' in the text at the point where the correction is applicable.² This is worth noting because it is a remnant of Insular practice, an example of the pervasiveness of Anglo-Saxon influence.³

Signes de renvoi do not only indicate corrections, but also occur on their own, as if to mark out a passage in the text as worthy of special attention. Not all the texts

1. Ker, English MSS, p.50

2. Observed in B.L. Royal 5 D. i.

3. Ker, N.R., Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon, 1957.

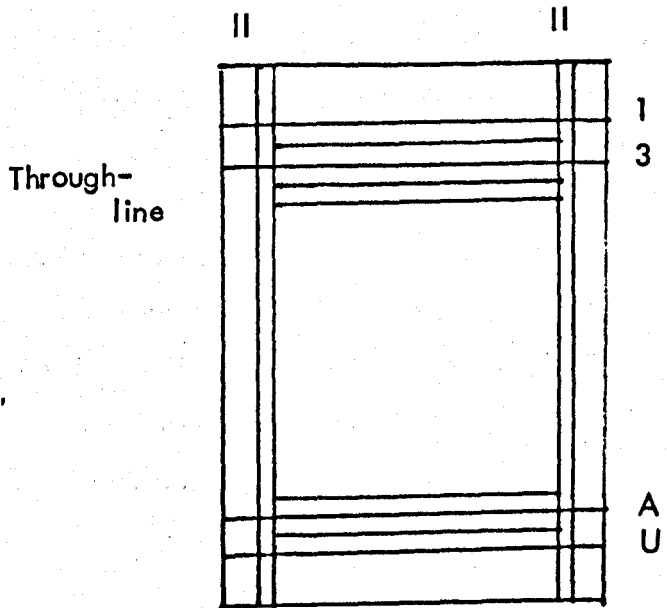
are so marked, of course, but the two that are, are both patristic texts, Augustine's Enarrationes in Psalmos (Royal 5 D.i) and Gregory's Registrum (Royal 6 C.x). Annotations in these manuscripts are frequent, as they are in all Rochester manuscripts, a fact which will be utilised later. Some are in the form of a sign which is an anagrammatic symbol of the word 'nota', written thus, *N*. Others take the form of minuscule 'a' which is commonplace in England at this period. Yet others take the form of majuscule 'A', which has not been noticed in pre-Conquest Anglo-Saxon manuscripts but is common in all Rochester manuscripts.

(v) Preparation of the page: Producing a manuscript book involved far more than copying out a text. Before a single word was written down, the page had to be prepared and lines ruled to ensure that the script would be straight along a horizontal line. The normal procedure at this date was to prick the parchment with holes equidistant from each other and rule lines between the prick marks.¹ Only after this, or even after writing, was the large sheet of parchment folded into several folios, usually eight. It is not possible to discover whether this procedure was followed at Rochester because it entails removing the manuscript from its binding. It is possible, however, to see that in Rochester manuscripts ruling is normally an indenture made with a dry point on only one side of the parchment and that this was done with sufficient pressure for the line to show through to the other side.² It must have been a difficult task to do without tearing the skin, and the Rochester scribes of Group A manuscripts succeeded in doing the job neatly. The appearance of the page is spoiled not by uneven or crooked ruling but by holes in the parchment which in these books is of poor quality.³

It has been suggested that the pattern of ruling in manuscripts may also be a guide to provenance⁴ so this feature has been carefully observed in Rochester manuscripts. The written page was always bound by one, if not two, horizontal lines at the top and foot of the page, and at least one, if not two, vertical lines on the right and left hand edges. The horizontal boundary lines were distinguished from the other horizontal writing lines because they were ruled right across the page into the margin, beyond the vertical boundary

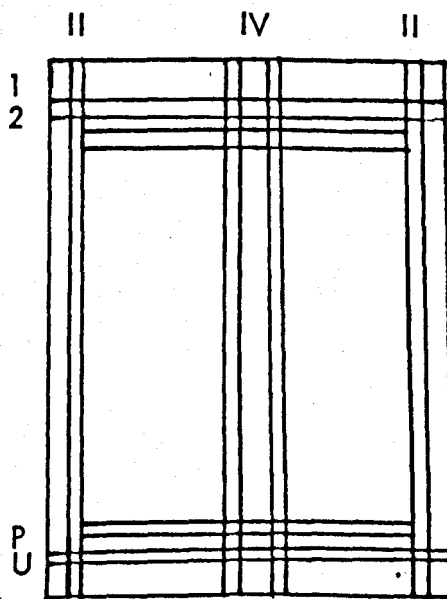
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1. Glénisson, L., "La Composition des Cahiers, Le Pliage du Parchemin et l'Imposition", Scriptorium 26, 1972, pp.3-33.
 2. A few folios in some manuscripts have been ruled over with a plummet, e.g. B.L., Royal 5 D.i.
 3. e.g. B.L., Royal 6 C.x, Royal 5 D.i.
 4. Ker, English MSS, pp.43-44.

Ruling Patterns



1,3; A,U II, II

1,2; P,U II,IV,II



lines. They may therefore be termed 'through-lines'.¹ Rather than explain this pattern in each manuscript, the description will henceforward be codified. The extended horizontal lines were most frequently the first, second or third lines from the top and the first, second or third lines from the foot of the page, that is the ultimate, the penultimate and the antepenultimate lines. The top 'through-lines' will be denoted by Arabic numerals and the bottom ones by letters, viz. 1,2,3, and U,P,A. The vertical boundary lines will be indicated by Roman numerals. Usually there will be two Roman numerals, one figure for the number of lines in each margin, but in the case of a book written in two columns, there will be another figure inserted in the middle representing the number of lines ruled in the central space between the two columns to ensure that they were kept apart. Examples of ruling patterns and their descriptions are given opposite.

In this first group of manuscripts, the ruling is varied, unlike other Rochester manuscripts. In some, the first and third and penultimate and ultimate lines are through-lines, 1,3;P,U, but in others the first and second and penultimate and ultimate lines are through-lines, 1,2;P,U. What is more significant is that all the books except the small one² are written in two columns following the pattern, II,IV,II. This preference for two columns will be observed in other Rochester manuscripts and distinguishes them from earlier manuscripts.³

Once the parchment had been ruled, it was folded into quires but not bound at this stage.⁴ Most quires in all Rochester manuscripts consisted of eight leaves in which hair faced hair and flesh faced flesh. Exceptions to this rule occurred at the beginning or end of a book when the quires had a few less or a few more leaves to allow room for a title page or provide just the right amount of space for a scribe to complete the text on the last folio of a book. Thus, in Royal 6 C.x, the last quire is short, only five folios, so that the end of the text coincides with the last folio.

To ensure that the binder would place the quires in the correct order, they were signed with numbers or letters. The position and number of these could be evidence of

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1. Gömbert, J.P., Die Utrechter Karthäuser und Ihre Bücher im frühen fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, 1974, Leiden, pp.153-8.
 2. B.L., Royal 5 E.x. 3. Except B.L., Royal 5 D.i.
 4. Glénisson, L., "La Composition des Cahiers, Le Pliage du Parchemin et l'Imposition", Scriptorium, vol. 26, 1972, pp.3-33.

a particular scriptorium's practice.¹ Of course, these signatures were often cut off after a book was bound but they are still visible on a number of Rochester manuscripts, to an unusual extent. The signatures on all the manuscripts of this first group survive. All have signatures at the foot of the last verso of the quire. In every case, these signatures are Roman numerals.

Tables of Contents: The last processes in the completion of a manuscript all related to helping the reader find his way around the book. Sometimes a list of contents might be inserted at the beginning of a book but this was not done in any of the manuscripts of this first group, probably because each book only contained one text, so there was no need to list separate items. The insertion of a list of contents means in this context a list made on the initiative of the Rochester scribe to show exactly what texts were contained in the manuscript.

(vi) Rubrics and Display Script: Another aid to the reader was rubrication. Usually the opening title of a book was particularly elaborate but on the succeeding folios, titles were nevertheless decorated but not to the same degree as the opening one. In Group A manuscripts the opening titles, with the exception of Royal 5 E.x,² were in round and angular capitals in different colours, red, blue and green. The rubrics within the manuscripts were round and angular capitals of normal size coloured red. In texts where there were a large number of minor titles, they were sometimes written in green, as well as in red minuscule.³ There does not, however, seem to have been any conscious gradation of titles whereby a certain script was used for a title of a certain level of importance.

In view of the size and importance of these texts, it is no surprise to discover that several of them contain illuminated initials, some of which were historiated. The illuminated manuscripts are Augustine's Enarrationes in Psalmos and Gregory's Registrum. Unfortunately, none of the initials are particularly fine but are rather rough and ready. The initials in both these two manuscripts are quite complex and in some ways similar. Those in Gregory's Registrum are of an unusual colouring in light

1. Dodwell, C.R., The Canterbury School of Illumination, 1954, p.119. Henceforward: Dodwell, Canterbury School
2. In B.L., Royal 5 E.x the opening title is no different from the internal rubrics, which were originally red capitals, but now appear silver as a result of oxidisation.
3. B.L., Royal 5 D.i, Royal 6 C.x.

green and brown set against a distinctive blue ground. This same colouring and unusual bright background also occur in the Augustine text. There are several initials in this manuscript including six which are historiated and several foliage initials. The first initial is the most complex, consisting as it does, of many figures and animal heads. The stem of the letter 'P' is formed by a winged lion or dragon with a square head and fox-like ears, a motif which recurs in other Rochester manuscripts.¹ At the top of the stem is some interlace ending in two animal heads, one to the right and one to the left. Within the loop is more interlace entwining the figures of a man standing upright and a woman and child bending down.

Characteristics of Group A Manuscripts

From the above detailed description, it is clear that these four manuscripts have sufficient features in common to establish that they were all written in one scriptorium. The untidy, cramped script, in which the minims are squeezed and the ascenders are crooked, is unusual. Yet this type of script occurs in all the manuscripts under discussion and distinguishes them from later Rochester manuscripts and from contemporary manuscripts from other English scriptoria.


Other features which are shared by all the manuscripts, and thus constitute evidence that they were produced at the same scriptorium, are punctuation, marginalia, quire signatures and rubrics. The punctuation of these manuscripts is confusing because it is not very tidy and seems to include points at different levels, both low and median, and also the punctus elevatus. The punctus versus occurs occasionally. Marginalia, both corrections and annotations, are frequent. This is partly because the Rochester scribes preferred to make corrections, not by erasure, but by signes de renvoi in the text and margin, the favourite symbol being a theta sign. Another cause of frequent marginalia is the tendency of these scribes to annotate, writing a minuscule or majuscule 'A' in the margin like a nota bene sign. Another feature of all these manuscripts is that the quire signatures have been preserved. That this is a Roman numeral at the foot of the last verso of a quire is not, however, distinctive. The final feature shared by all the manuscripts is that the opening titles are in round and angular capitals of different colours, red, green and blue. This is unusual although the internal rubrics are not at all distinctive since they are in red capitals.

1. B.L., Royal 5 D.ii, f.213.

There are additional features in the manuscripts of this group, which do not distinguish them from those of other scriptoria but which are evidence that they are earlier than the other Rochester manuscripts. The most obvious is the fact that abbreviation is limited. Abbreviation by contraction and the employment of suprascripts rarely occur. Suspension, though, is common and the signs for a suspended '-us' have been standardised. A suspended '-que' or '-bus' is always indicated by a sign resembling a semicolon and no other sign appears. The fact that the ruling is always in dry point and that the pattern is varied also suggests that these are early products of the scriptorium.¹ The absence of any complicated punctuation symbols such as the punctus circumflexus suggests the same conclusion.

Manuscripts considered, but rejected from Group A

It was mentioned above that two manuscripts, the 'Gundulf' Bible (San Marino, Huntington Library, Huntington MS 62) and Royal 3 C.x, listed by Dr. Ker as Rochester manuscripts, could not be considered as Group A manuscripts. It is true that they contain a script which resembles that of Group A but other features suggest that although they were copied during the same period as Rochester Group A, they were not written in the same scriptorium. The decision concerning Royal 3 C.x will be discussed in connection with the Christ Church scriptorium,² but it is appropriate at this point to discuss the Bible which is associated with Bishop Gundulf, himself.

Although the 'Gundulf' Bible is similar in appearance to the Group A manuscripts, (Plate V) some of the letter forms are rather different, for example, the long curving tail on minuscule g, thus  the long bar on 't', and the ampersand which leans so far to the right that it is nearly on its side, instead of being upright. Furthermore, the script does not take up all the space between the rulings, unlike the closely spaced script in the Rochester manuscripts. As for the punctuation and abbreviation of the 'Gundulf' Bible, these are unique among this group of manuscripts under discussion. The punctuation system of the 'Gundulf' Bible is based on the low and median points and the punctus elevatus but, in addition, the punctus circumflexus (¶), not known in Group A manuscripts, does appear in the Bible. A more striking difference between the 'Gundulf' Bible and Group A is that in the former, abbreviation is much more extensive and suprascripts are common. In this connection, it should be noted, too, that in the Bible a distinction is made between

1. See below.

2. See pp. 158-59.

diphthong 'oe' and diphthong 'ae', a refinement which does not occur in Group A manuscripts but is introduced in later Rochester manuscripts.¹ Yet another difference between the 'Gundulf' Bible and the rest is that the quires in Group A manuscripts are numbers at the foot of the last verso but in the Bible, the few signatures which survive are numbers at the foot of the first recto. A final difference is that the rubrication of this manuscript is distinctive since the rubrics are in capitals the same size as the text, half in red and half in black. These deviations are sufficient to conclude that the 'Gundulf' Bible comes from a different source from the other manuscripts.

The Origin of Group A Manuscripts

All these early Rochester manuscripts are quite similar to a book belonging to Christ Church, Canterbury, now Trinity College Manuscript B.16.44, which contains an eleventh century inscription stating that it was bought by Lanfranc in Normandy and brought to England.² The fact that the manuscript is known to have been written in Normandy, in the middle of the eleventh century, means that it is a good example of Norman book production, against which the style of other manuscripts can be evaluated. The Trinity manuscript is written in a small angular script in brown ink. It is well spaced vertically, the ascenders just touching descenders, without overlapping, while the minuscule letters are narrow and appear cramped. There are usually, but not necessarily, hair-line serifs on descenders at an angle to the stem. Unusual letter forms are a minuscule 'g' with a tail which turns back on itself and a cramped ampersand scarcely larger than a minuscule letter. The punctuation consists of a punctus elevatus and points at an indeterminate level above the ruled line. Since all these features are also characteristic of Rochester Group A manuscripts it is clear that, like the Trinity manuscript, they were written by Norman scribes.

There are two features of the Norman manuscript which distinguish it from most of the Rochester manuscripts but which resemble the 'Gundulf' Bible. The first of these is frequent abbreviation, including the use of suprascripts. Such a refinement in

1. See p. 113.

2. Ker, English MSS, p.25. Hunc librum dato precio emptum ego Lanfrancus archiepiscopus de beccensi cenobio in anglicam terram deferri feci et ecclesiae christi dedi.

scribal practice is to be associated with a developed scriptorium and the occurrence of suprascripts in both the Norman manuscript and the 'Gundulf' Bible suggests that the latter, like the former, was written in an established Norman scriptorium. The second feature shared by these two manuscripts is the way in which display script and initials are written on a yellow ground. Such an unusual feature in common confirms the possibility that these manuscripts are from a source quite distinct from the Rochester Group A manuscripts and it seems likely that they were both written in Normandy.

All the Group A manuscripts, it has been shown, were produced in one scriptorium, but the problem still remains as to whether these Norman scribes were working at Rochester or in Normandy. The clue to this problem lies in one particular surviving Rochester manuscript, Royal 2 C.iii, which contains two quite distinct styles of script and decoration, which are pictured on Plates I and II. The first part up to f.105 is in a round spacious script in black ink. The minims and ascenders are clubbed. The descenders are quite long and end in a flat foot. The characteristic letters are the large head on minuscule 'a' and the ample, curving tail on the minuscule 'g'. This description makes it clear that the script is very different from the cramped script of the hand of the second part of the book which has been included in the foregoing description of Group A manuscripts of which it is a most typical example.

There are further significant differences between the two parts. The punctuation of the first part consists of a point, which is always placed at a median level within and at the end of a sentence, and a punctus elevatus. This is a clear contrast with the confusing punctuation of the second part of the book. Another difference is visible in the abbreviation signs and ligatures. In the first part a suspended 'm' is sometimes indicated by a curved line, and sometimes by a straight line, whereas in the succeeding part this abbreviation is always a curved line. Furthermore the sign for a suspended '-ur' is elongated but in the second set of hands it is cramped. The 'st' ligature of the first part of the book is distinctive because it is spacious, tall and has a curve in it, rather different from the plain ligature of the scribes in the second part of the book.

The most striking difference is in the rubrics. The opening of the manuscript is unique among the Rochester manuscripts because the first five lines

in very large capitals which decrease in size. Each line contains letters of the same size which are smaller than those of the previous line. This effect is repeated at the beginning of other homilies in the first part of the manuscript. Intermediate homilies have headings in capitals the same size as the text but the first few words of the text are in capitals which one after the other diminish in size until they are the same size as majuscule letters in the text. Such a device does not occur in the second part of this manuscript or in any other Rochester manuscript.

All these differences add up to a picture within one manuscript of a clear-cut change of style. The first part of the book is mid-eleventh century Caroline minuscule, probably English.¹ The second part is post-Conquest, based on a Norman style. Clearly, this book was being copied before Rochester cathedral was transformed into a monastic community, and was completed there soon after monks were established. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to assign the first part of the book to a particular scriptorium although there is no evidence to suggest that it was not written at Rochester. It is conceivable that the book was being copied by the Anglo-Saxon Rochester canons until they were dispersed and then the task was taken over by the monks almost immediately so that they could complete the book while they were in possession of an exemplar. If this did indeed happen, book production at Rochester would not have suffered a long interruption.

What is even more significant about the second half of this manuscript is that on a few folios, 123^v-126^v, appears the hand of the scribe of Royal 5 D. i, who was also responsible, it was noted, for Royal 5 E. x. His distinct letter forms are the minuscule 'a', which lacks a head, and the minuscule 'g', which has a serif on the tail. His appearance in both Royal 2 C. iii and the other two manuscripts establishes that they, and consequently the rest of the group, except the 'Gundulf' Bible,² were written at Rochester. They were probably written soon after the new priory was founded, almost certainly before 1100. It is fair to add to Bishop Gundulf's achievements, the foundation of a scriptorium at Rochester, albeit a small and primitive one, but one which was the basis for future expansion. This expansion is represented by the second group of Rochester manuscripts to which we now turn.

1. Bishop, T.A.M., English Caroline Minuscule, 1971.

2. The source of the 'Gundulf' Bible cannot at this stage be established with certainty. It is evidently written by a Norman scribe but not at Rochester. It is likely that it is an import from Normandy, but it is not yet possible to establish from which Norman scriptorium it came.

b Manuscripts of Group B

The manuscripts of Group B mark an important change in the Rochester scriptorium. The change in the character of the script of these manuscripts was outlined above¹ and can be distinguished from the script of manuscripts of Group A because it is so clear, firm and upright. What is even more significant is that many more manuscripts were now produced, Group B consisting of at least thirty-eight manuscripts which can be identified in Catalogue I.² Evidently the scriptorium received a new spur to a second prolific phase of book production, an impetus most likely resulting from a change in the regime at Rochester, either the arrival of Ralph d'Escures after the death of Bishop Gundulf in 1108 or the appointment of the next bishop, Ernulf, in 1114. The earlier date seems more likely for two reasons. Firstly, some of the manuscripts of Group B do contain sections of script which are not far removed from the script of Group A manuscripts. This represents an overlap between the first generation of scribes and the second, showing that book production at Rochester was continuous from the last decades of the eleventh century. Another point in favour of the earlier date for the development of the new script is that one manuscript written in this script was copied c.1107. The manuscript, Royal 12 C.1, is an autograph of the works of Ralph, prior of Rochester, who became abbot of Battle in 1107, so it must have been copied at Rochester before he left the priory. The terminus ante quem for the production of these manuscripts is, of course, 1122-3, the date of Catalogue I in the Textus Roffensis.

The Textus Roffensis is a key manuscript in establishing that the manuscripts of Group B were written at Rochester. Over a dozen manuscripts in the group can be associated with the scribe of the Textus Roffensis. Others contain script resembling that in the Textus and must have been copied at a similar date.³ The scribe of the Textus has a fine distinctive script which has already been recognised by Dr. Ker in other Rochester manuscripts.⁴ The fact that this scribe was responsible for copying a collection

1. See pp.69-70.

2. See Appendix I.

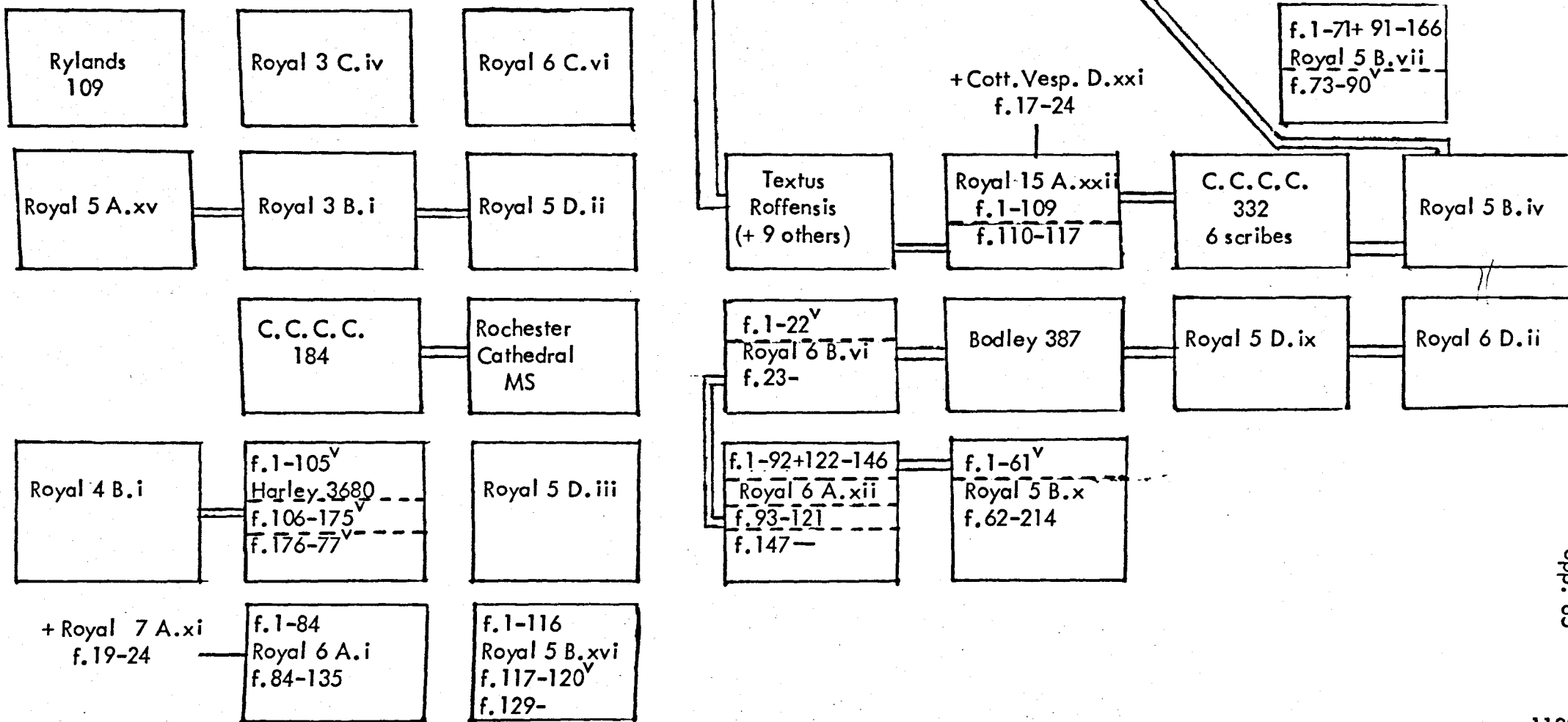
3. See diagram overleaf.

4. Ker, English MSS, p. 31.

Roy 6.C.IV - (C³P 315)

1107

1107



1122

1122

opp. 85

documents which is so clearly a Rochester, not a Canterbury compilation, is a strong indication that he was permanently based at Rochester. Moreover, this same scribe was responsible for the Rochester contribution to the mortuary roll of Abbot Vitalis of Savigny, a useful source of datable specimens of script from many houses in England and France in the third decade of the twelfth century.¹ The Rochester entry is uncharacteristically badly written but it is, nevertheless, obviously the hand of the Textus scribe. Since the entry is careless it is hardly likely that the copyist was a professional and given the fact that it is a contribution to an abbot's mortuary roll, it is most probably copied by a monk who was resident at Rochester. Circumstantial and paleographical evidence thus point to the probability that the Textus scribe was a Rochester monk.

Most, if not all of these Group B manuscripts, then, were written at Rochester. Study of the plates will show that the different manuscripts closely resemble each other. Rochester priory, if anywhere, seems to have developed a uniform style. The hands of the scribes of these manuscripts are very difficult to separate, as even the most experienced critics have admitted. The task is all the more complicated because at Rochester there were so many scribes at work. A careful examination of their work should shed light on the meaning of the term house-style. How consistent were these scribes? What aspects of book production were regarded as conventions which all scribes observed? What aspects of the process were left to individual initiative? Such questions can only be answered by examining the methods of as many as possible of the individual scribes in the scriptorium. Each scribe who copied a complete manuscript or who contributed to more than one manuscript will be discussed. The description commences with the scribe of the one datable manuscript, that containing Ralph's works, and then continues with the scribes who can be directly linked with him, including the Textus scribe who copied several folios in Royal 12 C. i. In turn, further scribes can be connected with these. In this way a chain of scribes can be built up around the two scribes, the scribe of Ralph's works and the Textus scribe. The diagram opposite is an aid to the sequence of descriptions. Each rectangle represents a manuscript and where these rectangles are divided into several sections, this indicates the work of different scribes within each manuscript. Lines between the

1. Ker, English MSS, p. 16

rectangles show that the manuscripts are connected by a scribe in common. The lines run between particular sections of the rectangles to indicate exactly which part of each book is written by the same scribe, e.g. Royal 12 C.i is joined to Royal 5 A.vii, fos. 1-84. The manuscripts above the first date-line were probably written before or soon after 1107 before the Rochester script was liberated from its antecedents in Group A. Those between the 1107 line and the next line, representing 1122, are the books produced when the scriptorium was at a peak, that is when the most and the best manuscripts were produced.

i Scribes who can be linked with each other

Scribe 1 : the scribe of the 'Ralph' manuscript (Plate VI)

The earliest manuscript in which the new fine black script appears is the collection of Ralph's works, Royal 12 C.i, which is most probably a direct copy of the author's original. This text was written and, according to the prologue, circulated before the author had given permission. The prologue, copied by the Textus scribe, was inserted a little while after the manuscript was first produced. Both text and prologue, which must have been written at the personal dictation of the author, and were thus produced before Ralph moved to Battle in 1107. Evidently the new script on the Christ Church model had been imported to Rochester by this date. As yet, however, it was not a style that was adopted by every scribe.

The main scribe of the 'Ralph' manuscript on fos. 3-112, writes a small neat script in black ink (Plate VI). The script is well proportioned, the minuscule letters being as wide as they are tall and ascenders being about one and a half times as tall as the minims. The script, although small, takes up the whole of the space between the ruled lines for this too is small, only 5-6 mm deep. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif (II, a. l. 9). Descenders always end in a serif at an acute angle to the right of the stem but this line is barely visible (VI, b. l. 9). The script is very plain, unusually so, because of the complete absence of hair-lines. Several of his letter forms and ligatures are distinctive. His minuscule 'a' has no head at all (VI, a. l. 18). He also writes a peculiar

form of minuscule 'n' in which the right hand minim is indented, *n̄*, (VI, a.1.19). The ampersand is also unusual because it is so cramped and the right hand arm is low, not even as tall as the main body of the letter (VI, a.1.25). This first scribe always writes a 'ct' ligature (VI, b.1.1), a slightly archaic practice. He also often writes a half uncial 'd' (VI, a.1.3) but rarely a round 's'.

This same hand appears in Trinity, MS. O.2.24 and B.L., Royal 5 A.vii. In those manuscripts, too, he uses the '-orum' sign (VI, a.1.4, VI, b.1.10), the 'ct' ligature (VI, b.1.1) and the half uncial 'd' (VI, b.1.2). He always uses too the Tironian symbol for 'est' (VI, b.1.20), viz. not a minuscule 'e' standing on its own, and he always abbreviates '-que', '-bus' and 'sed' with a semi-colon. Abbreviation is not extensive although contraction is common in complex words. Suprascripts are known but not much used. In addition, he distinguishes between a diphthong 'ae' and 'oe'. This is a refinement which is common among Group B manuscripts although it was not known in those of Group A.¹ A tailed 'e' to indicate diphthong 'ae' is quite common in early twelfth century manuscripts but the distinction made by this scribe and others at Rochester is more unusual. For a diphthong 'ae', this scribe wrote an 'e' with a long tail, but for a diphthong 'oe', he wrote an 'e' with a short tail, as written in the list overleaf and as shown in the plate (VI, a.1.12 cf VI, a.1.17).


This scribe is not consistent in his punctuation, which is different in one manuscript from that of the other two. In Royal 12 C.i and the Trinity manuscript, this scribe uses only the low point, positioned above the line, and the punctus elevatus, but in Royal 5 A.vii the punctuation is less clear and the points seem to occur at two levels, low and median. Where a new sentence begins there is a majuscule letter and if this coincides with the beginning of a line, the capital is projected into the margin. This scribe corrects his own text by erasure or by signe de renvoi and when he uses the latter his inventiveness in his signs seems unending. His favourite signs seem to be the following, *p, f, L, f, Y, ;, A*. Annotations are common too but their forms are limited to a majuscule 'A' and a minuscule 'r'.

As regards the preparation of the page, this scribe, too, is tidy, ruling his pages with a dry point in the regular pattern 1,2;P,U with two vertical lines in each margin.

1. First noticed by Dr. Ker in English MSS, pl.12 and Plates II, III, IV.

Yet he had difficulty ruling the lines parallel to the edge of the page and sometimes, as in the case of the Trinity manuscript, the ruling slants upwards. Some of the quire signatures are letters, others are numbers. They are always at the foot of the last verso of the quire. As well as the script, this scribe wrote his own rubrics which are consistently in red minuscule. He introduces the text, though, by different means. Sometimes he simply placed a large plain red letter at the beginning then wrote the rest of the word in minuscule.¹ In part of the same manuscript and in Royal 5 A.vii not only the first letter is enlarged and coloured, but also the rest of the word is in black capitals of descending size, highlighted in red.

Scribe 2 : the Prickly Scribe (Plate VII)

It has been observed that although the 'Ralph' scribe wrote a neat black script, those who co-operated with him did not write so neatly. An extreme example of this is the scribe who works with the 'Ralph' scribe in Royal 5 A.vii, on fos. 85-160 (Plate VII). His hand is very prickly and letters are uneven partly because the strokes are often forked and therefore appear disjointed. It is a small script in brown ink which is difficult to read. The minims, as well as the ascenders, are clubbed and it is the former, not the latter, which are forked (l.5, 'qui'). The descenders are uneven and if they do have serifs, these are flat (l.12). The only ligature this scribe uses is the 'st' one (l.3). He rarely uses the half uncial 'd', the round 'r' or the round 's'. The abbreviation symbols are very careless, a curved line for '-m' (l.6), an unattached hook for '-us' and an elongated sign for contracted '-ur', viz. . This scribe does not use a Tironian 'est' but a minuscule 'e' with a line above. He does not abbreviate very much, only in the simplest words, and although he uses a semi-colon to abbreviate '-que', his sign for '-bus' is distinctive, a wavy line resembling an 's', viz. 'b̄s'. This same feature combined with the same choice of ligatures occur in another manuscript, Royal 5 B.xiii, which is written throughout by this scribe.

Several punctuation symbols occur in the work of this scribe, a low point, median point, a punctus elevatus and a circumflexus, all in the one manuscript, an unusual combination. Annotation is quite common, the nota sign, the minuscule 'a', and 'r' and the

1. e.g. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.2.24

majuscule 'A' all appearing. Correction symbols are varied too, in fact, so varied that this scribe does not repeat a particular signe de renvoi. The appearance of the pages of this script is not improved by the careless ruling, which often is not straight. In one manuscript, Royal 5 B.xiii, it is done in a dry point and follows the unusual format 1,2;A.P, since the first two lines and the two next to last, not the bottom two, are extended into the margin. In the other manuscript the top two and the bottom two lines are extended into the margin, and there is one vertical line at each side of the page, in keeping with the practice of the first scribe of the manuscript. This scribe is more organised in two other aspects of book production, quire signatures and contents tables. All the quire signatures of this scribe are at the foot of the last verso. The table of contents has been written by the scribe himself on the flyleaf of the manuscript. He was responsible for most of his own rubrics, too, which are all in red minuscule. A few have been inserted by the Textus scribe. He does not bother with display script but simply introduces the text with a large red capital followed by the rest of the word in brown capitals of normal size.

A similar hand to the one just described occurs in B.L. Royal 5 B.vii, and another in B.L. Royal 6 A.xii. The hand in Royal 5 B.vii is not that of the 'Prickly' scribe for its letter forms, particularly 'g' and 'd' are distinctive. The second similar hand in Royal 6 A.xii is also to be distinguished from this scribe because he uses round 'r' frequently whereas Scribe 2 does not, and does not employ the unusual abbreviation for '-bus' used by this scribe. Furthermore, the scribe in Royal 6 A.xii writes a minuscule 'a' with a large head. It is interesting that this form of script existed at Rochester at an early date and persisted despite the general improvement in copying at the scriptorium. It is evidence that the Rochester scriptorium included copyists who had been trained elsewhere, or who were from an earlier generation.

Scribe 3 : the Textus Scribe (Plates VIII and IX)

This scribe has been recognised at the beginning of the 'Ralph' manuscript by Dr. Bishop and identified by him and Dr. Ker¹ with the scribe who wrote the Textus Roffensis

1. Ker, English MSS, p.31 and Plate 11.a.
Bishop, T.A.M., "Notes on Cambridge MSS", Cambridge Bibliographical Society, Vol. 1, 1953, p.440, henceforward "Notes".

and nine other complete manuscripts, of which eight are in the catalogue, and part of another manuscript in which he co-operates with another scribe. These are B.L. Royal 5 B.xii, Royal 6 A.iv, Royal 6 C.iv, Royal 8 D.xvi, Royal 15 A.xxii, fos. 110-117; Cambridge, University Library MS Ff. 4.32, Cambridge, Trinity College MS 0.4.7; Eton College MS 80; Lambeth Palace MS 76 and Oxford, Bodley 134. Just because he produced so many manuscripts, it is worth examining his work in detail to see how the methods of a scribe evolved through the years. It might be expected that because this scribe produced so many manuscripts over a long period of time, his work would reveal more changes than usual, as a result of the influence of age or fashion. In fact, his script is remarkably consistent but some of his auxiliary practices change, as will become clear in the following analysis.

The scribe of the Textus Roffensis, henceforth the Textus scribe, writes a very fine script in black ink (Plates VIII and IX). The size of the script is of an even height throughout one particular manuscript but is varied from manuscript to manuscript. The minim is usually 3 mm tall but in some manuscripts it is as much as 3.5 mm as in Trinity 0.4.7 (Plate IX), whereas in the small book, Royal 15 A.xxii, the minim is only 2.5 mm tall (Plate X). The whole of the space between the ruled lines is utilised, ascenders and descenders being long enough to touch each other without overlapping. This usually means that the ascenders are not quite double the height of a minim but it is at least one and a half times as high.

The individual letters are confidently formed, minuscule letters being as wide as they are tall. Minims and ascenders are clubbed and in some manuscripts the ascenders have a forked serif. Descenders usually end in a serif at an acute angle to the stem; again, in some manuscripts the descenders do not have serifs.¹ Hair-lines are few and only occur with some regularity on minuscule 'e'. Some books do not contain hair-lines at all.² The letter forms which distinguish this scribe's hand from others are the ample head on minuscule 'a' (Plate VIII, I.11.a), and the swinging tail on the 'g' (Plate VIII, I.11a) and an unusual form of '-orum' abbreviation in which the head of the right hand stroke points to the right, not to the left, viz. 'ozf' not 'ozf' (Plate.VIII, I.14.b). The

1. e.g. B.L., Royal 8 D.xvi, cf. Royal 6 C.iv.

2. e.g. B.L., Royal 8 D.xvi.

Principal ligatures and abbreviations of Scribe 3 (Textus scribe)

	et		st
	or		-orum
	d		and
the verb 'to be'			est
			esse
a deliberate cup-shaped mark			filium
a hook			eius
a compact symbol resembling a figure two			igitur
semicolon sign			atque
semicolon sign			omnibus
semicolon sign			sed
superscript closed 'a'			qua
superscript open 'a'			praetermitto
superscript open 'a'			contra
tailed 'e'			filiae
tailed 'e'			coepit

ampersand is distinctive too because it is comparatively large (Plate VIII, l.2.b). The scribe is marked out from many others, but not the 'Ralph' scribe, because he maintains the 'ct' ligature (Plate VIII, l.8.b.) in all his manuscripts, which was an old-fashioned practice. This scribe is consistent, too, in his use of round 'r' (Plate VIII, l.10.a.) but rarely uses round 's' except in the abbreviation for 'deus'. He often uses a half uncial 'd' in positions other than occasions where it is necessary to save space. He is consistent in his form of abbreviation for '-m', '-us' and '-ur'. The symbol for the first is a deliberate cup-shaped mark, not a plain curve like that of the prickly scribe (Plate VIII, l.9.a, cf. Plate VII, l.10). The hook is used for the '-us' abbreviation (Plate VIII, l.11.a), which is standard, but it is noticeably compact.

This scribe is consistent in his choice of forms of abbreviation for common words, the Tironian symbol for 'est', but a pair of minuscule 'e' with a contraction mark above for 'esse'. He always employs a semicolon sign to abbreviate '-bus', '-que' and 'sed'. He always makes the distinction between diphthong 'ae' and diphthong 'oe', even in the least abbreviated manuscripts.¹

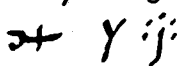
Abbreviation is much more extensive in some of his manuscripts than others, and some of those manuscripts which are extensively abbreviated contain suprascripts. Indeed, these only occur when abbreviation is extensive and do not appear in manuscripts which are hardly abbreviated. Furthermore, in some manuscripts this scribe makes a distinction between a closed suprascript 'a' and an open suprascript 'a'. The employment of these different forms of suprascript 'a' is a recurring feature of Rochester manuscripts and it is appropriate to explain the system in the course of a description of one of the more able exponents of it. A suprascript 'a' always indicates the contraction of a syllable ending in 'a'. If the contracted syllable followed 'q', the normal form of minuscule 'a' was written above the 'q' (^aq = qua). If the contracted syllable was '-ra-', a minuscule 'a' which was not properly closed was placed above the consonant preceding the contracted syllable (cont^a = contra).² Some scribes tended to employ an open suprascript 'a' to indicate, instead, the contraction of '-rae-', a syllable which occurs very frequently after 'p' (^ap = prae). The more able scribes, however, like this one, always placed a suprascript open

1. B.L., Royal 8 D.xvi, Royal 6 A.iv.

2. c.f. Vézin, J., Les Scriptoria d'Angers, 1974, p.162.

'a' in the place of a contracted '-ra-' and '-rae' but never to indicate '-ua'.

The Textus scribe is very careful to punctuate firmly, even to the point of ensuring that hyphens at the ends of lines are even and parallel with others at the end of previous lines (Plate VIII, 1.7,10,13.a). Most of the manuscripts contain a punctus elevatus within the sentence and punctus just above the line both within the sentence and at the end (Plate VIII, 1.16.a.). To indicate the beginning of the following sentence a majuscule letter is written and if this is at the beginning of a line the capital is projected into the margin. One manuscript¹ may contain a punctus at median height, like manuscripts in Group A, but this is difficult to decide because of the uncertain level of the low point in this scribe's system. In the same manuscript the end of a chapter within the book is indicated with a semicolon.² This too may be connected with the chronology of the manuscripts. In four manuscripts a punctuation sign previously unknown in England, the punctus circumflexus, is employed.³

Most of the annotations and corrections in these manuscripts are done by the scribe himself. His annotation symbols include majuscule and minuscule 'a', minuscule 'r' and 's', and majuscule 'n' and a nota sign. The forms of 'a' and 'r' are the most common. A characteristic of this scribe is his ostentatious method of correction. He does not correct by erasure but uses a variety of signes de renvoi, often highlighted in red. Those most frequently occurring are: . Of these, the last one is unique to this scribe.

As regards the preparation of the manuscript page and the construction of the books, the scribe lacks consistency. The manuscript page is always neatly ruled and always ruled in a dry point except for one quire in Royal 8 D.xvi, which is ruled in lead point. Yet the format of the ruling is less consistent. In some books the pattern is 1,2;P,U but in others it is 1,3;A,U. There are always two vertical lines in each margin and three in the central space between two columns of script where this arrangement is preferred.

Nor was this scribe consistent in his quire signatures. He generally placed them at the base of the last verso of each quire in the centre of the page. An exception was

1. Royal 8 D.xvi

2. As in B.L., Royal 6 C.iv, 5 B.xii, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 134, Trinity, MS. 0.4.7.

3. e.g. Trinity, MS. 0.4.7, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 134, B.L., Royal 5 C.i, Lambeth Palace, MS 76.

sometimes made on the last quire which is sometimes signed at the base of the first recto.¹ This was a useful innovation in case for any reason the last quire was shortened. The position of the signatures may be regular but the form of the signatures was not. Some manuscripts had minuscule letters as signatures,² others were numbers. He was almost unique among Rochester scribes in this respect. Only one other scribe, Scribe I, produced one manuscript, Trinity College, MS 0.4.24, with quire signatures as letters.

The Textus scribe also made provision for the reader to find his way about the book. In the manuscripts which contain several opuscula, all except one, namely Bodley 134, he wrote a list of the contents in his usual unadorned hand on the flyleaf of the book. He was also thorough in the matter of rubrics. He always wrote them himself in red minuscule. It is less clear whether he wrote his own display capitals. There are often marginal notes in the manuscripts indicating that a coloured capital was to be inserted in the text. Obviously these letters were coloured in after the whole text had been copied so the task was probably done by another scribe or by an artist.³ The methods of writing titles and starting a text were multifarious. Those in the manuscripts of this scribe, even, are of many different types. Sometimes the first heading in the manuscript is in round and angular capitals, that is a mixture of uncial and rustic forms, probably originally modelled on monumental capitals. The letters are the same size as the text majuscule and coloured red, whereas other headings are in red minuscule.⁴ The first line of the text at the beginning of a book or the beginning of a chapter takes different forms, too. In some manuscripts the first line of the text is in black mixed capitals of descending size but in other manuscripts the capitals are all the same size.⁵ In both types the letters are highlighted with a red or red and green background. In the Trinity manuscript, the scribe follows a completely different system for there the first lines are in very large capitals and it is not until the fifth line that there are capitals of text size.

Only two of this scribe's manuscripts are illuminated, the Textus Roffensis and Royal 5 C.i, which was copied after Catalogue I was compiled. The opening of the

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1. e.g. Cambridge, Trinity, MS. 0.4.7.
 2. B.L., Royal 6 A.iv, Lambeth Palace, MS 76, Eton College, MS 80, Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.4.32.
 3. Alexander, J.J.G., "Scribes as Artists", Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries, ed. M.B. Parkes & A.G. Watson, 1978, pp.87-116.
 4. Trinity, MS. 0.4.7, c.f. B.L., Royal 8 D.xvi.
 5. B.L. Royal 8 D.xvi, Royal 5 B.xii, c.f. Eton College, MS 80, Trinity, MS. 0.4.7.

Textus is a very large ink initial 'R', which is the height of the written page. It is historiated with a holy man meditating and two dragons. The illumination in the other manuscript is complete different for the initials are much smaller and are coloured. The letters are painted over a yellow wash but the actual outline of the letter is in a red or green narrow line. The shape of the letter is often decorated with foliage. Animals, usually dragons, lions or griffins, are painted in the space within the letter on a dark purple ground. It is conceivable that the Textus scribe drew the initial in the Textus Roffensis but he was not responsible for those in the other manuscript. Initials in the hand of this same illuminator occur in several Rochester manuscripts of the first catalogue and later.¹ The task of the scribe and illuminator seem to have been separated at Rochester so illumination will have only a minor place in subsequent discussion.

To sum up, what conclusions can be drawn about the consistency of practice of this scribe? The hand of this scribe is very fine and remarkably consistent, but even so there are some variations and these serve as a guide to what allowances must be made when trying to distinguish different hands or to establish that separate manuscripts are in the same hand. This scribe's letter forms, ligatures and standard abbreviations are always the same so obviously these must be the main guide in establishing that the hands in two different manuscripts belong to a single scribe. Similarly, the scribe regularly uses the same instrument for ruling so this should be helpful. The annotations and corrections by this scribe were noted for their individuality so this type of evidence may be helpful in separating one scribe from another. On the other hand, the abbreviations and punctuation vary in the manuscripts copied by this scribe. He even makes variations in his quire signatures. The pattern of ruling and rubrics also vary somewhat. Such variables therefore should not inhibit decisions on identifying a scribe. In these matters, either a scribe was following individual fancy or he was following a more modern convention. In the case of rubrics, for example, the scribe made his own choice from several well-established methods. Yet, in the case of abbreviation, the changes introduce new elements, hitherto not known in manuscripts, but which point towards the future increase in the extent and forms of abbreviation. Conceivably, these changes were made in accordance with new conventions rather than purely individual fancy.

1. e.g. B.L., Royal 6 B.vi, 5 D.iii.

Scribe 4 : the Partner of the Textus Scribe (Plates X and XI)

Mention has been made of one manuscript, Royal 15 A.xxii, in which the Textus scribe shares the labour with another scribe whose hand is similar but less distinctive than that of the scribe just discussed. It has been asserted that this scribe probably wrote several other Rochester manuscripts, listed by Dr. Ker¹ as B.L. Royal 5 B.iv, Royal 5 D.ix, Royal 6 B.vi, fos. 1-22, Royal 6 D.ii and Oxford, Bodley 387. Two parts of manuscripts have been added to this list by Dr. Bishop², namely C.C.C.C. 332, fos. 41-90, and Trinity College, MS 0.2.24, fos. 133 to the end.

For some time there has been uncertainty over the identity of this scribe and the previous one.³ One manuscript by each scribe contains an inscription in a later hand naming Humfrey the precentor⁴ but the meaning of these inscriptions has never been clarified. In one of them, Royal 5 B.xii, copied by scribe 3, there is a fourteenth century inscription 'Memoriale Humfridi precentoris' which was expanded in the fifteenth century by another inscription, 'Hunc librum scripsit Frater Humfridus in claustro Roffens quondam illius cathedrae precentor'. In another, Royal 5 B.iv, copied by this scribe, Scribe 4, is a thirteenth century inscription saying that Humfrey the precentor wrote this manuscript. If any of these inscriptions are accurate, the one in Royal 5 B.iv must be accepted because it is the earliest and because it is the first one specifically to state that Humfrey actually copied the manuscript. If Scribe 4 was the precentor, he supervised the work of the other scribes and may even have introduced the new script to Rochester. It will be interesting to see how his work developed and whether it influenced or reflected the work of other scribes.⁵

The hand responsible for most of this script, as it appears in Royal 15 A.xxii, is confident and attractive. The script is in a medium stroke and dark brown ink. Although small, the script is well proportioned and takes up all the space between the ruled lines. His form of minuscule 'g' is perhaps distinctive because sometimes, instead of turning back on itself, the tail ends in a definite serif (Plate X, l.4, c.f. l.7). He is consistent in

1. Ker, *English MSS*, p.31.

2. Bishop, "Notes", Vol. 1, pp.440-441.


3. c.f. Ker, *English MSS*, p.31 Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue of Royal MSS*, Royal 5B.iv


4. There is no mention of Humfrey, precentor, in Rochester records although a Rochester monk, Humfridus did witness a document in the Textus which refers to this period.

5. See pp.125-26.

Principal ligatures and abbreviations of Scribe 4 (Hunfrey)

<i>ct</i>	ct	<i>st</i>	st
<i>oz</i>	or	<i>oz</i>	-orum
<i>d</i>	d	<i>de</i>	and
		<i>+ e</i>)) est
		<i>ee</i>	esse
		<i>filu</i>	filium
		<i>ei</i>	eius
		<i>igit</i>	igitur
		<i>turbat</i>	turbatur
		<i>atq;</i>	atque
	<i>omnib;</i>	<i>omnib;</i>) omnibus
	<i>omnib;</i>	<i>omnib;</i>)
		<i>;</i>	sed
		<i>q</i>	qua
		<i>ptermitto</i>	praetermitto
		<i>cont</i>	contra
		<i>filie</i>	filiae
		<i>cepit</i>	coepit

3/ the use of the 'st' ligature and often uses round 'r' (Pl. X, l.14) and round 's' (Pl. X, l.2) at the ends of words but avoids the round 'd' and the 'ct' ligature. He is less consistent in his forms for recognised abbreviations. For 'est' he uses both the Tironian symbol and minuscule 'e'. He always uses the semicolon to abbreviate '-que' (Plate X, l.14) but he has several symbols to abbreviate '-bus'. In addition to the semicolon sign and the hook (Plate X, l.6), which is an established sign for suspended '-us', he also uses a wavy line which resembles an 's'¹ and another one in the shape of a number 3, viz. ². He frequently abbreviates syllables including '-ent' and 'er' (Plate X, l.6, l.20). He even transfers the sign for a suspended '-ur' to the middle of a word to indicate the contraction, rather than the suspension, of the same syllable. He distinguishes between a diphthong 'ae' and diphthong 'oe'. He too eventually learns to distinguish between a contracted '-ua' or 'a' which he indicates with a closed suprascript 'a' (Plate X, l.13) and a contracted '-ra' which he indicates with a suprascript open 'a' (Plate X, l.18). In some manuscripts, however, he only uses a suprascript open 'a' to indicate contracted '-ra' after 'p' and in every other case writes a closed 'a'.

The punctuation of the manuscripts of this scribe is straightforward, a low point and a punctus elevatus. Occasionally the punctus versus occurs at the end of a sentence if it is the end of a chapter. The punctus circumflexus occurs in only one manuscript, Bodley 387. He uses several annotation symbols, the minuscule and majuscule 'a', the minuscule 'r' and the nota sign. Correction is done by signes de renvoi, the letters 'y', 'h' and the Greek  being particularly common.

In the preparation of the page, this scribe was neat and consistent. He regularly adopts the format of extending the top two and the bottom two horizontal lines and rules two vertical lines in each margin. Where there are two columns there are three vertical lines in each space. He always signs the quires with a number at the foot of the last verso in the centre, in one case, even when other scribes signed with letters.³ Furthermore, he was sufficiently organised to put a table of contents in the one manuscript which contained several opuscula, Bodley 387. He is remarkably consistent in his form of rubrication, always writing them in red round and angular capitals the same size as the

1. Like the scribe in Plate XII, l.8. 2. e.g. Royal 5 D.ix
 3. Trinity, MS. O.2.24, c.f. B.L., Royal 6 A.xii, where there are some quire signatures in a different position written by somebody else.

text. He has an interesting variation for the display script of one manuscript, Royal 5 D.ix. In this the title is written in multi-coloured capitals of descending size forming a diminuendo until the size of the capitals in the text is reached.

On the basis of these features some modifications must be made to Dr. Ker's list of manuscripts written by this scribe.¹ He is not responsible for the first item in Royal 6 B.vi but the succeeding ones. The first scribe of Royal 6 B.vi, on fos. 1-23 writes a fine angular script in black ink.² The minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter to a forked serif, and the descenders are of even length, regularly ending in a serif at an acute angle to the main stem of the letter. What is unusual about this scribe is the scarcity of hair-lines and the total absence of round 'r'. Clearly this scribe is a little different from the one just described. Yet the second scribe in the same manuscript has all the characteristics just related and must be identified as Scribe 4.

Moreover, another part of a manuscript can be added to the list, namely, Royal 6 A.xii, fos. 92-121. This section of the manuscript is in a fine script in which occurs the distinct form of minuscule 'g' with the serif at the end of the tail rather than the round tail. Nothing about this scribe's methods contradicts those just described except that the quire signatures are at the top of the first recto. This is only a minor deviation and probably explained by the fact that another scribe was responsible for them.

Scribe 5 (Plate XII)

The last important scribe who can be linked directly to the Textus scribe is the main scribe in Royal 6 A.xii, who co-operates with Scribe 4 in copying this manuscript. The hand of this scribe, Scribe 5, is very similar to, perhaps modelled on, that of Scribe 4. It is a medium size well-proportioned script in broad stroke and brown ink. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Ascenders and descenders are short. The minuscule 'g' usually has a tail which curves back on itself but sometimes it ends in a serif like the second hand in the manuscript (Plate XII, l.6). Descenders always end in an obvious hair-line serif at an acute angle to the stem. There are several

1. Ker, English MSS, p.31

2. Warner, G.F., and Gilson, J.P., Catalogue of Royal Manuscripts, 1921, Plate 45d.

distinctive letters, though, a trailing head on minuscule 'a' (Plate XII, l.7) and an unusual sign for '-orum' in which the right hand stem is close to the left hand one and looks like a reverse 's', viz. 'oz' (Plate XII, l.11) He uses round 's' at the end of words and round 'r' but only uses round 'd' to save space. He never uses the 'ct' ligature. On this basis it is possible to recognise the same hand in the first half of Royal 5 B.x. In that manuscript, there is a hand which is distinguished by the unusual '-orum' sign and the trailing head on minuscule 'a'. In other aspects of book production, the two manuscripts are similar.

The punctuation is based on the low point placed firmly on the line and the punctus elevatus. Occasionally, the punctus circumflexus occurs and at the end of a section a punctus versus appears at the end of a sentence. Capitals are set into the margin. Both manuscripts are annotated, minuscule 'a' and 'r' being favourite forms. The scribe corrects his own text with a few signes de renvoi undistinguished in themselves. Abbreviation is extensive but he is not consistent in his forms for standard abbreviations. In Royal 5 B.x he normally abbreviates '-que' and '-bus' with a semicolon sign. In the other manuscript, however, he also uses the wavy 's' like sign and the sign resembling a number '3'. Suprascripts are common in both manuscripts and an attempt is made to distinguish between a contracted '-ra' and a contracted '-ua' (Plate XII, l.25, cf. l.26). He attempts to make a distinction between a diphthong 'ae' and a diphthong 'oe' but does not always succeed. He seems to be a scribe who could copy a fine script but did not have sufficient Latin to include the refinements developed by other scribes.

As regards the other scribal arts, this scribe was consistent. He always follows the pattern 1,2;P,U combined with two vertical lines in each margin. He does not, however, always place quire signatures in the same position.¹ In his rubrics this scribe always writes mixed capitals of normal size which were originally in red but some have since oxidised. The first line of the text is in similar capitals in ordinary ink.

1. In both this scribe's two manuscripts, there are two series of signatures and it is difficult to determine which is original. In Royal 6 A.xii the signatures are at the top of the first recto, and some are letters, others are numbers. In Royal 5 B.x one series is at the foot of the first recto and another at the foot of the last verso.

This exhausts the possibilities of linking scribes with the Textus scribe and the scribe of the 'Ralph' manuscript. The links are drawn on the diagram facing p. 85 and from this it is clear that through the five scribes who have been discussed at length, it is possible to link fourteen manuscripts directly with the Textus. The Textus scribe occurs in Royal 12 C.i which has a scribe in common with Royal 5 A.vii, which has a scribe in common with Royal 5 B.xiii in which the hand is similar to a scribe in Royal 5 B.vii. The Textus scribe works with another outstanding scribe in Royal 15 A.xxii, who himself was responsible for four other complete manuscripts and wrote sections of Trinity College MS O.2.24, C.C.C.C. 332, Royal 6 B.vi and Royal 6 A.xii, which has a scribe in common with Royal 5 B.x.

In these fourteen manuscripts, at least 19 hands have been distinguished. In addition to the scribes who have been studied in depth, there are another 13, but since each one of them only features in a fraction of a manuscript, consideration of their hands has been relegated to the appendix. There remain, however, several important manuscripts from Catalogue I which were written by outstanding scribes, who copied at least one manuscript each but who cannot be linked directly to the Textus on the basis of the surviving material. Examination of their hands nevertheless reveals that they closely resemble the script of the Textus scribe, which is evidence that they were contemporaries of him.

ii Scribes probably contemporary with the Textus scribe.

Scribe 6 : the scribe of the third volume of Augustine on the Psalter (Plate XIII)

Study of the plate of this script could convince anyone that the hand resembles that of the Textus scribe and the others discussed above. The script is well proportioned, well spaced and written in black ink. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders are regularly the same length and always end in hair-line serifs at an acute angle to the stem. Other hair-lines are rare. The only discernible difference between this hand and scribes 3 and 4 is that the ascenders and descenders are longer and the script therefore appears more delicate. This characteristic is best seen on the minuscule 'g' whose tail goes down a long way before it curves to the

left (Pl. XIII, 1.4.b). Otherwise the individual letter forms are barely distinguishable from those of other scribes. He uses a round 'r' (Pl. XIII, 1.2.b), round 's' (Pl. XIII, 1.22.b), but only sometimes a round 'd'. The 'st' ligature is regularly used but not the 'ct' one. The sign for '-orum' is plain. A possible difference between this scribe and others lies in the variety of symbols for the suspension of '-us' after 'b'. Not only does he use the semicolon sign and the standard suspension sign of a hook for '-us', but also a new sign in the shape of a number three, only observed in one manuscript so far, Royal 5 D.ix.

Abbreviation by suspension and contraction is extensive, '-er', 'con-' and 'pre-' often being contracted and ends of words frequently suspended. Superscripts are common, too, open headed 'a' being placed above a contracted '-ra', but this scribe rarely contracts '-ua', which may also distinguish him from other scribes. As well as superscript 'i', this scribe employs superscript 'o' over 'p' to indicate 'post'. This scribe, like the others, usually, but not always, makes a distinction between diphthong 'oe' and diphthong 'ae'. All his manuscripts are annotated, either with a minuscule or majuscule 'A' or a minuscule or majuscule 'R', which is less common. This scribe, too, does his own corrections which he indicates with an extremely wide variety of signes de renvoi. The punctuation of all his manuscripts consists of a low point and punctus elevatus and at the end of each homily he places a punctus versus, a feature known amongst Rochester scribes but not regularly employed. On the grounds of the shape of the script, the shape of abbreviation for '-bus', the absence of closed superscript 'a' and the use of the punctus versus, it is possible to identify this hand as responsible for two other manuscripts, Royal 3 B.i (Plate XIV) and Royal 5 A.xv.

From these books, it is possible to see that this scribe is very consistent in his ruling and use of quire signatures. He always employs a dry point except in Royal 5 D.ii, where there is some ruling over in plummet. The pattern is constantly 1,2;P,U. In single column books there is only one vertical line in each margin, a method not adopted by any other scribe with a similar hand. The one double column book, though, contains two vertical lines in each margin and three in the central space, like other scribes. In all his books quire signatures are numbered at the foot of the last verso.

This scribe is less consistent in his style of rubrication. Most frequently the headings are in mixed capitals of the same size as the text. The first line or the first word of the text is in similar capitals but where the first letter is illuminated, the first line may be in black enlarged capitals and then the second line in capitals of normal size. The black capitals are always highlighted in red, another detail which may distinguish this scribe from others.

The commentary on the Psalter is, as usual, illuminated although the pictures do not tie in with the text for they even include a picture of a Norman soldier on horseback, f.197^v.¹ This and some of the other subjects occur in other manuscripts. The lion on f.213 is modelled on the opening initial of Royal 5 D.i.² The technique of illumination in this manuscript is much better and the letter much more attractive. The initials are usually on a yellow ground and painted in bright colours, red, blue and green. A refinement is seen in the use of white for highlighting. The shape of the initials are sometimes formed by lions, dragons or snakes. The other historiated initials, including the two narrative scenes on fos. 70^v and 227^v, are not repeated in other Rochester manuscripts but the plain initials in this book are similar to others produced by this scriptorium. That on f.33^v resembles Royal 3 B.i, f.65^v and both are similar to Royal 5 D.ix. The opening initial is rather crude and shares the characteristics of Group A manuscripts.

Scribe 7 : the Corpus Scribe (Plate XV)

Another hand which closely resembles the one just described and is also very like Scribe 4, occurs in C.C.C.C. MS 184, Eusebius' Historia Ecclesiastica, which was copied from a Christ Church manuscript. The script of the manuscript is in a Rochester, as opposed to a Christ Church style,³ a judgment confirmed by the fact that this hand occurs in another twelfth century manuscript with is preserved (unnumbered) in Rochester cathedral, Augustine's de consensu evangelistarum.

1. c.f. Royal 6 C.vi, f.79^v in Kauffmann, C.M., Romanesque Manuscripts, 1975, no. 37.
2. Ibid., no. 38
3. See Ch. V.

In both manuscripts the script is upright and well proportioned. Although the script in the Corpus manuscript is slightly larger than in the Rochester cathedral manuscript, the script in both is well spaced, the minim being a third of the space between the ruled lines. The minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter sometimes, but not always having a forked serif. Descenders regularly end in a hair-line serif at an acute angle to the stem but, interestingly, some descenders are noticeably longer than others (Plate XV, l.21 and 23). It is this feature which makes it possible for the hands in the two manuscripts to be identified as one. Another feature in common is a minuscule 'a' with a clearly defined head (Plate XV, l.9). The scribe uses round 'r' and round 's' but not the 'ct' ligature and hair-lines are rare.

Also the low point and the punctus elevatus are the basis of the punctuation and at the end of a chapter or text is placed a punctus versus. Annotation in both manuscripts is rare but correction is common and a variety of signes de renvoi is used. Abbreviation in both manuscripts is extensive but this scribe does not distinguish between an 'oe' and an 'ae' (Plate XV, l.5 and 6). This failure to distinguish between diphthongs is most peculiar because the scribe is familiar with the two forms of tailed 'e' but he uses them indifferently to mean both diphthong 'oe' and diphthong 'ae'. Thus 'c^esi' should be expanded to 'caesi' not 'coesi'. He does distinguish between suprascripts open and closed 'a'. The scribe is consistent in his quire signatures, which are always numbers at the foot of the last verso, and in his rubrics, which are red round and angular capitals of normal size. He is not consistent in his ruling, however, for in one manuscript he uses dry point only but in the other he uses both dry point and plummet. The ruling in each manuscript is slightly different; horizontal lines are ruled throughout following the usual format 1,2;P,U in both manuscripts but in the Corpus manuscript there is only one vertical bounding line in each margin and in the other there are two such lines.

This scribe is the best example of an individual who adopts the same methods as Scribe 4, 'Humfrey the Precentor'. Scribe 7 is distinguished from Scribe 4 (Plates X and XI) because of the length of his descenders and the form of minuscule 'a'. The other letter forms are similar since both scribes use round 's' and round 'r' but not the 'ct' ligature. This scribe, though, does not have the same variety of abbreviation signs as Scribe 4 but

limits himself to certain signs, always using a semicolon symbol to abbreviate '-que' and a similar sign or a hook for '-bus'. His inability to distinguish between 'oe' and 'ae' is a major reason for separating him from Scribe 4. On the other hand, both scribes consistently use the same punctuation system, a low point, punctus elevatus and occasionally a punctus versus, and share the same form of quire signatures, of preparing the page and writing rubrics. Signatures are always numbers at the foot of the last verso. Both scribes use the two different instruments for ruling, the dry point and the plummet, and follow a similar ruling pattern 1,2;P,U. The rubrics favoured by both scribes are red round and angular capitals of the same size as the text. How far other scribes followed this style of book production will become more apparent as more scribes are examined.

Scribe 8 : the scribe of the first volume of Augustine on the Psalms (Plate XVI)

That the first part of this text should be written after the second volume, copied in the eleventh century seems odd but the chronology of these manuscripts cannot be doubted.¹ The hand of this volume is much closer to that of the Textus scribe than to the hands of earlier manuscripts. It is a fairly large, upright script in black ink, well spaced and well proportioned. Besides, the illumination of the first initial² is in a style similar to the illuminations in Royal 5 C.i, written by the Textus scribe, and Royal 6 B.vi. In the first place, the colours are similar, being red, yellow and light green. Moreover, the initial contains the same motifs, namely the dragons, which form the body of the letter, and the pair of lions, one in each loop. The dragons are not coloured but their wings and features are marked out in green. They have long snouts and pointed ears. Nor are the lions coloured but just their collars are marked out in green. The aspect of the script and the style of the illumination mean that this manuscript was produced at Rochester at the same time that the Textus scribe was working.

But this hand can be distinguished from others for several reasons. The general appearance of the script is like other Rochester books, that is, minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif, while descenders are of regular length and hair-line serifs are at an acute angle to the main stem. Two noticeable differences are firstly

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1. Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos LI-C, belongs to Group A, see pp.70-83.
 2. Warner, G.F. and Gilson, J.P., Catalogue of Royal Manuscripts, 1921, Plate 41.

the size of the script, in which the minims are over 3 mm tall, and secondly the number of hair-lines. These are long and clear, occurring on medial, as well as final letters, and on minuscule 'r', 's', 't' (Plate XVI, l.4.b) as well as 'e' (Plate XVI, l.6.a). Of the letter forms, the individual traits of this scribe are a long trailing head on 'a' (Plate XVI, l.3.a) and the angular tail on minuscule 'g' (Plate XVI, l.8.a). These tails are not unique and are found in the hands of scribes in Royal 6 A.xii and Royal 5 B.x. This scribe, however, is distinguished from these others because he writes a different symbol for a suspended '-ur', a squat shape resembling an Arabic number two, viz. ² instead of the more common elongated form (Plate XVI, l.6.a). This scribe follows the best practice in always maintaining an upright 'd', placing a round 's' at the end of words, avoiding 'ct' and even refraining from frequent use of the round 'r'.

Abbreviation is extensive and refined. Suspension and contraction are widespread. Unlike other scribes, this one does not use a semicolon sign to abbreviate for '-bus' but always uses the standard hook abbreviation for '-us' (Plate XVI, l.14.b). Suprascripts are common too. The scribe uses them to indicate an omitted 'a' and 'i' (Plate XVI, l.16.b) and also 'o' in the abbreviation for 'post'. He distinguishes between an open-headed 'a' for a contracted '-ra' and a closed 'a' for a contracted 'ua' (Plate XVI, l.5.a, c.f. l.8.a). He also makes the distinction between a diphthong 'oe' and 'ae' (Plate XVI, l.24.b), c.f. l.39.b). His other practices are straightforward. The punctuation comprises only a low point and punctus elevatus. He does not correct his text. His annotations are the current forms, the majuscule 'A' or the minuscule one and the minuscule 'r'.

The ruling of this manuscript is very different from that of other manuscripts so far described. It is done throughout in plummet, an innovation only recently introduced in England, unknown before 1100 except in the Carilef manuscripts.¹ Clearly the usage of this instrument reached Rochester some time between 1100 and 1122 but as it appears in so few manuscripts, it would seem that it was not generally adopted until after that date. That a few scribes used it throughout one manuscript suggests that it was being introduced towards the end of this period of book production, probably in the second, if not the

1. Ker, English MSS, p.42

third, decade of the century. The ruling of the pages is not constant throughout the book, but is either of the pattern 1,2;P,U or 1,3;P,U. The lack of regularity in this matter may be connected with the fact that when using a plummet, every page had to be ruled individually, whereas with a hard point, several pages were ruled at one time.

The rubrics of this manuscript are more consistent for this scribe writes mixed red capitals of normal size throughout. The first line of the text is in similar black capitals. The opening title is quite different from any other Rochester manuscript. There are several lines in enlarged round and angular capitals, one line in red, the next in green and the next in blue. These colours are used in the first lines of the text and the size of the capitals decreases with each line until the normal size of capital is reached.

Scribe 9 : the 'Bede' Scribe (Plate XVII)

There is another manuscript, Royal 4 B.i, which contains a bold, slightly larger script than normal. Such script possibly reflects the fact that the scribes are well trained and, by now, experienced, after working for several years in a flourishing scriptorium. The script in Royal 4 B.i is large, the minim being 4 mm tall, and broad, but slightly backward sloping.¹ The majuscule letters are prominent because of their unusual forms and their angularity (Plate XVII, l.3 'E' and l.12 'P'). The minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif, and both ascenders and descenders are short. Descenders are of an even length and regularly end in a hair-line serif at an acute angle to the stem. There are a number of hair-lines, which occur on every possible minuscule letter and on some majuscule letters too. The upturned hair-line on 't' is particularly noticeable. (Plate XVII, l.9-15). Another distinctive characteristic of this scribe is the avoidance of round 'r' although he does use round 's' and round 'd'.

This scribe is sparing in his use of abbreviation but the refinements of other Rochester scribes are employed. He distinguishes between a diphthong 'ae' and a diphthong 'oe', and also between a contracted '-ua' and a contracted '-ra'. The punctuation is based on a low point and a punctus elevatus but, in addition, the punctus circumflexus occasionally occurs and the punctus versus is placed at the end of each homily. Signes de renvoi are

1. e.g. Plate XVII, line 4, 's'; l.7 'd'; l.10 'h'.

few and restricted to two forms, theta and 'aliter'.

The proliferation of hair-lines might suggest that this was a Christ Church, rather than a Rochester manuscript, but the fact that this scribe co-operates in another Rochester manuscript with a scribe whose hand conforms more closely to the Rochester style precludes this possibility. These two scribes both copy part of the manuscript of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, Harley 3680. The scribe just discussed copies the second half of the manuscript but another scribe writes up to f.105. His hand is like that of Scribe 9 but hair-lines are less prominent and he can be separated from the other scribe because he writes a particularly angular minuscule 'g' which has a short tail which ends in a serif (Plate XVIII, l.8).

On the evidence of these two manuscripts, more conclusions can be drawn about the work of Scribe 9. In Royal 4 B.i the scribe uses a plummet for ruling throughout the manuscript, one of the few manuscripts so ruled in the Rochester scriptorium, but in the Harley manuscript he adopts the dry point (apart from one or two quires which he rules in plummet) following the practice of the first scribe in the book. Just as he is inconsistent in his choice of instrument for ruling, so he lacks consistency in the pattern of ruling. In Royal 4 B.i the pattern is 1;U, whereas in the Harley manuscript he follows the example of the first scribe, who uses the more normal Rochester pattern, 1,2;P,U. On the other hand this scribe regularly places quire signatures at the foot of the last verso of the quire, even though the first scribe in the Harley manuscript places them in a different position.

The rubrics of this scribe are unusual and they are the same in both the manuscripts in which he worked. The headings are in enlarged round and angular red and green capitals throughout the manuscript and the first line of the text is in similar large coloured capitals. One manuscript, Royal 4 B.i, contains a few historiated initials but in the Harley manuscript the initials are completely different, for they are of the type recently labelled 'arabesque',¹ being decorated with geometric foliage designs in pale colours.

1. Alexander, J.J.G., "Scribes as Artists" in Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries, ed. M.B. Parkes and A. Watson, 1978, pp.87-116.

Scribes 10 and 11 : the scribes of the Moralia

There are two books which constitute one text, Gregory's Moralia, which is certainly identical with the text of that name listed in Catalogue I. The two manuscripts though, are quite different, and do not appear to have been conceived as a pair judging from their external features. The first volume, Royal 3 C. iv, is much larger than the second one, Royal 6 C. vi, although the written area on the page is roughly the same in both manuscripts. That the written area is the same in both is not immediately obvious since there are regularly 42 lines to a page in the first volume but frequently less than this in the second (Plate XIX).

The script of each manuscript is rather different too. The script of the first volume is similar to that of other Group B Rochester manuscripts, the letters being well proportioned and well spaced. The script of the second volume, however, is more rounded and the ascenders and descenders are rather short. This means that these letters do not overlap even though the space between the ruled lines in this volume is less than in the first volume. Yet the aspect of the script is spoiled because it is in brown ink and written on poor quality parchment. The choice of letter forms is the same in both manuscripts, round 'r' being employed, but not round 's' or the 'ct' ligature. Serifs and hair-lines are not prevalent in the second volume although serifs are regularly used in the other volume and hair-lines occur there too. A possibly significant difference lies in the punctuation. The first volume is punctuated simply with a low point and a punctus elevatus but in the second volume the punctus circumflexus appears as well and could be the earliest occurrence of this punctuation mark in the Rochester scriptorium (Plate XIX, I.1.a). A further difference is in the rubrics and illumination. The rubrics of the first volume consist of red capitals of the same size as the text, as occurs in some other Rochester manuscripts. In addition, there is a decorated initial at the beginning of each part of the text but only one of these is historiated. In the second volume, on the other hand, there is a decorated initial at the beginning of each book within the text, which comes to seventeen in all, as opposed to four in the first volume, and many of these are historiated.¹ They include a portrait of Job on the dunghill, a picture of

1. Kauffmann, C.M., Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190, 1975, Plate 37.

Michael and the dragon, another of a Norman knight piercing a dragon, a nimbed eagle, a bust of Christ, and Delilah with Samson and the lion. Not only the initials, but also the rubrics, are different for these are in both red and blue, the latter colour not being very common in Rochester manuscripts.

Clearly, the two manuscripts were written by different scribes. Even though they cannot be added to the chain centred on the Textus scribe, it is probable that they were written at Rochester. Royal 3 C. iv, in particular, resembles that of other Rochester manuscripts, notably those by Scribe 6, who copied one of the volumes of Augustine on the Psalms. The script of Royal 3 C. iv is similarly proportioned although it is not as elongated as that in Royal 5 D. ii. The minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. The descenders end in serifs at an acute angle to the stem and there are some hair-lines. The rubrics and fact that the book is mainly ruled in dry point and in the pattern 1,2;P,U with two vertical bounding lines in each margin confirm the probability that it was written at Rochester.

The provenance of Royal 6 C. vi is more problematic, for it shows several signs of Norman influence. The script and illumination of this manuscript are rather different from that of other Rochester manuscripts. Professor Dodwell notes that the initials are produced in a similar context to that of a Jumièges manuscript which can be seen in the British Library.¹ The script, too, like the manuscripts of Group A, was influenced by Norman models. On the other hand, the standard ligatures and letter forms fit into the Rochester pattern. So too does the method of book production with quire signatures at the foot of the last verso and ruling in the same pattern as Royal 3 C. iv. This combination of features suggests that the manuscript was written by a scribe at Rochester, who had recently come from Normandy, and had absorbed some of the methods of the scriptorium, but not the characteristic script. The possibility, however, that the book was written in Normandy and imported to Rochester from there cannot be excluded.²

Scribe 12

There is one final manuscript which resembles those discussed so far, which was

1. Dodwell, C.F., "Un manuscrit inluminé de Jumièges au B.M.", Jumièges: Congrès Scientifique du XIII^e centenaire, 1955, p.741.

2. See pp. 202-5.

written throughout by one scribe, that is a copy of the Pauline epistles,¹ listed towards the end of Catalogue I. One of the difficulties in assigning this manuscript to Rochester is that it contains a copy of a report of the Penenden Heath trial and a copy of a charter to Christ Church, Canterbury, dating from the time of Archbishop Ralph (1114-23). This was not copied by the scribe of the main text for it was copied at a later date. It is surprising that, if the manuscript remained at Rochester, it should contain a document relating to Christ Church.

Nevertheless, the script is not characteristic of Christ Church, being closer to that of Rochester Scribe 11, and was probably written at Rochester, even if it was associated later with Christ Church. It is a medium-size script in which minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif, but where the descenders are plain. He writes an unusually tight 'g', which looks much like a figure eight, and his minuscule 'r' is rather narrow. He does not distinguish between diphthongs 'œ' and 'æ', nor does he abbreviate frequently, and does not employ suprascripts. The punctuation is based on the punctus and the punctus elevatus but sometimes the punctus versus occurs and occasionally another scribe has inserted the punctus circumflexus.

The ruling is with a dry point and follows the usual pattern, 1,2;P,U with two vertical lines in each margin. Rubrics, too, are in the common style, that is, small red round and angular capitals, but the first line of the text is in ink capitals of normal size, sometimes highlighted in red. An unusual feature is that quire signatures, although placed at the foot of the last verso, are a mixture of minuscule and majuscule letters, instead of numbers.

Conclusion

The seven scribes, numbers 6-12, who have just been examined, whose hands closely resemble that of the Textus scribe, contributed to ten manuscripts. When the other scribes who copied parts of those same manuscripts are added to these seven hands, the number is increased to nine. When these are added to the nineteen directly linked with the Textus scribe, the total number comes to twenty eight. In addition, there are two manuscripts surviving from Catalogue I which have not been mentioned so far because

1. Manchester, John Rylands, MS. lat. 109.

they represent the combined efforts of another six scribes whose hands have not been observed in any other manuscript.¹ If these were included, the total number of scribes in the Rochester scriptorium must be increased to thirty four. Such a large figure is not inconceivable in view of the fact that the scribes were monks and the priory consisted of 50-60 men.

Only the scribes discussed in depth, however, the twelve who each copied at least one complete manuscript or wrote several parts of manuscripts can be considered the regular members of the scriptorium whose main function was the copying of manuscripts. They stand in contrast to the twenty two others, who probably only copied sections of manuscripts as occasion demanded. These scribes may not all have been contemporaries for the figures inevitably include a few who replaced scribes who had died. Yet the natural wastage during the period under discussion must have been a minimum because the Group B manuscripts were produced in only fifteen years. The earliest, Royal 12 C. i, was produced c. 1107 and the latest were copied by the date of Catalogue I, that is 1122/23. A large proportion of the identifiable thirty four scribes must therefore have been working simultaneously. The certainty that these manuscripts were produced in a short period by a number of scribes working at the same time means that it is worth evaluating their labours to determine whether a house-style was established.

1. Royal 5 B.xvi and Royal 6 A. i.

Chapter IV : The Rochester Scriptorium and its House-Style

a. Group B Manuscripts : The Establishment of the House-Style

Now that the size of the scriptorium has been established and a number of scribes separated and identified, it is appropriate to consider how far the individuals followed the same conventions. From the descriptions of individual scribes in the previous chapter, it is possible to distil the features they share in common. How much the scribes observed the same general rules and in what respects they introduced their own preferences, will be the crucial test of whether the scribes at Rochester modelled their books on a house-style.

Script: The script of most of the Rochester scribes is very fine, consistently upright and black. It remains low and broad because the minuscule letters are as wide as they are tall. Moreover, it seems well spaced and well proportioned. The ascenders are usually double, or nearly double, the height of the minims so the script does not appear cramped. Besides, the vertical spacing of the ruled lines is sufficient to prevent the overlap of ascenders and descenders. The space is usually three times the height of the minim which means there is just enough room for ascenders and descenders but little extra space.

The general aspect is angular like Christ Church, Canterbury, products. The letter forms of different scribes seem identical at first sight. The only letters which sometimes vary are minuscule 'a', which does not always have a head,¹ and minuscule 'g', which has different sorts of tail.² There are also some standard forms of abbreviation which vary, such as the ampersand which can be leaning or upright, the sign for '-rum'³ and the 'st' ligature, which can be closely or widely spaced. Normally minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif but some scribes avoid this.⁴ Descenders are of regular length and end in a hair-line serif at an acute angle to the stem to the right. Only one or two scribes do not place serifs on descenders and there is one who writes horizontal serifs.⁵ Hair-lines are unusual and some scribes hardly introduce them at all.⁶

1. Scribe 1 c.f. scribe 8 (Pl. VI c.f. Pl. XVI)

2. Scribe 3 c.f. 4 c.f. 6 c.f. 8 c.f. 12 (Pl. VIII and IX c.f. Pl. X and XI, c.f. Pl. XIII c.f. Pl. XVI)

3. Scribe 3 c.f. scribe 6.

4. Scribe 3 in Royal 8 D.xvi c.f. scribe 4, scribe 5 (Pl. VIII c.f. Pl. X, XI, XII)

5. Scribe 11 avoids serifs. Scribe 2 writes horizontal serifs. (Pl. XIX c.f. Pl. VII)

6. Scribes 1, 3, 6.

There are several examples of script which are noticeably different from the pattern just described. The first of these is the prickly style of three scribes who write in Royal 5 A.vii and Royal 5 B.xiii, Royal 6.A.xii fos. 147-80, Royal 5 B.vii fos. 73-90^v. Although these hands are so different from those of the other Rochester scribes, all of them can be linked directly with the Textus scribe, scribe 3, so it is evident that they were working in the Rochester scriptorium when he was there. A second deviation from the normal pattern occurs in two manuscripts, Royal 6 A.i and Royal 5 B.xvi, which each contain three hands. The letter forms of these manuscripts are similar to those in other Rochester manuscripts but the appearance of the script is spoiled by the proliferation of hair-lines. There remains one isolated manuscript, Royal 5 B.vi, which is written throughout in an individual style quite unlike any other manuscript attributed to Rochester. The significance of these deviations will gradually become apparent.¹

Ligatures and letter forms: The production of a uniform script included attention to letter forms and ligatures which followed different fashions at different epochs. All Rochester scribes employ the 'st' ligature but only a few used the 'ct' ligature. Three of these were the scribes of Royal 5 B.xiii, Royal 6 A.i and Royal 5 B.xvi, who deviated from the norm, anyway. Of the scribes who strove to write the characteristic script, only Scribes 1 and 3 employ the 'ct' ligature. These two were responsible for the earliest manuscripts of the group and in the choice of this ligature were following an old-fashioned practice which they maintained even when it was discarded by the rest of the scribes at Rochester. Most scribes at Rochester also avoided round 'd', only employing it to save space, but again there were the same exceptions as in the case of the 'ct' ligature. Those who wrote a prickly script used round 'd' but of those who wrote in the Rochester script, only scribes 1 and 3 used a round 'd' frequently and scribe 3 seems slowly to have abandoned the practice.

Other ligatures and letter forms which were generally adopted were a round 'r' after 'o' and a round 's'. Only one of the twelve major scribes avoided round 'r' and hardly any other scribe consciously avoided it.² Almost all the scribes readily used a round 's' at the end of words, with the exception of scribes 3 and 11 and one or two lesser scribes.³

1. See p.122.123

2. Scribe 9 and B.L., Royal 6 B.vi, fos. 1-22^v, B.L., Royal 12 C.i, fos. 113-132.

3. B.L., Royal 5 B.vii, fos. 1-71, 91-166.

Group B : Ligatures and Abbreviations

	ct	ð	oe/ae	suprascripts	-ua-/-ra-
Scribe 1	✓	✓	✓	—	—
Scribe 2	—	—	\	—	—
Scribe 3	✓	✓	✓	\	\
Scribe 4	—	—	✓	✓	✓
Scribe 5	—	\	✓	✓	—
Scribe 6	—	\	\	✓	\
Scribe 7	—	\	\	✓	✓
Scribe 8	—	—	✓	✓	✓
Scribe 9	—	✓	✓	✓	✓
Scribe 10	—	\	—	✓	✓
Scribe 11	—	\	—	✓	—
Scribe 12	—	—	—	—	—

Ligature employed regularly ✓

Ligature used occasionally \

Ligature not employed —

One of the innovations observed by Dr. Ker in early twelfth century manuscripts was a distinction between diphthong 'œ' and diphthong 'æ',¹ and this distinction was indeed made by many scribes at Rochester. The sign for a diphthong 'æ' was a tail under the letter, thus 'æ'; the sign for 'œ' was a loop under the letter, thus 'œ'. Most, but not all, of the major Rochester scribes made this distinction, as did some of the minor scribes.² Yet it does not occur in all the manuscripts of even the major scribes, which is not surprising, for it was a refinement which could only be applied once the scribe was familiar with Latin. The writers of the prickly script, 'scribe 2 and others, did not make the distinction either, which confirms the suggestion that these were among the earlier scribes.³ Moreover, later scribes who wrote the Rochester type script with confidence did not make the distinction between the two diphthongs⁴ perhaps because they lacked a clear understanding of Latin. This refinement, then, like the other ligatures, can be regarded as a convention which was followed at the Rochester scriptorium for a few years at the beginning of the twelfth century.

Abbreviation: For literary manuscripts, those produced at Rochester are extensively abbreviated; this could be a marked difference between early twelfth century manuscripts compared with eleventh century ones. The degree of abbreviation depends on the nature of the text, as well as the convention of the scriptorium. A text such as a Bible, which was to be read aloud in public, might be less abbreviated than earlier manuscripts because too much abbreviation tends to confuse the reader when reading aloud. Nevertheless, it does appear that at Rochester the frequency of abbreviation was to some extent related to the date of the manuscript. Some manuscripts only contain abbreviation signs and a few contractions whereas others contain many contractions and suprascript abbreviations. The earliest manuscripts written by scribes 1 and 2, and some of the manuscripts written by scribe 3, are abbreviated only moderately frequently. The majority, however, contain abbreviations at a frequency of 300-400 abbreviations per thousand words, and these include contractions in highly complex words and frequent suprascript abbreviations. Some of the later manuscripts, those of scribe 6 and Royal 6 A.i and Royal 5 B.xvi, fail to conform to this pattern as abbreviation in these is much less frequent. The tendency to abbreviate, therefore, seems to have flourished for a while then faded again.

1. Ker, English MSS, pl. 12.

2. Scribes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, although scribes 2 and 6 do not make the distinction in all their manuscripts.

3. See pp. 88-9 and 122.

4. See p. 128.

A new development in the method of abbreviation was the increased use of suprascripts. All the twelve major Rochester scribes and most of the minor scribes employ this type of abbreviation, except scribes 1, 2 and 3 in their earliest manuscripts and scribe 12.¹ It is interesting to note too, that later manuscripts, even if they are not extensively abbreviated differ from earlier manuscripts in that they contain suprascripts. This suggests that suprascript abbreviation was adopted just as the scriptorium was becoming very active and that suprascripts were maintained even when frequent abbreviation became unfashionable.²

Along with the increase in the use of suprascripts came the refinement of making a distinction between the contraction of '-ra-' and the contraction of '-ua-'. This refinement was not employed by scribes 1 or 2, nor at first by scribe 3, but eventually half the leading scribes in the scriptorium were capable of making this fine distinction.³ It was not, however, adopted by the minor scribes,⁴ which is not surprising for, as with the distinction between diphthong 'ae' and diphthong 'oe', it was a refinement which was only likely to be developed by scribes who were well practised in copying. This refinement has not hitherto been observed in other eleventh and twelfth century English scriptoria, although it was known in France.⁵

Punctuation: The punctuation of Group B manuscripts is less confusing than that of Group A. Almost all the scribes, including the most minor ones, use a punctus elevatus and a low point within the sentence and always end the sentence with a low point. Moreover, they all begin a sentence with a capital letter although they did not achieve a consistent method of capitalisation in the introduction of quotations. Where the first word of a sentence coincided with the beginning of a line in a manuscript, the first letter, a majuscule, was projected into the margin.

For a little while, however, the Rochester scribes were not confident in their punctuation and did not always place the punctus at the same level, so that it is doubtful

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1. Other exceptions are the first hand in B. L., Royal 6 B.vi and the first in Royal 5 B.vii.
 2. e.g. in B. L., Royal 4 B.i, Royal 6 A.i, Royal 5 B.xvi, which are not extensively abbreviated but nevertheless contain suprascripts.
 3. Scribes 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.
 4. e.g. second scribe in B. L., Royal 5 A.vii, fourth scribe in CCC 332, first scribe in B. L., Harley 3680.
 5. Vézín, J., Les Scriptoria d'Angers, 1974, pp. 139 and 162.

Group B : Punctuation

	Low Point	Punctus Elevatus	Punctus Interrogativus	Punctus Versus	Punctus Circumflexus
Scribe 1	✓	✓	✓	✓	—
Scribe 2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Scribe 3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Scribe 4	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Scribe 5	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Scribe 6	✓	✓	✓	✓	—
Scribe 7	✓	✓	✓	✓	—
Scribe 8	✓	✓	✓	—	—
Scribe 9	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Scribe 10	✓	✓	✓	✓	—
Scribe 11	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Scribe 12	✓	✓	✓	—	—

Punctuation mark employed regularly ✓

Punctuation mark used occasionally ✓

Punctuatiuon mark not employed —

whether it is at a low or median level. This confusion is evident in the manuscripts of the earliest scribes, scribes 1, 2 and 3, but scribe 3 soon adopted the expedient of placing the point just above the ruled line. A few other scribes, 1 in his mature style, and 4 and minor scribes in Royal 5 B.vii and 6 B.vi, follow this same method but the majority of scribes placed the low point on the ruled line. It seems strange that a house convention should be observed in letter forms and abbreviation but that in the matter of punctuation, so vital for the understanding of a text, there is some evidence of confusion at first, although eventually a basic two-fold system of the low point and punctus elevatus was evolved.

Most of the major scribes and several of the minor scribes employed the punctus versus, not at the end of each sentence, as in earlier periods, but at the end of a section of the text.¹ This sign, however, was not employed consistently by any of the scribes, who might simply place a low point at the end of a text and not distinguish the last sentence from the others. Scribe 4, for example, placed a punctus versus at the end of each of Jerome's letters in Royal 6 D.ii, but he did not use it in Royal 5 D.ix (Augustine's De Civitate Dei) at the end of each chapter. Scribes 10 and 11 only used the punctus versus from time to time in each of their manuscripts. Scribe 9 used it throughout Royal 4 B.i but not in the Harley manuscript. The use of this sign evidently depended on individual preference and the nature of the text which was being copied but was not an element in the house-style.

The same applies to the use of the punctus circumflexus. Only six major scribes² appear to have known of the existence of the sign but even they do not use it in all the manuscripts which they copied. This sign appears in the manuscripts of both early and late scribes, for example, scribes 2 and 9. It occurs in the second volume of the Moralia in Job by scribe 11, but not the first copied by scribe 10. The two most prolific scribes, numbers 3 and 4, only employ the circumflexus in one or two manuscripts of the many which they copied. When they do employ this sign, though, they do use it throughout the manuscript unlike the case of the punctus versus, which was used spasmodically. Dr. Ker has observed that in Contra Julianum, scribe 3 placed a circumflexus where there was a line in the exemplar. Unfortunately, this same explanation cannot be applied to the other manuscripts but it does

1. Scribes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 but scribes 3, 4, 6, 9 are not consistent.

2. Scribes 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 11.

suggest that although this punctuation mark was not a convention of the scriptorium, it was more than a matter of individual caprice.

The punctus circumflexus may be associated with the nature of the text in which it occurs. It is possible that the circumflexus is an ecphonetic sign which indicated the intonation of the voice when the text was read aloud to a monastic audience in the refectory or at the Divine Office. But after considering the titles of the Rochester manuscripts in which the mark occurs, it is difficult to accept this hypothesis. The texts punctuated with the circumflexus are one volume of Gregory's Moralia, Gregory's in Ezechielem, excerpts from different works of Augustine, and three controversial works of Augustine, his Retractiones, Contra Julianum and de Adulterinis Coniugiis. The first two may have been read in the refectory but the last three are closely argued and difficult to understand on first hearing and therefore unlikely to have been used as edificatory readings for the brethren. Thus, the Rochester manuscripts themselves do not offer an answer to this problem but a comparison of them with manuscripts from other houses may shed further light on the meaning of the mark.¹

Marginalia: The Rochester manuscripts are unusual for their numerous marginalia. Some of these are annotations which indicate important passages. There are four of these signs which are especially common, a minuscule 'r', a majuscule and minuscule 'a' and the anagrammatic nota sign. Individual scribes introduce their own signs, the Textus scribe, for example, using a majuscule 'N' and minuscule 's' and 'c'. A number of marginalia are signes de renvoi, indicating corrections to the text. In all the Rochester manuscripts except one² correction by signe de renvoi is preferred to correction by erasure. A variety of signs were used but those which occur most frequently are the following: *h y e o*
Such signs were not established by house convention but were the choice of the individual scribe and examination of such signs is more likely to be useful in the identification of scribes than as a guide to house-style.

Ruling: These were the limits of the conventions observed in the script. Were any rules established in the scribal practices connected with book production? This does

1. See p. 187.

2. B.L., Royal 12 C.i : different from other manuscripts because erasures, probably made by the author, are common, see pp. 86 and 209.

indeed seem to have been the case as regards the ruling of the page. Scribes were not consistent in their method of ruling within one manuscript but, allowing for such variations, most of the scribes showed a preference for extending the top two and bottom two horizontal lines into the margin to serve as bounding lines. All the major scribes and most of the minor scribes¹ followed this pattern except scribe 3, who adopted the unusual pattern of 1,3;A,U in several of his manuscripts; while scribe 9 only extended one line at the top and bottom of each page in Royal 4 B.i, although he followed the normal pattern in Harley 3680, following the example of the first scribe in the manuscript. The only other exceptions to this rule were some of the writers of the prickly script, including scribe 2, who appears in Royal 5 B.xiii to have prepared the page with the unusual pattern of 1,2;A,P but in fact, he must have originally ruled the page 1,2;P,U, and afterwards added an extra line of script. In his other manuscript he adopts the usual pattern 1,2;P,U. Apart from these early scribes who wrote the prickly script and the idiosyncratic scribes 3 and 9, the established pattern of ruling in Rochester manuscripts was 1,2;P,U. This is a common pattern of ruling, however, and unlikely to be positive evidence of provenance.

The pattern of vertical ruling was generally two lines in each margin.² Scribe 6 was unusual in ruling only one vertical line in each margin in two of his manuscripts, but not the third.³ The pattern of vertical ruling was partly determined by size. In smaller books the writing stretched right across the page but in larger books the page was divided into two columns of script. Of the Rochester manuscripts, all books with a written area greater than 240mm x 150 mm were written in two columns. Even those slightly below these dimensions, such as Royal 6 B.vi, at 220 x 140mm, and Harley 3680 at 225 x 125mm, were written in a single column. Where a manuscript was ruled in two columns, three vertical lines were usually ruled in the central space between the columns but there was no standard practice in this, for two scribes out of six who copied large manuscripts ruled four lines in the central space.

Quires and their Signatures: Most quires in Rochester manuscripts consist of eight folios,

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1. Scribes 1,4,5,6,7,8,10,11,12.
 2. e.g. scribes 1,2,3,5,8,10,11 and 12 consistently rule two vertical lines in each margin.
 3. The exceptions are scribe 4 in B.L., Royal 6 D.ii and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 387; scribe 6 in B.L., Royal 3 B.i and Royal 5 A.xv, scribe 7 in CCCC, MS 184; one scribe in B.L., Royal 5 A.vii.

unless the last quire was altered to ensure that the text finished on the last folio.¹ Another occasion where the length of the quire was altered was at the point where one text in a manuscript was completed by one particular scribe and the next text, which was bound in the same manuscript, was written by another scribe. Thus, in Royal 6 A.xii the main scribe ends his text, a letter to Einhard, on the tenth folio of his last quire, then there is a blank leaf and a scribe with a completely different hand begins a new item, Alcuin's letter to Charlemagne, on the first folio of a new quire. Clearly the forward planning in the production of this manuscript, in which separate items were copied simultaneously, required that each item should coincide with the end of a quire so that each could be easily bound without too much waste of parchment.

The uniformity of quiring is reflected in the uniformity of quire signatures, of which there are a remarkable number surviving in Rochester manuscripts. Almost all these are numbers at the foot of the last verso of the quire but there are some notable exceptions to this rule, which have led scholars to attempt to distinguish Rochester manuscripts from Canterbury ones on the grounds that Rochester manuscripts had letters as quire signatures. In fact only the earliest scribes, numbers 1, 3 and 12, write letters as quire signatures throughout a manuscript.² Yet scribes 1 and 3 did not use letters for quire signatures in all their manuscripts and in the end adopted the method of signing quires with a number, like the other scribes in the Rochester scriptorium.

The position of the quire signatures was often at the foot of the last verso of the quire in the centre of the page, which was common practice. There were some modifications to this, however, at Rochester. In several manuscripts comprising separate texts, there is a series of quire signatures on the first recto of the quire, in addition to the series at the foot of the last verso.³ The series on the recto may be later additions made when the manuscript was rebound or they may have been added to help the binder with a particularly complex manuscript when it was first put together. Certainly some of the Rochester scribes did supply aids to the binder in another way, namely by placing the

1. e.g. B.L., Royal 3 B.i; Royal 5 D.iii.

2. Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ff.4.32; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. 0.2.24; 0.4.7., B.L., Royal 6 A.iv; Eton College, MS 80; Lambeth Palace, MS 76; J. Rylands, Manchester, Lat. 109.

3. e.g. B.L., Royal 5 B.x, Royal 5 D.iii, Royal 6 A.xii, Harley 3680.

signature of the last quire at the foot of the first recto, thus distinguishing it from the previous quires.¹ This refinement was not adopted by the scriptorium as a whole but it is so unusual that it could be evidence of Rochester provenance.

Contents Lists: A number of Rochester manuscripts contain a list of contents on the fly-leaf but many of these lists were inserted in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century,² probably in connection with the compilation of Catalogue II in 1202. Such a list may be a useful sign of Rochester provenance. A few of these lists were written when the manuscript was first copied at the beginning of the twelfth century. Scribes 1-3, write them in some, but not all, of their manuscripts which contained several items.³ These lists may have been copied from the exemplar or they may have been inserted on the initiative of the individual scribe but the practice was not adopted by the Rochester scriptorium as a whole.

Rubrication: From a superficial assessment of the rubrics and display script in the Rochester manuscripts, it appears that there was a variety of rubrication methods. Most scribes wrote their own rubrics but the picture is slightly distorted because scribe 3 sometimes inserted headings in manuscripts written by other scribes,⁴ so in these and in all his own manuscripts, which form a considerable proportion of the whole group, the headings are in red minuscule.⁵ In fact, though, the majority of scribes, major and minor alike, wrote headings in red capitals of the same size as the text in a mixture of uncial and angular forms.⁶ The exceptions to this are the three early scribes, 1-3, who all wrote rubrics in red minuscule, and scribe 9, who wrote headings in enlarged angular capitals in different colours, even when he worked in the same manuscript as a scribe who wrote

1. e.g. the minor scribe in B.L., Royal 5 B.x; scribe 3 in Trinity, MS 0.4.7; Eton College, MS 80; Lambeth Palace, MS 76; B.L., Royal 6 A.iv, Royal 6 C.iv, Royal 8 D.xvi; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 134.
2. e.g. B.L., Royal 5 B.vii and Royal 6 B.vi, Royal 15 A.xxii and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 387, all by scribe 4.
3. Scribe 1 in B.L., Royal 5 A.vii and Royal 12 C.i; scribe 2 in B.L., Royal 5 B.xiii; scribe 3 in C.U.L., MS Ff. 4.32, Trinity, MS 0.4.7, and Lambeth Palace MS 76.
4. e.g. CCC 332, B.L., Royal 5 B.xiii.
5. C.U.L., MS Ff. 4.32, Trinity, MS 0.4.7, Eton College, MS 80, Lambeth Palace, MS 76, B.L. Royal 5 B.xii, Royal 6 A.iv, Royal 6 C.iv, Royal 8 D.xvi, Royal 12 C.i, Royal 15 A.xxii, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 134.
6. Scribes 4,5,6,7,8,10,11,12.

headings in red capitals (Harley 3680). The rest of the scribes at Rochester, however, had been trained to copy rubrics in red capitals of the same size as the text, with the result that where several scribes combined in the production of one manuscript, the headings are all alike.

Display Script: The opening titles of manuscripts, however, gave more scope for individual initiative. The first title in the manuscript might be in red capitals of the same size as the text, or slightly enlarged, or it might be in large capitals of different colours. Several manuscripts have an opening heading in very large red, yellow, green or blue capitals of uncial and angular forms mixed together.¹ These multi-coloured headings usually occur when the first letter is historiated, but whether there was an initial or not, the opening lines of the text also provided the scribe with an opportunity to do something more elaborate than usual. In Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 0.4.7, scribe 3 writes enlarged capitals for three lines, one being in red, one in green and one in purple. Scribe 8 evolved a more elaborate pattern in which the first line of the text is in very large red capitals, the second in green capitals of slightly reduced size and a third in blue capitals slightly reduced again and this continues for several lines until the capitals are the size of those in the text. Few of the scribes went in for such elaborate forms and as with the opening titles, these variations are associated with illuminated initials.

Some scribes, though, did develop an unusual technique of introducing the text, which distinguished the first line from the others. Almost all Rochester scribes tended to write the first line of the text in ink capitals in uncial and angular forms. A number of them improved on this by writing the line above a coloured ground or alternatively, by highlighting, that is, filling in each letter in red or green. Half of the major Rochester scribes employed this technique in most of their manuscripts.² The fashion, however, was not adopted by minor scribes who copied small texts³ and does not occur in some important texts, notably the commentary by Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos, copied by scribe 8. Unlike rubrics, the display script in any one manuscript varied according to the fancy of

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1. Trinity, MS. 0.4.7 by scribe 3; B.L., Royal 5 D. ix by scribe 4; Royal 5 D. iii by scribe 8; Royal 4 B. i and Harley 3680 by scribe 9.
 2. Scribes 1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11 and 12 use highlighting almost always, scribe 7 uses it in one manuscript but not his other one. Scribes 2, 5, 8 and 9 do not use it at all.
 3. B.L., Royal 5 B. vii and Royal 5 B. x.

the scribe. The individual scribe did not write the same form of display script in all his manuscripts. Scribe 3, for example, does not touch the capitals of the first lines of the texts in Trinity 0.4.7 but he does in Royal 6 C.iv. In manuscripts where several scribes combine, such as Royal 5 A.vii, both scribes wrote headings in red minuscule but the first scribe wrote the first word of the text in capitals of normal size highlighted in red whereas the second scribe wrote the first words of each text in similar capitals without highlighting. Highlighting occurs in a number of Rochester manuscripts but was the work of only a minority of scribes. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as part of the house-style but because it is such an unusual feature, it may be a means of identifying a manuscript as a Rochester product as opposed to a product from another scriptorium.

The Rochester House-style

Conclusion

On the evidence of the foregoing description, it is possible to establish that the Rochester scribes developed a house-style in the first quarter of the twelfth century. The basis of any house-style is the form of script, and in the case of Rochester this is very fine and formal, being an upright script in a firm stroke and black ink. It is well proportioned and well spaced vertically. It is thus possible to agree with Dr. Ker that:¹

The writing does not become delicately tall, as often at Canterbury, but remains comparatively low and broad. Although hair-lines were used and abused as at Canterbury, the more extreme aberrations of the Canterbury scribes seem to have been avoided.

The letter forms of the different scribes are remarkably similar. Normally, minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif, and descenders end in a hair-line serif at an acute angle to the stem. Other hair-lines, though, are unusual. The scribes did follow certain conventions in their choice of ligatures. The 'st' ligature was maintained by all scribes but the 'ct' ligature and the round 'd', although used by one or two of the original scribes of the second generation, were eventually abandoned. Almost all the scribes wrote a round 'r' after 'o' and they all eventually adopted the round 's'. The best

1. Ker, English MSS, p.32.

scribes learned to distinguish between diphthong 'ae' and diphthong 'oe', which is testimony to the high standard of Latin of the scribes, even though it was only employed by a minority.

Two out of the three examples of script which do not conform to this pattern can be explained with reference to chronology.¹ Scribe 2, who wrote the prickly type script, referred to above, often figures in the foregoing description as a scribe who did not observe the same conventions as the others.² This type of script is unusual, not only because of its form, but also because it is not frequently abbreviated and neither diphthongs or suprascripts are used. The punctuation is unusual in that the punctus is placed at varying heights and in one manuscript in this prickly script,³ many different punctuation marks are employed, the punctus versus appearing side by side with the punctus circumflexus. The ruling pattern of scribes of the prickly script is unusual, too, being 1,2;A,P or 1,3;A,U, rather than the more usual 1,2;P,U. Thus, the letter forms are primitive, the abbreviation minimal and uncomplicated while the punctuation is confusing, all signs that these manuscripts were written before most of those in Group B. It seems likely that they were produced by scribes who were working before the Rochester house-style was properly established.

In contrast, the second type of script which deviates from the normal Rochester pattern,⁴ contains features which suggest that they are late products of Group B. Although the letter forms of Royal 6 A.i and Royal 5 B.xvi are similar to other Group B manuscripts, the script is distinctive because it contains many hair-lines and, in one case, Royal 6 A.i, it slopes backwards. An unusual feature of these two manuscripts are the ligatures: all the scribes employ a 'ct' ligature although this takes a different form from that of scribe 3. One scribe writes the Tironian symbol for 'et', the only Rochester scribe to do so.⁵ None of these scribes distinguish between diphthongs 'ae' and 'oe' and although they commonly employ suprascripts, they make no distinction between closed and open suprascript 'a'. All these features suggest changing standards and point to tendencies which developed at Rochester in the second quarter of the century.⁶ Since, however, the titles of both

1. See pp. 88-89, 112.

3. B.L., Royal 5 B.xiii

5. First scribe in B.L., Royal 5 B.xvi.

2. See pp. 112-115.

4. See p. 112.

6. See pp. 128-131.

these manuscripts occur in Catalogue I, they must have been copied before 1122/23, but the evidence shows that they were the work of scribes only recently trained and who were less careful than the experienced scribes responsible for most of the Group B manuscripts.

There remains one manuscript, Royal 5 B.vi, which does not conform to the pattern of development at the Rochester scriptorium. The difference between this manuscript and all the other Rochester products is quite striking. It is most easily observed in the wide spacing between the lines; the height of the minim is only 2.5 mm, yet the space between the ruled lines is 8-10 mm. Another major difference separating this manuscript from the others is that the punctuation is based on a point at median level, instead of a point on or just above the ruled line, even at the end of a sentence, as well as within it. Other unusual features of this manuscript include the rubrics, which are in enlarged red minuscule, and the lack of abbreviation in all its forms and the total absence of any refinements like distinguishing between diphthongs. For all these reasons this manuscript has not been regarded as a product of the Rochester scriptorium.

In addition to a uniform style of script, the Rochester house-style covered other matters relating to book production, including abbreviation, punctuation, ruling, rubrics and quiring. Some of these features, as in the case of the script, are distinctive but others, although an element in the house-style, are not in themselves unusual. The uniqueness of the Rochester house-style lies in the combination of the different features which the Rochester scribes consistently observed.

It is clear from the analysis above, that the Rochester scribes observed certain conventions in the auxiliary arts of abbreviation and punctuation. Abbreviation by contraction and suspension, although infrequent in earlier manuscripts, became common in Group B manuscripts. Furthermore, suprascript abbreviation was gradually adopted by all the scribes and remained in use, even when the tendency developed of avoiding contraction and suspension. The best scribes developed a refinement whereby an abbreviated '-ra-' was indicated by a suprascript open 'a' and an abbreviated '-ua-' with a suprascript closed 'a'. This last feature is unusual and perhaps a means of distinguishing Rochester manuscripts from those of other scriptoria.

The Rochester scribes also eventually adopted a regular system of punctuation, which consisted of a point and a punctus elevatus. This basic system is found in other twelfth century English manuscripts but it should be noted that in Rochester manuscripts, the point is placed on or just above the ruled line, and no higher, and this could be distinctive. Another unusual feature of punctuation which was generally adopted at Rochester, was the placing of a majuscule letter in the margin when the first word of a sentence coincided with the beginning of a line. The punctus versus was not part of the house-style, although it is a common mark in manuscripts of this period.

The house-style also affected the general appearance of the page. The pages of Rochester manuscripts are usually quite clean because, even where there are corrections, erasure is avoided since the Rochester scribes preferred to correct by signes de renvoi. The ruling is neat and followed an established pattern with two vertical lines bounding lines in each margin and the extension of the two top and two bottom ruled horizontal lines on each page. This pattern is common, but what is perhaps distinctive about the ruling of Rochester manuscripts is that books of medium size, as small as 240 x 150 mm (written area), are ruled in two columns.

It was certainly established that a Rochester book should consist of quires of eight leaves and that signatures should be numbers at the foot of the last verso, but this is not unusual. Similarly, a majority of Rochester scribes, with the exception of the earliest ones, wrote rubrics in red capitals of the same size as the text, and this was a common method of rubrication during this period. Display script, however, was left to individual initiative and was not a constituent of the house-style.

Although all these features were part of the Rochester house-style, it is the more unusual ones, such as the suprascripts and the punctuation, which are most helpful in deciding whether a manuscript is a Rochester product or not. In addition to the features just described, mention should be made of one or two other features, which, although not part of the house-style, are so unusual and occur quite frequently in Rochester manuscripts that they may be indicators of Rochester provenance. These include the use of the punctus circumflexus, so rare in English manuscripts, but quite frequently used at Rochester, the preference for majuscule 'A' and minuscule 'r' as reference notes in the margin, the placing of the last quire signature at the foot of the first recto, although all the others are on the last verso, the insertion of a contents table, and the tendency to highlight in red the first line of a text.

The guiding scribe in the scriptorium, who established the house-style at Rochester, was either scribe 3 or scribe 4. Previous studies of Rochester manuscripts have concentrated on the work of the Textus scribe, scribe 3, because his hand is in this famous manuscript and can easily be recognised in other manuscripts because it is so individual. In several ways his methods differ from the Rochester house-style because he employed some old-fashioned practices, retaining some of them when they had been abandoned by the other Rochester scribes.¹ Although his letter forms conform to the Rochester house-style, he is distinguished from other scribes by his maintenance of the 'ct' ligature when all the other scribes avoided it. Moreover, he did not necessarily abbreviate frequently in his manuscripts, was slow to adopt suprascript abbreviation and he only gradually made up his mind about punctuation, maintaining to the end a preference for a low point situated just above, not on, the ruled line. Other old-fashioned practices of this scribe were his use of letters for quire signatures, although he eventually adopted numbers, and his preference for red minuscule rubrics which he retained, even though the majority of Rochester scribes chose red capitals. Thus, although the Textus scribe wrote a beautiful script and was an outstanding copyist, his hand was slightly different from the Rochester norm which was finally established. He could not have been responsible for training the Rochester scribes.

In fact, it is the manuscripts ascribed to Humfrey the precentor, scribe 4, which exemplify the Rochester house-style.² Clearly this scribe must have trained the other scribes in the Rochester scriptorium, a responsibility which naturally fell to the precentor as the 'custos librorum'. This scribe wrote in the characteristic script, avoiding the 'ct' ligature and the round 'd' but content to employ the round 's' and the round 'r' after 'o'. All his manuscripts are extensively abbreviated and include suprascripts, while the punctuation is straightforward, consisting of a low point and punctus elevatus. The ruling of his manuscripts is always 1,2;P,U although he sometimes employs the dry point, sometimes the plummet, for the task. He always signed quires with numbers, even when one of the other scribes in the same manuscript used letters, and wrote rubrics in red capitals when the other scribe in the same manuscript wrote headings in red minuscule. Like the Textus scribe, he employed all the refinements mentioned above, the distinction

1. See pp.89-94,112-115.

2. See pp.95-97,102-103.

between diphthongs and suprascripts and the signing of the last quire on the first recto.

Scribe 4 was thus the leader of a scriptorium consisting of at least twelve permanent members who were all capable of fine work. They were a tightly-knit group who produced a number of very fine manuscripts which conform to a pattern. Between them, these scribes, and their two dozen associates, probably produced most of the books listed in Catalogue I, of which forty-four have been examined. They were produced in the space of fifteen years or so, the result of determined hard work. The rapidity with which the manuscripts were produced makes their quality all the more remarkable. It is perhaps the quality of the manuscripts which explains in part their preservation from destruction at the time of the Dissolution.

b. Group C Manuscripts : the Continuation of the House-style

The compilation of the first library catalogue is a useful terminal date but it does not mark the end of book production at Rochester priory. There are a few more manuscripts which are in a similar script to that of Group B, but which were not included in Catalogue I, and must therefore have been produced after 1122/23. Indeed, the style continued until the mid-twelfth century, as is clear from the script of some documents of this date which were copied into the Textus. The latest of these is a copy of a document of 1145¹ in which the script is slightly larger than the rest of the Textus but in other ways is very similar. It is an unusually formal script for a charter of this date, being a fine, upright script, consisting of well-formed letters showing no sign of cursive influence. The avoidance of round 'd' and round 'r' combined with a distinctive sign for '-orum' (l.9) and a minuscule 'a' with a trailing head (l.9) suggest that the hand in this document is the same as in Royal 5 C.viii (Pl. XX, l.16a and l.20a).

This enlarged form of the Group B type script occurs in several other Rochester manuscripts, making a total of six:

1. Textus, f.203^v

B.L., Royal 1 C.vii	Rochester Bible	1 scribe
B.L., Royal 4 A.xii	Mattheus glosatus	1 scribe
B.L., Royal 4 C.iv	Florus diaconus	2 scribes
B.L., Royal 5 C.i	Augustine, de Genesi ad Litteram	1 scribe (scribe 3)
B.L., Royal 5 C.viii	Augustine, de verbis domini	1 scribe
B.L., Royal 6 D.v	Prosper	2 scribes

A few of these manuscripts contain hands which had also copied manuscripts belonging to Group B. Royal 5 C.i was written by the Textus scribe although, as the title of this manuscript does not appear in Catalogue I, it must have been written after that catalogue was compiled. Royal 5 C.i, Royal 4 A.xii and Royal 1 C.vii contain initials which resemble those in Royal 5 D.iii and Royal 6 B.vi of Group B. These are distinctive initials with delicately shaded figures in red and green set against a dark ground, most often purple. The letter is outlined in red and green and may be decorated with a running pattern of acanthus leaves. Dragons and other beasts clamber up the letters and frequently, griffins or lions or dragons occur in pairs, one at the top and one at the base of the letter or one to the left and the other to the right. Thus, all these manuscripts must have been produced within a few years of Group B.

The six manuscripts just listed constitute a third group of Rochester manuscripts which represents the latest stage in the evolution of the house-style. It is worth pausing to examine how Group C manuscripts differ from Group B manuscripts to establish whether the house-style was strictly maintained or changed in any way. As with Group A, there are so few manuscripts and the number of scribes is so restricted — there are only two more scribes than there are manuscripts — that it is possible to consider the features of the manuscripts as a group without spending time describing in detail the characteristics of each scribe.

Script: All the manuscripts are in a clear Rochester type script in dark brown or black ink. One or two of the hands, though, are backward sloping.¹ The script is not always so well proportioned or well-spaced as in Group B manuscripts. The ascender is usually $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the height of the minim, which is slightly short in comparison with the script of Group B, where the ascender is nearer double the height of the minim. The space between the

1. The first scribe in B.L., Royal 4 C. iv and Royal 4 A.xii.

ruled lines is 7-8 mm, as in Group B manuscripts, but because the minim is taller, the script is now cramped in this space and its appearance therefore undermined. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif, and descenders end in a hair-line serif at an acute angle to the right of the stem of the letter, although one scribe ends 'q' with a hair-line serif to the left (*q*)¹. Hair-lines occur frequently on minuscule letters in all the manuscripts but never dominate the script. In a few manuscripts too, the majuscule letters are elongated.² All the scribes use round 's', round 'r' and the 'st' ligature but none use the 'ct' ligature. Round 'd' occurs occasionally in some of the manuscripts. Most of the scribes distinguish between diphthong 'oe' and 'æ' except the scribe of Royal 4 A.xii and the second scribe in Royal 6 D.v, who attempts to make the distinction but does not succeed in doing so accurately.

Abbreviation: Most of these manuscripts, except Royal 5 C.i, contain only few abbreviations, as was noticed among the later manuscripts of Group B. The least frequently abbreviated is the Rochester Bible, probably because it was designed for reading aloud. Even though abbreviation is not very frequent, suprascripts are regularly employed and appear in words of several syllables. The majority of the scribes,³ distinguish between suprascript closed 'a' to indicate abbreviated '-ua-' and a suprascript open 'a' for an abbreviated '-ra-'.

Punctuation: The punctuation system of all these manuscripts is based on a low point placed on the line and a punctus elevatus. The majority of them also contain the punctus circumflexus. The 'Rochester' Bible and the long works of Augustine, his de Genesi, de verbis domini and Florus diaconus' extracts of his comments on Romans, all contain this punctuation mark.⁴ Only two manuscripts⁵ contain the punctus versus in the text and the occurrence of the mark is spasmodic, appearing as it does, only at the end of sections of the text. These changes in punctuation are important modifications to the style established in Group B manuscripts.

1. The first scribe in B.L., Royal 6 D.v and Royal 5 C.viii.

2. B.L., Royal 4 C.iv, Royal 6 D.v, Royal 5 C.viii.

3. All the scribes in B.L., Royal 4 C.iv and Royal 6 D.v, and Royal 5 C.viii,
" Royal 5 C.i.

4. B.L., Royal 1 C.vii, Royal 4 C.iv, Royal 5 C.i, Royal 5 C.viii.

5. B.L., Royal 6 D.v and Royal 5 C.i.

The Preparation of the Page: All these manuscripts except Royal 4 A.xii, which is unusual because it is a glossed book, follow the same pattern of ruling as in Group B manuscripts. The first two and the last two horizontal lines are extended into the margin. All the books of this group, except the gloss, are large, having a written area of over 240 x 160 mm, and are therefore ruled in two columns. As in Group B manuscripts, all of them have two vertical lines in each margin and commonly three lines in the central space, although the 'Rochester' Bible, which is extremely large, has four ruled vertical lines in the centre of the page. The ruling of these manuscripts is in plummet and dry point, both instruments being used in the same manuscript.¹ Apart from the manuscript copied by the Textus scribe, who always ruled in dry point, every manuscript contains some ruling in plummet and two of them, including the glossed book, are ruled throughout in plummet.² The preference for the plummet distinguishes these manuscripts from those of Group B, although the choice of the instrument for ruling was left to individual initiative and was not an element in the house-style.

All these manuscripts, except the gloss, retain their quire signatures and these are numbers at the foot of the last verso in the centre of the page. There is one deviation from convention, namely the second scribe in Royal 4 C.iv, who numbered the quires at the foot of the first recto. This variation suggests that a strict rule concerning signatures was no longer observed. As in Group B, all the manuscripts are quired in eights.

Rubrics and Display Script: The rubrics of all these manuscripts were written by the scribes themselves and half of them wrote headings in red minuscule.³ Two other manuscripts have rubrics in enlarged round and angular capitals in red and green. The preference for capitals is shown in two illuminated manuscripts, the 'Rochester' Bible and Royal 4 C.iv, but this form of capitals cannot be linked with decorated initials since there are several illuminated manuscripts which do not have headings in coloured capitals but in red minuscule.⁴ In the majority of manuscripts the display script is in enlarged round and angular capitals in different colours followed by a line in ink capitals.⁵ The practice

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1. B.L., Royal 1 C.vii and Royal 4 C.iv.
 2. B.L., Royal 4 A.xii, Royal 5 C.viii and Royal 6 D.v.
 3. B.L., Royal 5 C.i, Royal 5 C.viii, Royal 6 D.v (both scribes).
 4. B.L., Royal 1 C.vii and Royal 4 C.iv, c.f. Royal 6 D.v and Royal 5 C.viii.
 5. B.L., Royal 1 C.vii, Royal 4 C.iv, Royal 5 C.viii, Royal 6 D.v.

of highlighting has died out but occurs in one manuscript, Royal 6 D.v.

From the evidence of these manuscripts, it is clear that the Rochester scriptorium continued to function after the date of Catalogue I but fewer books were produced and fewer scribes were at work than before. The texts which were copied were of the same type as before, viz. patristic texts, although the early gloss on Matthews' gospel and some of the epistles is an interesting addition to the collection. Few other patristic texts were acquired for the library between 1122/23 and 1202, to judge from a comparison between Catalogues I and II,¹ so these manuscripts, although so few, are a representative sample of what was being copied during the second quarter of the century. The six manuscripts were produced by eight scribes, four of whom were good enough to copy a long manuscript by themselves. It appears that there were, at most, four principal scribes, who were aided by other less able scribes, but production was not sufficient to suggest that these four were working in the scriptorium to the exclusion of any other labour in the priory.

The manuscripts reveal that uniformity was less and that some modifications were made to the house-style. All the books, though, are in a similar script, an enlarged version of the script of Group B (Pl. XX). It appears more cramped than the script of the latter because the minims are taller, over 3 mm in height, but the space between the ruled lines is not correspondingly increased. Hair-lines are more common in these manuscripts. The letter forms, however, are the same as in Group B, except for minuscule 'a' which now has a large head (Pl. XX, l.16.a). The same individual letter forms and ligatures are used as before, round 'r', round 's' and 'rt' (Pl. XX, l.2.b), and the same ones avoided, the round 'd' and the 'ct' ligature. The distinction between diphthongs 'oe' and 'ae' is retained (Pl. XX, l.18.a, c.f. l.19.a). Two important differences between these manuscripts and the earlier ones lie in abbreviation and punctuation. These manuscripts are not as frequently abbreviated as Group B manuscripts but suprascripts are regularly employed. The punctuation, although based on the same two elements, the punctus and punctus elevatus, as Group B, includes the punctus circumflexus while, on the other hand, the punctus versus has been abandoned. In these matters there have been modifications to the conventions established in the previous phase of the scriptorium but there is still some uniformity of practice.

1. pp.61-63.

This uniformity breaks down further in matters relating to book production. There was no convention in the choice of instrument for ruling, nor in rubrics and display script. Plummet ruling was more frequent in these manuscripts than in Group B, but it was only used throughout a book in three cases.¹ As regards rubrics and display script, there was a complete break with previous practice. Headings could be in red minuscule or coloured capitals (Pl. XX) but the red capitals of normal size which appear in Group B manuscripts do not occur in manuscripts of this group. Moreover, the display script of these manuscripts is more colourful than those of Group B, relying on the combination of different colours, not the technique of highlighting. The form and position of quire signatures and the ruling pattern, however, continue the practices established in Group B manuscripts. These manuscripts are a well-defined group, sharing the same type of script and illumination, and are very different from the other Rochester manuscripts produced in the middle of the century.

c. Mid-Century Manuscripts : The End of the Rochester House-style

There are no further books as fine as those in Groups B and C. This is not surprising for book production certainly ceased for a few years from 1137-42 when the community was dispersed after fire had destroyed the conventual buildings.² Although book production began again under Bishop Ascelin, it was spasmodic and a new, alien style appears concurrently with the old. The characteristic Rochester script was still being used in 1145³ but a few books associated with Ascelin, Bishop of Rochester 1142-8, were produced in a different style.

The new style can be linked to Bishop Ascelin through Royal 4 A.xvi, a commentary on Matthew, which may be identified with a book in Catalogue II⁴ said to have belonged to this bishop:

'Super Mattheum liber unus, qui fuit Ascelini episcopi.'


1. B.L., Royal 4 A.xii, Royal 5 C.viii, Royal 6 D.v.

2. See p. 33

3. See p. 126

4. Catalogue II, p. 56

The script of this book is slightly more angular than that of earlier Rochester manuscripts, as is clear from the bowls of letters 'b', 'd', 'p' and the shape of minuscule 'g' and 't'. Individual letters are small and minims now have serifs. Ascenders have a forked serif at the top and descenders end in a hair-line serif to the right of the stem of the letter. There are many hair-lines on minuscule letters and the bar on minuscule 't' is unusual because it turns upwards, thus 't'. There is no 'ct' ligature but the head-strokes of the 'c' and 't' run into each other so that it is difficult to distinguish the 'c' from the 't'. All these features in combination produce a script rather different from that of Groups B and C manuscripts.

There are two other manuscripts attributable to Rochester, Royal 4 B.ii and Royal 5 E.i, which may be contemporary with the one just described, to judge from their script. What is particularly interesting about these two manuscripts is that the more angular type of script just described occurs side by side with a type of script based on the characteristic Rochester script developed in the first quarter of the century. Royal 4 B.ii is a glossed book so the ruling does not fit into any pattern, but it is of course widely spaced. The script is small and rather cramped, despite the space. This suggests that the book is a mid-century product and this hypothesis is confirmed by the choice of ligatures and abbreviations. There is a 'ct' ligature which consists of a large curved stroke, thus:  and a round 'r' is now used after 'p' as well as after 'o'. In the gloss, new abbreviation signs include the preference for the Tironian form of 'et' and a reverse 'c' for 'con-'. Although these signs make it certain that this is a mid-century book, it is interesting that one of the scribes writes in a script which harks back to the earlier forms evolved in the Rochester scriptorium.

The script of the second manuscript, Royal 5 E.i, shows even more signs of the survival of earlier script, one scribe, in particular, f.41 et seq., writing a script which, at first glance, seems little different from scribe 1 of Group B.¹ The hand is small and neat, although it does not appear as fine as that of scribe 1, because it is in brown ink and is a little too small, ascenders being only one and a half times as tall as minims. This particular scribe uses a round 'd', a round 's' and a round 'r' and both the 'r' and 'ct' ligatures, just like scribe 1. It is changes in abbreviation symbols, not

1. See above, pp.86-7

Mid-Century Manuscripts probably produced at Rochester

1142-48

B.L., Royal 4 A.xvi
Royal 4 B.ii
Royal 5 E.i

1148-1200

Cambridge, C.C.C., 62, f.49-208
St. John's College, 70
St. John's College, 89

B.L., Royal 5 A.x
Royal 5 E.ii
Royal 6 A.xi

Oxford, Bodleian, Laud misc. 40

the script, which make it obvious that this is a mid-century manuscript. The common mark of abbreviation is sometimes a straight line, not a curved one, and the cursive abbreviation for '-bus' is employed instead of the 'semi-colon'. A noteworthy omission is the absence of the tail indicating a diphthong 'oe' and the irregular use of the equivalent symbol for 'ae', which means that this is often written out in full.

There are two other mid-century manuscripts which may have been written before 1148, the death of Bishop Ascelin. These are a miscellaneous theological collection, Royal 5 A.iv, and a copy of Anselm's prayers and meditations, Royal 5 E.xx. The provenance of Royal 5 A.iv is in doubt. Its script is not like other Rochester manuscripts, the most important difference being the use of suprascript abbreviation for a variety of letters of the alphabet. Furthermore, the signatures of this manuscript are minuscule letters, not numbers, which is an additional ground for rejecting the ascription of this manuscript to Rochester. It has therefore been excluded from this study of the Rochester scriptorium.

The manuscript of Anselm's prayers and meditations is not a typical Rochester product either, but it is an interesting book because it is unlikely to fit into the pattern of any particular scriptorium. It is written in a large script which is very straight and angular and there are few adornments. Minims and ascenders are clubbed and there are serifs on descenders at an acute angle to the stem but there are no hair-lines. There are few abbreviations, no annotations and no corrections. The only punctuation is a point at median height but the punctus elevatus is completely absent. The formality of the script and the simplicity of the punctuation, omitting all euphonic notation, means that this manuscript was not copied by a Rochester monk. It could well be the work of a professional scribe, the only example in the Rochester collection of professional work.

The list of manuscripts belonging to Rochester compiled by Dr. Ker includes seven further twelfth century manuscripts, which are all listed opposite. Three of these contain the works of twelfth century authors which were not available until after 1150 and thus fall outside the scope of this thesis. Another four manuscripts contain an angular script characteristic of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century and again, therefore, are beyond the scope of this thesis.

Conclusion

The history of the Rochester scriptorium in the century after the Norman Conquest can be briefly summarised. During Gundulf's episcopate, a few manuscripts were produced at Rochester priory by a handful of scribes who had been trained by a Norman. The quality of these manuscripts — the parchment, the script and the illumination, is mediocre but the scribes did follow a pattern of script and certain methods of book production. At the beginning of the twelfth century, probably under Bishop Ralph, there was a new stimulus to book production and there was prolific activity in the scriptorium for the next fifteen years or so under Bishops Ralph and Ernulf. The scriptorium consisted of at least twelve members who were trained by the precentor to copy manuscripts and make books in a remarkably uniform style. These twelve were aided by at least twenty two other monks, as required, and these, too, produced fine books in a fine script although they did not adopt the refinements evolved by the regular members of the scriptorium.

This was the peak of activity in the scriptorium in the first half of the twelfth century. After 1122-23, by which time there were over 93 items in the library, the number of manuscripts copied was reduced but the quality of copying was retained for a while. The number of scribes in the scriptorium was less but some of the best illuminated manuscripts, notably the 'Rochester' Bible, were produced in the fifteen years immediately following the period of greatest output. The script of several post-Catalogue I manuscripts closely resembles that of the manuscripts of Group B and must therefore be close to them in date, probably no later than 1130-40. These books, however, were the result of the labour of only a handful of good scribes, not a highly organised scriptorium as previously. The characteristic Rochester script persisted until the episcopate of Bishop Ascelin, or even later, but by the middle of the century, there were a few other scribes at Rochester who wrote in a script which was more angular and more abbreviated than the established house-style. The scriptorium was no longer staffed by a core of members of the priory, who had been carefully trained, and book production was uneven in quantity and quality. The scriptorium was in a stage of transition and did not become tightly organised again until the end of the century.

Now that the development of the Rochester scriptorium has been clearly traced, it is possible to place it in its context by comparing it with other scriptoria of the period. Few English centres of manuscript production have been studied in depth and there are few other monastic scriptoria, apart from Canterbury, with which to compare the findings at Rochester. The Canterbury scriptoria, particularly Christ Church, were so influential on Rochester that they warrant separate treatment in order to make it clear how the Rochester scriptorium was separate from them. The one piece of published research on an English scriptorium contemporary with Rochester concerns Salisbury.¹

This is particularly relevant to Rochester because it was founded at a similar date, the end of the eleventh century. Salisbury, however, was a secular cathedral chapter, where the role of manuscripts and the nature of texts copied might be expected to be different from Rochester priory. In fact, though, the number of manuscripts copied and the texts chosen for copying, are remarkably similar in both cathedrals. There is no early catalogue from Salisbury, but there is a remarkable number of manuscripts surviving from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. They total almost eighty books,² which is probably most of the library collection, comparable with the ninety-six in the Rochester Catalogue I. Most of these eighty, as at Rochester, are patristic texts. There are the major works of Augustine, Gregory and Ambrose, but not as many of Jerome's biblical commentaries, as at Rochester. In addition, there are the works of Bede, Cassian, Cassiodorus and some Carolingian authors, mainly the same texts as were available at Rochester. Apart from these, there are a few liturgical manuscripts, including several saints lives, and a couple of classical authors, Cicero and Seneca. There are no history books, however, which may distinguish this library from a monastic one.

The library collection may be similar to the one at Rochester but the organisation of the scriptorium was rather different. Although these eighty Salisbury manuscripts were copied in quite a short period, probably forty years or so, there were not so many regular members of the scriptorium. Indeed, there was only one principal scribe, possibly a professional, who was assisted regularly by one other, probably a canon, and from time to

1. Ker, N.R., "The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library", Medieval Learning and Literature, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson, Oxford, 1975, pp.23-49.

2. MLGB

time by a handful of other scribes, again, probably canons. Only one scribe at Salisbury (A) was responsible for copying whole manuscripts and often he worked in tandem with a second scribe (C). The vast majority of Salisbury manuscripts were produced under the direction of these two scribes who had at least three other scribes assisting them. Few Salisbury manuscripts are copied in one hand; most of them were shared out between several scribes. Often a particular hand only appears in a few lines or a couple of pages, which is evidence that the manuscripts were copied in series, not simultaneously, by whoever was free to share the labour. This aspect of the Salisbury manuscripts, and the untidiness of a number of them, suggests that they had to be copied quickly, as exemplars became available. In contrast, at Rochester, the books were often each copied by a single scribe. Even where scribes combined to produce a manuscript, the script is always careful and the book organised to look uniform throughout. There is certainly no sign of hurry. It seems likely that, whereas at Salisbury, manuscripts had to be copied as exemplars arrived, at Rochester, there was some planning in the copying of texts. Either specific exemplars were sought as certain titles were required, or the scriptorium relied on the plentiful supply of exemplars from the Canterbury houses.

There does not seem to have been any attempt at Salisbury to establish a house-style. The script is well formed but the different scribes are relatively easy to separate. The aspect of Salisbury manuscripts is different from Rochester ones because the space between the ruled lines is very wide and much of it is wasted because the minuscule letters take up less than a third of the space. Besides, unlike at Rochester, only the principal scribe tried to avoid old-fashioned ligatures and abbreviation but the other ones retained the 'rt' and 'ct' ligatures and made the 'et' ligature at the beginning and in the middle of a word, as well as at the end. Many of the Salisbury scribes wrote out a diphthong 'ae' in full, not bothering with the tailed 'e', one of the refined elements in Rochester manuscripts.

Moreover, different scribes employed different forms of abbreviation and punctuation. The common abbreviation sign could be a curve or a straight line. The scribes could not even agree on a common punctuation system, the punctus versus and punctus elevatus having a different form in different hands.¹ The punctuation system, consisting as it does of a

1. Scribe A c.f. Scribe B.1. Ker, N.R., "The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library", Medieval Learning and Literature, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson, 1975, pp.23-49.

point at median level and, sometimes, a punctus versus, is rather different from Rochester manuscripts. There is no consistency, either, in other aspects of book production. Quire signatures, although always numbers, occur in different positions, on the first recto and the last verso, even in manuscripts written by the same scribe. The ruling is often faulty, being unevenly spaced and sometimes not aligned to the edge of the page, and because it is done badly in dry point, is often the cause of holes in the parchment. There is a preference for single column books and little care is taken over matching the presentation of a book with the nature of its contents. Headings and the first line of the text are commonly in red rustic capitals, sometimes highlighted in red. There is no obvious set pattern for the decoration of manuscripts as there are no coloured, plain capitals and few decorated initials although there are some well-drawn ink initials, possibly the work of a scribe, not an artist.

The Rochester scriptorium is very different from Salisbury because of its characteristic formal script, its organisation and degree of uniformity. The only scriptorium known to have had similar features is Christ Church, Canterbury,¹ and it is from the script developed there, Christ Church script, that the Rochester script was drawn. Undoubtedly, too, as the studies of Dr. Ker and Dr. Dodwell reveal, there was a high degree of organisation at the Christ Church scriptorium. The resemblance of Rochester and Christ Church manuscripts is such that it was once thought that the former were copied at Christ Church.² Although it has been established that there was a scriptorium actually at Rochester, it is necessary to compare the Rochester and Christ Church scriptorium in detail to dispel doubts about the independence of Rochester from Christ Church, and make it clear that it possessed an identity separate from all other contemporary scriptoria.

1. Ker, English MSS, p. 28.

Dodwell, Canterbury School

2. James, M.R., Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1912, nos. 184 and 187.

V : The Influence of Canterbury

It is clear from Chapter I that there were close personal ties between the priories of Rochester and Christ Church, Canterbury.¹ The first monks in the new priory at Rochester came from Christ Church, although they included monks, like the prior, Ralph, who had not been professed there, but in Normandy. Bishop Gundulf was a close friend of Lanfranc, who played a leading role in the foundation of Rochester priory, and also of Anselm, Lanfranc's successor as archbishop. After the death of Gundulf, Ralph d'Escures was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, and in virtue of that office, within a year of his appointment, also had charge of Canterbury when that see was left vacant after the death of Anselm. The personnel of the two priories were probably almost interchangeable at this time and certainly Bishop Ralph would have had easy access to the library of Christ Church, a useful source of exemplars for the Rochester scriptorium.² This close relationship was maintained, even strengthened, when Bishop Ralph became Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ernulf, formerly prior of Christ Church, replaced Ralph as Bishop of Rochester. It is probably no coincidence that the bulk of the Rochester manuscripts were produced at this time, the second decade of the twelfth century, when a bishop familiar with the Christ Church scriptorium was in charge and exemplars from Christ Church were easily acquired. To determine the influence of Christ Church on the Rochester scriptorium, it is worth examining the various aspects of book production, script and scribal practice, and the choice of texts copied.

a. Script and Scribal Practice

The Christ Church scriptorium has been closely studied by Dr. Ker and Dr. Dodwell.³ The picture of the Christ Church scriptorium is not as clear-cut as Rochester for there was an established tradition of manuscript copying at Christ Church before the arrival of the Normans

1. See pp. 5-8

2. Ker, English MSS, p. 14.

3. Ker, English MSS, esp. pp. 25-29, 37. Dodwell, Canterbury School

and this Anglo-Saxon element survived in later Christ Church manuscripts. Purely English hands were at work there at least until the end of the eleventh century, and can be seen in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS B.3.25, Augustine's Confessiones. Several features of this script make it obvious that this is an English hand. The script (Pl. XXII, l.4) is quite tall, ascenders being more than double the height of the minims, yet there is ample room for ascenders and descenders because there is a wide space between the ruled lines. The aspect of the script is rounded, a feature most clear on the bowls of 'b' and 'd', on the ampersand, and on minuscule 'a' (Pl. XXII, l.1). Distinctive letters which are particularly English, are the minuscule 'g' which can have a long cross-stroke from the end of the tail back to the base of the body of the letter (Pl. XXII, l.4) and the ampersand is large and upright. There are many ligatures, even an 'rt' as well as the 'ct' and 'st' (Pl. XXII, l.16). The punctuation consists of a point at median level and a punctus versus, also a sign of an English hand.

Moreover, at Christ Church, a second, completely different script co-existed with the English style. This is visible in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS B.4.2, Augustine, Omeliae in Evangelium Johannis. Its script is similar to the Norman manuscript mentioned in Chapter III, Trinity College, Cambridge, MS B.16.44.¹ This script has a less rounded aspect and it is different from the English hand in several ways. Most obviously, it is in paler ink. More importantly, the ascenders and descenders are short, only one and a half times the height of the minims (Pl. XXIII, l.2.a). As a result the script seems more widely spaced than it is. A second important difference is that there are not necessarily serifs on the descenders, unlike the definite, horizontal serifs of an English hand. Of the individual letter forms, the minuscule 'a' is different because it has hardly any head and the tail of minuscule 'g' turns back on itself in a curve rather than a straight line (Pl. XXIII, l.1.a, 8.a). The ampersand is different too because it is cramped, being only a little taller than a minim. Another significant difference is that in this manuscript suprascript abbreviation is common.

This script then is not English but is like that of Trinity MS B.16.44, and therefore Norman. It has already been pointed out that the earliest Rochester manuscripts were

1. Ker, English MSS, p.25 and Pl. 4 and 5, and above, p.81.

probably Norman.¹ There are more purely Norman hands at Rochester than at Canterbury because at the latter the script was soon modified to produce the distinctive Christ Church script. Furthermore, the Norman hands in Rochester manuscripts are rather different from those in the Canterbury manuscripts.

A comparison of Trinity College MS B.4.2 with Royal 6 C.x, shows that the scribe of the former is only too evidently the superior writer (Pl. XXIII c.f. Pl. IV). The script of both seems rather short because the ascenders and descenders are short but the Rochester manuscript looks inferior because the script is cramped, the minuscule letters being narrow as well as the ascenders short. Altogether the Rochester scribe is less confident than the Christ Church one. The former's ascenders, although short, are not even straight, as if the scribe has difficulty writing the letter. His minuscule 'g' does not have a tail which turns back on itself but one which is simply a reverse majuscule 'c' (Pl. IV, 1.3.a). The scribe tries to end this against the base of the body of the letter but does not always succeed. Both ascenders and descenders are of varying lengths, even when they are adjacent letters. Besides, the words do not always stand on the ruled horizontal line so the whole line of script wanders up and down instead of all being written at the same level on the ruled line. The punctuation of the Rochester manuscript is less clear because the point is at various levels whereas the point in the Christ Church manuscript is regularly placed just above the line of writing. On the basis of these differences in letter forms and punctuation, it is clear that the Rochester scribe was not as accustomed to copying as the Christ Church scribe.

Both scribes write in a Norman hand but the finished script of each is rather different for the Rochester scribe does not attain the high standards of the Christ Church one. Indeed, none of the scribes in Group A Rochester manuscripts have been recognised amongst Christ Church manuscripts. It is thus most unlikely that the Rochester scriptorium was established with scribes who had previously been at Christ Church. Either they were learning to write for the first time by copying exemplars or perhaps they were monks who had made their professions in Normandy and learned to write there before coming over to England. The fact that these early Rochester scribes are not confident in their technique suggests that they had only recently been taught the art of copying. On the other hand, the style of the

1. See pp.81-82

Group A manuscripts, being close to that of Trinity College, Cambridge, MS B.16.44, is evidence of Norman influence. In view of the lack of knowledge of Norman manuscripts, it would be difficult to establish whether the Rochester scribes had in fact trained in Normandy but it is clear that whoever introduced this type of script had himself been taught there. Bishop Gundulf, himself, or any of the Norman leaders of the priory could have taught the Rochester monks in a Norman style. Undoubtedly, in this first phase of the Rochester scriptorium, Norman influence was greater than that of Christ Church. The Rochester scribes were not dependent on the calligraphical skills of the Christ Church scriptorium but started copying manuscripts for themselves, learning from exemplars and from their monastic brethren who were more familiar with Norman than with Christ Church practice.

The development of the Christ Church type script at Canterbury and Rochester

The purely Norman script did not last long at Christ Church without being modified to produce the form of script which was so different from its Norman predecessors that it has been called the Christ Church script. It first occurs in the copy of the second letter to Lanfranc from the anti-pope, Clement, which was inserted at the end of the Norman manuscript, Trinity B.16.44, a short while after the letter was received in 1086. A similar script, if not the same hand, first appears in the Canterbury episcopal professions for 1088 in the profession of John of Tours, bishop elect of Bath and Wells. This same hand has been recognised in some literary manuscripts from Christ Church priory, C.U.L. MS Kk.1.23, fos. 1-66, Trinity College, Cambridge, MSS B.5.28, B.3.9, B.3.5. Here was a Christ Church monk developing a new form of script.¹

In C.U.L., MS Kk.1.23,² the script is small, neat in dark ink and stands out from the page much more than in the manuscripts in the Norman hand. The script is more angular, a clear contrast drawn between thick and thin strokes. The angularity is most clearly seen in the minuscule 'c' and 't' (l.9). It is a well proportioned script, the ascenders being between one and a half times and twice as long as the minims and touching the descenders from the line above without overlapping. Minims and ascenders are clubbed but not split. Descenders usually, but not always, end in a hair-line serif to

1. Ker, English MSS, pp.28-9 and Plates 5 and 6.

2. Ibid., Pl. 7.

the right on 'p' but to the left on 'q' (l.10). Those on 'p' are at a sharp angle to the stem. Majuscule letters are slightly taller than ascenders so the script seems a little elongated (l.4). The punctuation is carefully placed and very clear but capitals are not placed in the margins when the first word of the sentence is on the left of the page (although this was the practice of the same scribe in Trinity College MS B.5.28). The tail of 'g' is long and turns back on itself (l.3). Minuscule 'a' does not have much of a head (l.2). The scribe uses round 's' at the end of words but avoids round 'r' and the 'ct' ligature and only writes a half uncial 'd' to save space. The scribe makes the distinction between diphthong 'ae' and diphthong 'oe' (fig.), but in this manuscript does not make the distinction between a contracted 'ua' and contracted 'ra', although that does occur in one of his other manuscripts, Trinity B.5.28.

This description echoes those of Rochester manuscripts, but an important difference is that the majuscule letters are tall and the script seems slightly elongated, whereas usually in the Rochester script the minuscule letters are as wide as they are long and the majuscule letters do not become elongated. These tall letters are a feature of many Christ Church manuscripts but these rarely occur in Rochester manuscripts. The plate of Royal 5 D.ii which is the one example of a Rochester hand which includes elongated letters, is remarkably similar to Trinity College, Cambridge, MS B.5.28, copied by the Christ Church scribe just described (Pl. XIII c.f. Pl. XXIV). Both have an elongated aspect, the former because of the height of the ascenders and the length of the tail on minuscule 'g', the latter on account of the tall majuscule letters and a similar tail on minuscule 'g'. In both, minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter sometimes having a forked serif, and the descenders end in hair-line serifs at an acute angle to the stem. These are different scribes, though, for the shape of the 'st' ligature is different; it is spaced out in the Rochester manuscript but in the Canterbury one the two letters stand close together and the bar of the letter 't' touches the 's' (Pl. XIII, l.9.b, c.f. Pl. XXIV, l.6.a). Moreover, the Christ Church scribe avoids round 'r' after 'o' but the Rochester scribe uses this readily. In addition, there are different abbreviation symbols in each manuscript for '-ur' suspended and the suspension of '-us' after 'b', which in the Rochester hand is a semicolon or a hook but in the Canterbury hand is the wavy 's'-like symbol (Pl. XIII, l.39.b, c.f. Pl. XXIV, l.3.a).

Clearly, though, the Rochester script here is modelled on this first stage of evolution of the Christ Church script at Christ Church.¹

At Christ Church, script was always evolving and yet another variation has still to be examined. A number of manuscripts written at Christ Church a few years after this style was first developed contain a slightly different script, an enlarged version of that just described.² An example of this is Trinity College, Cambridge, MS B.3.32 (Pl. XXVI). The minims are slightly larger than usual and the ascenders are correspondingly smaller while the majuscule letters, in particular, appear much larger. Although it is not very clear from the photographs, it is also true that the writing seems bolder because the letters are composed of heavier strokes. The individual letter forms are like those of the manuscripts already described. If anything, there are more hair-lines in this type of script for they occur on 'e', 't', the base and top of 'r' and the base of 's', and they are more prominent, as if they were meant to be seen (Pl. XXVI, l. 13). The other evidence which suggests that this is a modified version of the same script is that abbreviation is less frequent and, moreover, suprascripts are rare. In other ways, the manuscripts are like other Christ Church manuscripts with the same punctuation, signes de renvoi, ruling patterns and quiring. It should be noted that manuscripts in this enlarged script are always ruled in plummet.

This description resembles that of Rochester Group C manuscripts³ which were copied after the first catalogue was drawn up, but when books were still being produced in the Rochester house-style. Their script was described as an enlarged form of Group B manuscripts. As in the Canterbury manuscripts, the letters are formed from heavier strokes and hair-lines are more frequent and more prominent. There is less abbreviation and all the manuscripts are ruled in plummet. Whereas at Christ Church, manuscripts in this enlarged script were produced concurrently with those in the original Christ Church style, at Rochester, the manuscripts in the enlarged script make up Group C and can be dated after 1122-3, the date of compilation of Catalogue I. They represent a distinct

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1. Other examples of this script are Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Bodley 145, 827, B.L., Arundel 16, Trinity, MSS. B.3.4, B.4.9, B.4.25, B.5.24, B.5.26, CCCC, MSS. 19, 187, 452.
 2. Trinity, MSS. B.2.36, B.3.32, B.5.22, B.5.23.
 3. See pp. 126-131

phase in the development of the scriptorium for they were produced after the majority of Rochester manuscripts.

A visible time-lag thus exists between developments at Christ Church and their adoption at Rochester. The Christ Church script originated there c.1088 but this was not adopted at Rochester until the first decade of the twelfth century.¹ Similarly, the enlarged version of the Christ Church script existed there at the beginning of the twelfth century but was not adopted at Rochester until after 1122.² In both cases, at least fifteen years, possibly twenty, elapsed between the developments of script at Christ Church and its adoption at Rochester. This may represent the time it took for the Rochester scriptorium, having borrowed Christ Church exemplars, to remodel their style or it may be that the new developments only reached Rochester when the Christ Church influence was strengthened by the presence of leaders associated with that priory. Alternatively, the change at Rochester from Norman to Christ Church script may be associated with an influx of new monks on the appointment to the Rochester see of Ralph d'Escures, who had taken refuge with Anselm at Christ Church. Again, the tendency towards an enlarged script could be associated with another new bishop, John of Seez, previously archdeacon of Canterbury, but appointed to the Rochester see in 1125.

As with Rochester Group A manuscripts, the question arises as to whether the Rochester scribes independently adopted the script, modelling their style on Christ Church exemplars and developing their own variant in the process or learned their script from Christ Church monks who arrived at the priory with a new bishop. Unfortunately, there is even less evidence at this stage than with Rochester Group A manuscripts. There is no evidence to support the hypothesis that Christ Church monks transferred to Rochester to introduce the new script. Even if the script was introduced to Rochester by Christ Church scribes, some of the earliest Rochester scribes, of the new script, scribes 1 and 3, responsible for the Rodulfus manuscript and the Textus soon produced their own variant of the original. Their scripts are less angular than the Christ Church style and, besides, they both employ the 'ct' ligature which has only been observed in one or two Christ Church manuscripts, and in

1. See p.111

2. See p.126

these cases the form of the ligature is rather different from the ligature of these scribes. These two scribes then, were not Christ Church scribes, who, having developed their skills at Canterbury, transferred to Rochester but were scribes who had learned and developed their script at Rochester itself. On the other hand, the script of Humfrey the precentor, the guiding scribe in the Rochester scriptorium, is very close to the Christ Church script in its early stages. It has not been possible to identify his hand among the Christ Church manuscripts but he evidently modelled his script closely on the Christ Church style, even if he had not trained at Christ Church.

There was no massive intrusion of Christ Church scribes into the Rochester scriptorium, however. And because of their separate identity, the Rochester scribes did not produce a replica of the Christ Church script. The guiding scribe may have instructed them in the Christ Church style but the Rochester scribes developed their own variant. Since the Rochester scribes, except perhaps the guiding scribe, had not trained at Christ Church, they were not familiar with the variety of styles employed there, and were able to develop their own script free from the cross-currents which permeated the Christ Church scriptorium. Indeed, even during the first two decades of the twelfth century when the relationship between the two scriptoria was closest, the Rochester scribes modified the Christ Church style to produce a 'sturdier variant'¹ of the Christ Church script and manuscripts which contained slightly different features from Christ Church ones. This will become clear from a close comparison of the manuscripts in the Rochester house-style, that is manuscripts of Group B, with manuscripts from Christ Church which are in a similar script.²

Christ Church and Rochester compared

Script: The script of Rochester and Christ Church manuscripts may seem the same but a major difference between the products of the two scriptoria is the preference of Rochester scribes for black ink. All but a few Rochester manuscripts, the exceptions being one or two unusual scribes,³ are written mainly in black ink whereas many Christ Church manuscripts are in brown ink. This is in part connected with the fact that a number of extant Christ

1. Ker, English MSS, p.32.



2. The Christ Church manuscripts which form the basis of this comparison exclude those which are in a markedly English style or are markedly Norman. It is manuscripts in the Christ Church type script which are under consideration here. See Appendix

3. B.L., Royal 6 C.vi, Royal 5 B.vi, Royal 5 B.xiii.

Church manuscripts are in an enlarged version of Christ Church script, which was always brown. Rochester manuscripts, being modelled on the earliest form of Christ Church script, were likely to be dark because the early form of the script at Canterbury was dark. Yet at Rochester the scribes maintained a preference for black ink, not even dark brown. It is this which explains why the Rochester manuscripts are particularly fine — the darker the script, the clearer it stands out on the page. Because of the slowness of the Rochester scribes to adopt the enlarged, bold version of the Christ Church script, most of the texts of the first catalogue are in black ink whereas many Christ Church manuscripts of important texts are in brown ink.¹ This preference for black ink at Rochester was not in imitation of Christ Church but is possibly a sign of Anglo-Saxon influence for it is usually manuscripts in English hands at the end of the eleventh century that are in black ink.

Ligatures and letter forms: The form of script of both Rochester and Christ Church manuscripts may be similar but there is some difference in the choice of ligatures and abbreviations. Few Rochester scribes avoid the round 'r' but several of the earliest writers of Christ Church script at Canterbury do. Of the Rochester scribes who do avoid this ligature, two are odd,² and another may have come from Christ Church originally,³ whereas the scribes at Christ Church who avoid this ligature write some of the most important texts.⁴ It has already been mentioned that Rochester scribes who wrote the Christ Church script used the 'ct' ligature but Christ Church scribes did not. Rochester scribes not only use more ligatures but also seem to adopt abbreviation by suprascript more readily than Christ Church scribes. The originators of the Christ Church script did not employ suprascripts extensively and the same applies to the earliest writers of this script at Rochester.⁵ But after suprascripts had been introduced at Rochester most scribes used them extensively, whereas at Canterbury suprascripts were not introduced to become standard practice ever afterwards. In particular, several scribes who wrote in the bold Christ Church script at Canterbury limited the amount of abbreviation.⁶

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1. Christ Church MSS: C.U.L., MS. Ff. 3.29, Trinity MSS. B.4.5, B.3.10, B.5.22 (Isidore, Flores psalterium, Ambrose, Jerome).
 2. B.L., Royal 5 B.vi, Royal 5 B.vii. 3. B.L., Royal 6 B.vi.
 4. Trinity, MSS. B.5.26, B.5.28 (two volumes of Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*); C.U.L., MS. Ff. 3.9, Trinity MSS. B.2.34, B.3.32, B.4.25, B.L., Harley 624.
 5. e.g. Trinity, MSS. B.3.9, B.5.28, at Christ Church and B.L., Royal 6 C.iv, Royal 12 C.i at Rochester.
 6. e.g. Trinity, MSS. B.5.22-24, B.3.31-33, C.U.L., MS. Dd. 2.7.

Marginalia: Rochester manuscripts in general contain many more contemporary marginal notes and signes de renvoi than Canterbury manuscripts. This may be the result of slavish imitation of an exemplar. Rochester scribes followed the Christ Church practice of correcting manuscripts by means of signes de renvoi rather than by erasure. Amongst all the various signes, there is one that recurs in Rochester manuscripts but has not so far been observed in Christ Church manuscripts and that is the Insular sign of an 'X' in combination with 'S'.¹ Like the preference for black ink, this is a hint that there was a little Anglo-Saxon influence within the Rochester scriptorium independent of Christ Church influence. Rochester scribes share the same annotation symbols with Christ Church scribes but, interestingly, the nota sign adopted at each scriptorium was slightly different. Christ Church scribes commonly use a plain 'H' but if they do draw an anagram, all the letters of the word are on the right hand side, but Rochester scribes draw an anagram with minuscule 'o' in the centre of the formation instead of on the right hand side, viz.  instead of .

Punctuation: Although Rochester scribes adopted the Christ Church script, they did not immediately adopt the two-fold system of punctuation which the Christ Church scribes maintained. Their manuscripts were based on a punctuation system of a low point and a punctus elevatus, whereas a few of the Group B Rochester manuscripts contain points at different levels like the Group A manuscripts.³ In addition to this basic system, the Christ Church scribes sometimes used a punctus circumflexus. This occurs in the works of Eadmer, as well as in patristic texts, so it would seem that Eadmer knew how to use the mark⁴ but there are no Rochester manuscripts which were composed within the community which contain this form of punctuation. The work of Ralph does not contain the punctus circumflexus so it seems that he was not familiar with its meaning. There are no later manuscripts, other than patristic texts copied from elsewhere, which contain this symbol and which might give a clue as to whether understanding of this punctuation was passed on from Canterbury to Rochester.

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1. Ker, N.R., Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon, 1957.
 2. e.g. B.L., Royal 6 A.iv and Royal 15 A.xxii c.f. CCCC 19, Trinity MSS. B.5.24, B.2.3, B.L., Cott. Claud, E.v.
 3. B.L., Royal 5 A.vii, Royal 5 B.xiii, Royal 12 C.i.
 4. CCCC 371 and Osbern in B.L., Arundel 16.

There is no evidence that the Rochester scribes understood the use of the circumflexus. Nor are there any examples of the use of the punctus versus within the sentence, although this was maintained by some Christ Church scribes throughout the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth century.¹ The Rochester scribes abandoned the use of this except at the end of a book or important section of the text.

Ruling: The Rochester scribes may have abandoned archaic practices such as the punctus versus, probably because they were ignorant of ancient meanings, but they were not necessarily quick to adopt new methods. The prime example of their procrastination is in the choice of the instrument for ruling. At Christ Church, even some of the earliest exponents of the style employed a plummet for ruling, an instrument which had not been known previously.² Among the Christ Church manuscripts in Christ Church prickly script, about three quarters of them contain plummet ruling and many are ruled throughout in plummet. Both dry point and plummet, though, were used well into the twelfth century. At Rochester, although several manuscripts contain some ruling over in plummet, hardly any manuscripts of Catalogue I are ruled throughout in plummet. It is only generally adopted in the manuscripts produced soon after Catalogue I.

Quires and their Signatures: The quire signatures of manuscripts from both scriptoria are usually numbers at the foot of the last verso of the quire. Some early Rochester scribes, including the Textus scribe, did place letters as signatures in that position, a practice not used by Christ Church scribes writing Christ Church script. Letters do occur in a Christ Church manuscript written by an English scribe, an indication that letters as quire signatures are a remnant of Anglo-Saxon practice.³ A refinement developed by Rochester scribes was placing the signature of the last quire at the foot of the first recto, something rarely done by Christ Church scribes.

1. C.U.L., MS. li: 3.33, Trinity, MSS. B.4.5, B.4.6, B.3.32, B.5.23.

2. C.U.L., MS. Kk. 1.23, Trinity, MS.B.3.9, CCCC 19, 187, C.U.L., MS. Ff 3.29.

3. C.U.L., MS. li. 3.33.

Contents Tables A second way in which Rochester scribes improved on Christ Church methods was in the insertion of contents tables. Although this was done by one particular Rochester scribe for the most part, many more Rochester books than Christ Church ones contain contemporary lists of contents on the fly-leaf. Only two examples have been noted at Christ Church compared with the many Rochester manuscripts.¹

The main reason why Rochester manuscripts resemble those from Christ Church lies in the similarity of the script. There are also similarities in the punctuation, the ruling, which in both scriptoria is usually 1,2;P,U, the quire signatures and the marginalia. The differences between Christ Church and Rochester manuscripts relate to details. In some respects, such as the maintenance of the round 'r' and the 'ct' ligature, the general adherence to the dry point, rather than the plummet, and the reluctance to use the circumflexus, the Rochester scribes clung to archaic practices longer than Christ Church scribes. In other matters, the Rochester scriptorium adopted new methods more quickly than Christ Church. Examples are the Rochester scribes' ready adoption of suprascripts in which Christ Church scribes were quite slow, and the abandonment of the punctus versus, an ancient practice retained at Christ Church well into the twelfth century.

In some ways the Rochester scriptorium refined the Christ Church methods. The Rochester scribes did not follow Christ Church scribes' excesses and produced a script which stands out more clearly from the page. The practice of signing the last quire on the first recto and the use of contents tables were minor improvements more common at Rochester than Christ Church. On the other hand, the extensive marginalia in Rochester manuscripts and the variety of signes de renvoi may be regarded as an untidy aspect of Rochester manuscripts which was kept under control at Christ Church.

Just how much a Rochester manuscript could differ from a contemporary Christ Church book is apparent from a comparison of a manuscript of the same text from each scriptorium, Jerome's de Hebraicis Questionibus. The Rochester manuscript of this text,

1. Trinity, MSS. B.2.34, B.L. Royal 12 D.iv, c.f. B.L. Royal 5 A.vii, Royal 5 B.xiii, C.U.L. MS. Ff. 4.32, Trinity, MS. O.4.7.

an outstanding copy by the Textus scribe, can easily be compared with the one from Christ Church because both are preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge (Pl. IX c.f. Pl. XXV).¹ Both manuscripts are in a large, bold script, unusually large for the Textus scribe, whose hand therefore resembles more closely than usual that of the Christ Church scribe. In both the script is well spaced and the letter forms are alike. The punctuation and the frequency of abbreviation is similar in both manuscripts.

Even within the script, however, there are some differences between the two manuscripts. The Textus scribe writes a 'g' with a large, round tail but the Christ Church scribe writes a 'g' with a tail in which the first stroke is short and at an angle to the body of the letter. The form of 'g' used by the Textus scribe was more common at Rochester than the form in the Christ Church manuscript although this form did eventually reach Rochester.² Another difference within the script is that the Rochester scribe refrains from hair-lines, except on ascenders and descenders and minuscule 'e', but these are prominent in the Christ Church manuscript for they occur on many minuscule letters, including the cross-stroke of 't' and the base of 'r' and 'i'.

There are other differences of detail in the ligatures, as remarked in the general account, and in the forms of abbreviation. The Rochester scribe employs the 'ct' ligature and the round 'r' regularly but these forms are avoided by the Christ Church scribe, following the Christ Church custom. The abbreviation for '-bus' is different in each manuscript because the Textus scribe, like most Rochester scribes, abbreviates this with a semicolon sign but the Christ Church scribe employs the hook symbol (Pl. IX, l. 10. b, c.f. Pl. XXV, l. 14).

There are further and more striking differences, although not all of them are visible in the plates. The most obvious is that the Rochester book is larger and is ruled in two columns but the Christ Church book is written right across the page. In this case the Christ Church book is an exception to the trend at both scriptoria towards two column books. More significant is the fact that the ruling in the Rochester manuscript is in dry point but in the Canterbury one, it is in plummet. The other significant and obvious difference lies in the headings which, in the Rochester manuscript, are in red minuscule, and in the Christ

1. Trinity, MS. 0.4.7, c.f. MS. B.2.34

2. e.g. B.L., Royal 5 D.iii — Pl. XVI, l.3.a.

Church manuscript include large capitals of several different colours. A final difference, not discernible in the photographs, is that the Rochester book is quired in eights whereas the Christ Church one contains a quire of ten leaves. The quires on the Rochester book are signed with letters, an exception to the house-style, but those in the Christ Church manuscript are numbers.

Apart from all these differences of detail in Rochester and Canterbury manuscripts, the Rochester manuscripts as a group seem to be more uniform than the Christ Church manuscripts. This has already been pointed out in connection with script in that there were at least two styles current in the Christ Church scriptorium at any one time. It is not therefore surprising to discover that in the auxilliary arts there is some variation of practice at Christ Church whereas at Rochester these were standardised. This lack of uniformity compared with Rochester is most evident in abbreviation, ruling and quiring and rubrics.

Abbreviation: There are several forms of abbreviation for '-bus' regularly employed by Christ Church scribes. As at Rochester, the semicolon sign is a common abbreviation and as common is the normal hook symbol used to abbreviate '-us' after any syllable.¹ Several scribes also use the wavy 's' shape sign, which has been observed in isolated cases among Rochester scribes.² Others use the colon sign,³ a traditional Anglo-Saxon suspension symbol not known by Rochester scribes. Thus, there are four symbols in Christ Church manuscripts to indicate '-us' but only two at Rochester.

Ruling and Quiring: The Christ Church scribes are less uniform in their pattern of ruling and in their quiring. The pattern of ruling in Christ Church manuscripts is frequently the same as that in Rochester manuscripts, that is 1,2;P,U. But several Christ Church manuscripts contain just one horizontal line at the top and bottom of the page,⁴ a form unknown at Rochester.⁵ Similarly there are some Christ Church manuscripts, works by Christ Church authors, ruled 1,3;A,U, which shows that some Christ Church scribes specifically chose that form of ruling.⁶ At Rochester the proportion of manuscripts ruled in that pattern is no less

1. Trinity, MSS. B.3.9, B.4.9, B.2.34

2. Trinity, MSS. B.3.5, B.3.33, B.4.5, B.5.28.

3. Trinity, MSS. B.4.9, B.4.26, C.C.C.C. 19, C.U.L., MS. Ff.3.9.

4. Trinity, MS. B.4.9, C.C.C.C. 457, Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Bodley 827.

5. Except in B.L., Royal 4 B.i.

6. B.L., Arundel 16, Cott. Claud. E.v.

but the manuscripts do not include any original works by Rochester scribes so the ruling is probably not the scribe's choice but reflects the exemplar. It is thus fair to say that the ruling of Rochester manuscripts is more standardised than at Canterbury, although the most common pattern at both scriptoria is the same. As regards quiring, the preference in both scriptoria was for quires of eight but in Christ Church manuscripts there are more quires of ten leaves. These occur not only when there is a change of scribe or text within one manuscript but in other places for no apparent reason.¹

Rubrics: As at Rochester, rubrics are in minuscule or in capitals of the same size as the text. Whereas in Rochester manuscripts, these are usually red, in Christ Church manuscripts, they may be mauve, green or yellow, as often as red.² Besides, the technique of highlighting, observed in some Rochester manuscripts, occurs in Christ Church manuscripts only occasionally and not at all regularly. Rubrication is thus less consistent at Christ Church than at Rochester.

Conclusion

At Canterbury, the Christ Church script was abandoned by some scribes as early as 1138-40 in favour of a more rounded script, which can be seen in its fully developed form in the Eadwine Psalter, which can be dated to the year 1147.³ The script of this book is more rounded than the Christ Church script of the beginning of the twelfth century, a trait most clearly seen in the long curves on 'e' and 't'. The letters are formed with deliberation, the minims and ascenders being of even length, the ascenders scarcely taller than the minims. There is not the distinction between thick and thin strokes, as in the earlier script, nor are there any hair-lines. The artistry is centred on the ligatures, abbreviation signs and punctuation marks, which are carefully formed, as is most clear in the 'ct' ligature with the ample curve joining the two letters. Individual letter forms, which are noticeably different are the minuscule 'a', which has a trailing head, and a minuscule 'g' on which the final stroke of the tail is a straight line which almost touches the base of the letter. In addition, there are feet on most of the vertical strokes but these are always flat, not at an angle to the stem, as was the case on the descenders of the Christ Church script.

Given the time-lag between changes at Christ Church and similar changes at Rochester, it is unlikely that these mid-century developments would appear in Rochester

1. Trinity, MSS. B.2.34, B.3.9.

2. Trinity, MSS. B.2.3, B.2.34, B.4.9, B.5.22, C.U.L., MS. Dd. 1.4, B.L., Cott. Clæop. E.v.

3. Dodwell, Canterbury School, pp.41-47. Facsimile, ed. James, M.R., The Canterbury Psalter, 1935.

manuscripts before the new script was properly established at Christ Church, that is before 1147. The books produced at Rochester under Bishop Ascelin 1142-8, it has been shown,¹ were either in the early type of Christ Church script or in a more angular script. The mid-century script evolved at Canterbury would have been adopted at Rochester at the earliest in 1148 by Ascelin's successor, Walter, brother of Archbishop Theobald and archdeacon of Canterbury. In fact, though, there are no extant Rochester books in this mid-century script, a reflection on the low level of book production at Rochester in this period.

The development of the scriptoria at Christ Church and Rochester followed different courses. At Christ Church, manuscripts were produced in quantity throughout the century and the script continually evolved. The early form of the Christ Church type script was rivalled in the second decade of the twelfth century by the enlarged form of the same type of script, which eventually superseded the earlier one. Then in the years following 1138-42, a new, more rounded script was evolved and written concurrently with the prickly Christ Church script but this was in decay and died out when the rounded script became dominant. At Rochester, on the other hand, manuscript production fluctuated. At first, only a few manuscripts were produced in a Norman type of script. Then, the vast bulk of the manuscripts were copied in a variant of the Christ Church script in a short time, the first two decades of the twelfth century. After 1122, the manuscripts were copied in the enlarged type of Christ Church script but production declined and levelled off at a low rate. Production ceased from 1137-42 when the community was dispersed and although the monks were re-established, book production was not, and manuscripts were only produced spasmodically. The number of extant Rochester manuscripts from the middle of the century is low and they are not written in a mid-century script but hark back to earlier styles. The Rochester scriptorium did not recommence production on a large scale until Gothic script was fashionable, that is probably in the late 1170s. Manuscript copying was not again an important activity at Rochester until the second half of Bishop Walter's episcopate.

The second difference in the development of the scriptoria is that the Rochester scriptorium produced manuscripts which adhered more closely to a uniform pattern than the Christ Church books. The Rochester style, based initially on the earliest type of Christ Church script, evolved to form its own variant and then the style became fixed. Once the

1. See pp. 131-3

scriptorium had freed itself from the influence of the prickly and ill-formed Norman script, the house-style was established and any later development, such as the backward slope or hair-lines, grew out of the house-style or was stimulated by modifications made to Christ Church script at Christ Church, but it was not fertilised by cross-currents from scribes of different training and background. At Rochester, unlike at Christ Church, there was no ancient library which could provide a variety of models of script and be a continual source of inspiration. Saxon and Norman hands did not co-exist as at Christ Church, but all monks, whether of Saxon or Norman origins, were trained to copy in the same script. At the Rochester scriptorium, although the script was a variant of the original Christ Church script, the principles of the Christ Church scriptorium could be applied more thoroughly than at Christ Church itself.

b. The Copying of Texts

It has been suggested that one reason for the prolific output of the Rochester scriptorium in such a short period was linked with the fact that during Ernulf's episcopate, when Ralph was archbishop, the Rochester scribes could easily borrow exemplars from Canterbury, particularly from Christ Church. The difficulty of finding exemplars to copy was probably the largest single obstacle to building up a large library collection. Anselm refers to Lanfranc's complaint, that there was a shortage of texts by Jerome and Ambrose.¹ Herbert of Losinga writes to Abbot Richard, possibly of Préaux, to obtain manuscripts of Augustine, Jerome, Gregory and Josephus.²

To find particular texts was difficult enough at the time: it is even more difficult now to reconstruct that search. In the case of Rochester, two factors make it worthwhile to embark on such an enquiry. First, because it is known that manuscripts were copied at Rochester as part of a planned programme. The fact that the manuscripts were copied in an unhurried way suggests that exemplars were borrowed for a considerable length of time and were easily secured. Moreover, the texts chosen for copying are those which constituted

1. Epp. Anselmi, no. 23.) see above
 2. Hereberti Losingae, Epistolae, ed. R. Anstruther, 1846, no. X, p.16.) p.68

the core of any respectable twelfth century library and Rochester is unique because the seven most popular twelfth century texts, comprising ten volumes, are extant.¹ The seven titles are Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos, Omeliae in Evangelium Johannis, Confessiones, de Civitate Dei; Jerome, Epistolae; Gregory, Moralia and Registrum. Three of these texts were copied before 1100² and the other four were copied early in the twelfth century, a chronology which reveals the preference of the Rochester community for patristic texts over anything else.

Second, as a new foundation, the Rochester community could not rely on long-established ties with particular houses, except for Christ Church, as a source of exemplars but was obliged actively to seek them. Fortunately, Rochester was well-placed to acquire exemplars; indeed, it had access to the best of all worlds and is therefore particularly interesting to study. The main source of exemplars may have been Christ Church but the other Canterbury house, St. Augustine's must be considered because it possessed a large number of manuscripts, many of them very old. Furthermore, in view of the Norman background of the monks, and, in particular, of the bishops, the priory probably had access to the library collections of Norman abbeys and these could be a major source for new texts. In addition, in the person of Ernulf, the priory had a direct link with Peterborough abbey where he had previously been abbot. Like St. Augustine's, Peterborough had a long tradition of manuscript copying and book collecting and Ernulf had probably found Anglo-Saxon books there which were hardly known on the Continent.

Rochester and Christ Church

Christ Church priory, where an extensive programme of copying was in progress in this period, was likely to be the most important influence on the Rochester collection, and it will therefore be considered first. In comparing library collections, it is usually helpful to compare library catalogues but the Christ Church catalogues are of little value for the period under discussion. There is a late twelfth century catalogue³ but it is only a fragment which does not include patristic texts. The first Christ Church catalogue with

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1. Ker, English MSS, p.4.
 2. Gregory's Registrum, Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos, and Omeliae in Evangelium Johannis, were among the earliest manuscripts copied for the Rochester library. All these titles date from the late eleventh century, see p.70.
 3. James, M.R., Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, 1903, pp.13-149. Hence-forward ALCD.

Identical Manuscripts Extant from both Rochester and Christ Church

Text	Rochester MS	Christ Church MS
1. Gregory, Registrum	B.L., Royal 6 C.x s.xi.ex.	C.U.L., li.3.33 1090-1120
2. Gregory, Omeliae in Ezechielem	B.L., Royal 4 B.i s.xii.in.	C.U.L., Ff.3.9 1070-1100 Windsor, 5 s.xii.
3. Ambrose, Hexameron	B.L., Royal 6 A.i s.xii.in.	C.U.L., Kk.1.23 1070-1100
4. Augustine, Omeliae in Evangelium Johannis	B.L., Royal 3 C.x s.xii.in.	Trinity, MS B.4.2 s.xi.ex. -s.xii.in.
5. Ambrose, de Fide	B.L., Royal 6 C.iv s.xii.in.	Bodleian, Bodley 827 s.xi.ex. Cambridge, St. John's 5 1110-1140
6. Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalms, I-L	B.L., Royal 5 D.iii s.xii.in.	Trinity, MS B.5.26 s.xi.ex. -s.xii.in.
7. Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalms, CI-CL	B.L., Royal 5 D.ii s.xii.in.	Trinity, MS B.5.28 s.xi.ex. -s.xii.in.
8. Gregory, Moralia	B.L., Royal 6 C.vi s.xii.in.	Trinity, MS B.4.9 s.xi.ex. -s.xii.in.
9. Augustine, de adulterinis coniugiis, etc.	Bodleian, Bodley 387 s.xii.in.	Trinity, MS B.3.33 1090-1120
10. Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica	Cambridge, C.C.C. 184 s.xii.in.	Cambridge, C.C.C. 187 1090-1120
11. Jerome, de hebraicis questionibus, etc.	Trinity, MS 0.4.7 s.xii.in.	Trinity, MS B.2.34 1110-40
12. Solinus, de mirabilibus mundi	B.L., Royal 15 A.xxii s.xii.in.	B.L., Cott. Vesp. B.xxv 1110-40
13. Augustine, de nuptiis concupiscentia, contra Julianum, etc.	Bodleian, Bodley 134 s.xii.in.	Bodleian, Bodley 145 1110-40
14. Jerome, Epistolae	B.L., Royal 6 D.ii s.xii.in.	C.U.L., Dd. 2.7 1110-40
15. J. Chrysostomus, opuscula	B.L., Royal 6 A.xii s.xii.in.	Trinity, MS B.2.36 c.1140
16. Augustine, de Genesi ad litteram	B.L., Royal 5 C.i 1120-30	Trinity, MS B.4.25 1110-40
17. Florus diaconus	B.L., Royal 4 C.iv s.xii.½	Trinity, MS B.4.5 s.xii.½

which the first Rochester one can be compared is that of Prior Eastry, dating from c.1300-30. This catalogue, though, is so large that it is not surprising that it should include more than half the titles of the first Rochester catalogue. Just because the same titles are listed in both catalogues, it does not mean that the Rochester and Christ Church books were necessarily related. Very often, the first title in the Rochester book may be the same as the first title in the Christ Church book but the rest of the items in the same book are different. It is unlikely that two such books with only one title in common could be shown to be linked. There are, however, some interesting overlaps between the two catalogues. In addition to sharing the major patristic texts, both lists contain some of the same minor works. These include a book of a series of the works of Augustine, five in all, which are in exactly the same order in the copy owned by both houses.¹ Similarly, there are matching series of the works of Jerome in the possession of both houses, one beginning with 'de essentia et ineffabilitate dei',² and the other with 'de Hebraicis questionibus'.³

Little can be gleaned from the catalogue about the relationships between the Rochester and Christ Church priories but more can be learned from the extant manuscripts. After examining the contents of the manuscripts, it is possible to draw up a list of the books surviving from Christ Church which are identical to the extant Rochester manuscripts. These are listed opposite. Most of the manuscripts seem almost contemporary. Six manuscripts, though, from Christ Church certainly ante-date the Rochester book of the same title.⁴ It is likely that more Rochester manuscripts are copies of Christ Church exemplars than the other way round, yet two Rochester manuscripts ante-date the Christ Church copies of the same texts.⁵ It is clear that manuscripts first produced at Rochester before 1100 were being copied at the same time at Christ Church, namely, Augustine's Enarrationes in Psalmos and Gregory's Registrum. There is also some correlation between the late eleventh century Christ Church manuscripts and those first copied at Rochester in the twelfth century, the works of Ambrose, De Fide and Exameron, Eusebius' Historia Ecclesiastica, the minor works of Augustine, de adulterinis coniugiis and Gregory's Moralia and Omeliae in Ezechielem. The greatest overlap is between manuscripts written at Rochester at the beginning of the

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1. Prior Eastry's catalogue, ALCD, no. 20, de ovibus etc. 2. Ibid., no. 196.
 3. Ibid., no. 197, extant as Trinity, MS. B.2.34, and MS. 0.4.7.
 4. Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Bodley 827, CUL, MSS. KK.1.23, Ff.3.9, Trinity, MSS. B.4.9, B.5.26, B.5.28.
 5. B.L., Royal 6 A.xii, Royal 5 B.iv.

twelfth century before the compilation of Catalogue I in 1122 and those written at Christ Church c.1110-1140. Co-operation between the two houses seems to have been particularly close during this period when the scribes at both scriptoria were producing their finest works. There are further links between manuscripts of both houses after 1122 in the form of Augustine's de verbis Domini and Florus Diaconus' extracts from Augustine on the Pauline Epistles.¹

Rochester manuscripts copied from Christ Church exemplars

Of the manuscripts in common between the two houses, it is likely that unless the Rochester manuscript is earlier than the equivalent text from Christ Church, the Rochester manuscript is a copy of the Christ Church exemplar. This is highly probable in the case of two manuscripts, both works of Ambrose, De Fide and Exameron.² These were both written at Christ Church before 1100 whereas the Rochester manuscripts belong to the main group of Rochester products. It is possible to confirm this relationship between the texts of De Fide without extensive collation. The relationship of the Rochester and Christ Church manuscripts is complicated because there are two copies of this text from the latter house, one by one of the first scribes of Christ Church script and one in a later Christ Church script.³ All three manuscripts share the same variant readings. They belong to the English family of manuscripts based on a manuscript now preserved in France, in which the opening of book three is always 'Quondam Clementissime Imperator'.⁴ Furthermore all three manuscripts contain all the variants which indicate a particular branch of this family,⁵ so it seems likely that all three manuscripts are closely related. The Rochester manuscript could be a copy of either Christ Church manuscript. Examining the annotations, however, the Rochester manuscript, contrary to expectations, contains only one nota sign, f.36, that is in book three adjacent to the sentence: 'Solus ergo sponsus est Christus qui nec synagoge ipsi manipulos suae messis invidet'. This coincides with the one original annotation in the older Christ Church manuscript (f.23). Evidently this note is not the fancy of the Rochester scribe but was copied, most probably from this Christ Church manuscript. This annotation is not found in the second Christ Church manuscript, which is an inferior copy, anyway, to judge from the proliferation of unnecessary capitals in the text. The Rochester manuscript, then, is very

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1. B.L., Royal 5 C.viii and Royal 4 C.iv, c.f. CUL, MS. li.3.33, Trinity, MS. B.4.5.
 2. Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Bodley 827 and CUL, MS. Kk.1.23, c.f. B.L., Royal 6 C.iv and Royal 6 A.i.
 3. Cambridge, St. John's College, MS. 5.
 4. O. Faller, C.S.E.L., vol. lxxviii, 1962, p.33.
 5. Ibid., pp.33-34.

close to the Christ Church manuscript of the late eleventh century. It cannot be stated with certainty that it is a direct copy of this particular manuscript because collation has shown that the Christ Church manuscript contains more variants than the Rochester manuscript. This suggests that they are independent copies of the same exemplar.

In the example just described, the Christ Church manuscript was certainly written before the Rochester one. In the examples which follow it cannot be determined on the grounds of script whether the Christ Church manuscript is earlier than the Rochester one or vice versa. Two contemporary texts whose relationship might be decided on paleographical evidence are the manuscripts of Augustine on John and the letters of Jerome. Considering first the commentary of Augustine on John,¹ it is evident that the two manuscripts closely resemble each other, textually and paleographically. Both manuscripts contain the 124 homilies of St. Augustine preceded by the text of the Gospel on which they are based. What is even more significant is that both manuscripts contain an identical series of marginalia of a distinct type. These are comments on the text enclosed in a red or green box as if they were of special significance. These are distinct from the other marginalia, not in boxes, which are corrections of errors resulting from miscopying of the exemplar.

In addition to these comments on the text, properly termed glosses, are numerous signs often in the form of majuscule 'A' which have been noted as innovations in Rochester manuscripts. Of these, all the signs in the Rochester manuscript except two, are in the Christ Church manuscript which contains several signs omitted from the Rochester manuscript. This suggests that the Rochester manuscript is a copy of the Christ Church one to which the scribe of the Rochester manuscript added one or two annotations of his own. This is confirmed by the presence in the Christ Church manuscript of an extended gloss which is omitted from the Rochester text. This gloss is at the beginning of the book on f.11.^v in a hand contemporary with that of the text and begins: 'Notarii a notis acceperere vocabulum ...' This is the first example of contemporary manuscripts from Rochester and Christ Church where the Rochester book is almost certainly a copy of the Christ Church one.

1. B.L., Royal 3 C.x (Rochester) c.f. Trinity, MS B.4.2.

The manuscripts are close paleographically. The size of the two books is almost identical, the Rochester book being 360 x 240 and the Christ Church one 360 x 232 mm. The written areas in both manuscripts are respectively 268 x 163 and 274 x 155 mm. The first has 43 lines per page and the second 42 lines per page. Both manuscripts are ruled in plummet, an extremely early example of the use of this instrument at Rochester. Both contain the punctus circumflexus, again a precocious feature for a Rochester manuscript. Both manuscripts have only two illuminations, one at the start of the Gospel and another at the beginning of Augustine's commentary. The decorative letters in both manuscripts are similar, plain but always in two colours. In fact, the manuscripts are paleographically so similar that they may well be products of the same scriptorium.

Although Rochester priory was in possession of a copy of Augustine's commentary on John at the end of the twelfth century, according to Catalogue II, it does not appear in Catalogue I. Moreover, it has not been considered a Rochester product because, despite a similarity in the script, it does not conform to the style of Rochester Group A manuscripts. The abbreviation is more advanced than Group A manuscripts in that it is more frequent and includes suprascripts on complex words. What is most significant, however, is that the manuscript is ruled in plummet, which was only employed by one or two scribes at Rochester, such as scribes 8 and 9, before 1122 and was only used regularly after that date. And there are other details which are not characteristic of Rochester but of Christ Church: the first and last quires of the manuscript consist of ten leaves, although there is no reason to enlarge the quire to fit the text and the nota sign is in a form typical of Christ Church, not Rochester hands, for it is a majuscule 'N' with all the rest of the letters on the right hand stem of the letter.

This manuscript must therefore be considered a Christ Church product which found its way to Rochester during the twelfth century. According to Catalogue I, this major work is missing from the collection and the Rochester monks owned only a series of excerpts from the text.² The Rochester community did own the full text by 1202 when it is listed near the beginning of Catalogue II.³ In this case, then, the Rochester scribes did not

1. See p. 70

2. Catalogue I, p.123.

3. Catalogue II, p.54.

themselves copy a Christ Church exemplar but relied on the Christ Church scribes to do the work, and obtained this important text directly from them.

The second text which the two houses share whose relationship may be established on paleographical evidence is Jerome's Epistolae. Both manuscripts contain a particular selection of Jerome's letters, 123 in all, which has been noticed by Professor Mynors amongst Durham manuscripts.¹ Like the Durham manuscript, it seems likely that the Rochester manuscript, although certainly not copied at Christ Church, was copied from a Christ Church exemplar. It may be doubted that the exemplar was the Christ Church manuscript now in Cambridge University Library because the annotations in each manuscript are so different. Both manuscripts contain a large number of nota signs but few of the Rochester annotations coincide with those in the Christ Church manuscript. The fact that there are a few in common though, is a sign that a core of these annotations was in an exemplar and that they are not the private notes of the individual copier. It would be worth comparing these manuscripts with the one in Durham before coming to any conclusions on the precise relationship between the Christ Church and Rochester manuscripts. All that can be stated at the moment is that the two manuscripts examined here are closely related but there is the possibility of another source common to both.

It is very difficult to establish the relationship of the texts which Rochester may have copied from Christ Church. Examination of divisions of the text, marginalia and punctuation has proved helpful. Even a collation of the texts would not necessarily be decisive because the standard of copying was so fine. This was clear from the analysis of the text of Contra Julianum by Dr. Ker, who thought that the Rochester manuscript was a copy of the Christ Church one.² It is worth recapitulating the comparison by Dr. Ker to show what sort of changes a Rochester scribe made as he copied an exemplar. It should first be stated that examination of the marginal annotations of the two manuscripts showed that they coincided almost exactly. A few signs which were in the Christ Church manuscript were omitted from the Rochester copy, but the Rochester copy contained only one or two annotations made independently of the Christ Church manuscript. This would seem

1. Mynors, R.A.B., Durham Cathedral Manuscripts, 1939, p.37:

2. Ker, English MSS, pp.55-56.

to prove that at this period, it was the custom at Rochester to copy marginalia slavishly. In matters of spelling, word separation and punctuation, though, the Rochester scribe did make alterations. On f.74^v, he wrote 'perfeciatque', as in the Christ Church manuscript, then, realising that this was wrong, put a comma below the line to show the correct division of the two words. At f.83, he wrote 'iuvenalis', following his exemplar, then amended it to 'iuvenelis'. On f.145^v, he wrote 'quamvis' as one word, whereas in the exemplar this word appears as two, 'quā vis'. The Rochester scribe regularly wrote 'y' where appropriate instead of 'i', as in 'hypochrisis', 'hylarius'.

The system of punctuation in the Rochester manuscript is nearly the same as in the Christ Church manuscript after correction, but the punctus versus of the Christ Church manuscript is replaced by a low point, a tendency which distinguishes manuscripts from the two houses, as has been observed.¹ The Rochester scribe avoids the punctus circumflexus where it occurs in Christ Church manuscripts but uses it instead of the line punctuation mark introduced into the exemplar.² One or two different forms of abbreviation are adopted by the Rochester scribe. His sign for the suspension of '-que' is a 'semicolon' whereas in the Christ Church manuscript, it is a 'colon', and he usually writes out '-re' syllables in full whereas the Christ Church scribe abbreviates them, thus, 'p̄fatio'.

That this standard was normal among Rochester scribes can be seen in the comparison of the few Christ Church and Rochester manuscripts of the same text which have been preserved in the same library. The most famous of these are the pair of manuscripts of Jerome's de Hebraicis questionibus now displayed in Trinity College, Cambridge.³ The two manuscripts are certainly closely connected for they each contain several minor works of Jerome occurring in the same order. Indeed, the illumination is so close that it is possible that they were drawn by the same artist.⁴ The manuscripts were not written in the same scriptorium, though, for the Rochester manuscript is the work of the Textus scribe, who undoubtedly was a Rochester monk., and the other manuscript is a typical Christ Church product as described above, different from the normal Rochester book.⁵ This pair of manuscripts was first noticed by Dr. James who thought that Trinity, MS O.4.7 was a copy of MS B.2.34. This

1. Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Bodley 134, f.147,34^v c.f. MS. Bodley 145, f.120^v,26, see p. 148

2. Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Bodley 134, f.127 c.f. MS. Bodley 145.

3. Trinity, MS. O.4.7 (Rochester) c.f. B.2.34 (Christ Church) Pl. IX c.f. Pl. XXV.

4. M.R. James thought so, see his Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Trinity College, vol. III, pp.254-55, but for different views, see Boase, T.S.R., English Art, 1971, p.45 c.f. Dodwell, Canterbury School, p.74, c.f. Kauffmann, C.M., Romanesque Manuscripts, 1975, no. 23.

5. See p. 150

is confirmed by the evidence of alterations in the latter which were incorporated in the other manuscript. Folio 77^v of the Christ Church manuscript is an added leaf containing a section of the text which had been omitted on what is now f.78 whereas this part of the text is in its rightful place in the Rochester manuscript. The evidence of marginalia is the most instructive. The manuscripts contain many reference notes: of nearly 200, the two manuscripts share all but twenty or so. The Rochester scribe omits half a dozen which are in the Christ Church manuscript but inserts a dozen which are not in the latter. Evidently the relationship of the manuscripts is direct. What is decisive is that among the marginalia in the Christ Church manuscript are many Greek words copied at the same time as the main text. These are not in the Rochester manuscript, so the Christ Church book cannot be copied from it. Furthermore both manuscripts contain contents tables and the Rochester set is so brief that the Christ Church list could not have been copied from it. The Rochester book must be a copy of the Christ Church exemplar.

Collation of the first work in the manuscript tends to confirm this suggestion but copying errors are rare.¹ They are limited to a few isolated words: 'consuerunt'^(f.7^v) for 'consueverunt', 'conternantem'^(f.10^v) for 'consternantem' and 'divisit'^(f.17^v) for 'dimisit'. This is the sum total of miscopied words in the first twenty folios. In each case the Christ Church manuscript has the correct reading, which suggests that it is the exemplar. That decision rests on a few slips by the Rochester scribe, mistaking one or two letters but being accurate in all other respects, the text order, word order, punctuation, spelling and capitalisation. Apart from these few words, the Rochester scribe improves on the Christ Church manuscript because he consistently follows certain rules of word division, spelling and punctuation which result in slight changes which improve the accuracy of the text rather than corrupt it, which is what generally happens in a copy.

This was a particularly difficult text to copy because it contains many foreign words in Greek and Hebrew, as well as Latin. Yet the Rochester scribe is more accurate in the rendering of these words than the Christ Church writer because he is more consistent in his spelling. He always writes a 'y' where appropriate, even when the exemplar contains 'i'. Thus he writes 'syrorum' (f.7^v) and 'egyptus' (f.16^v) although the exemplar had 'i' for these

1. ed. P. de Lagarde, CC, vol. LXXII, 1959.

words. This preference for 'y' leads him to write 'ysaac' for 'isaac', which is perhaps less accurate than the original. For Hebrew words containing a silent 'h' he always writes the letter but in the exemplar the 'h' is sometimes excluded. The Rochester scribe always writes 'sathanum' (f.3^v), and regularly adds a final 'h' to many proper names such as 'Leth' (f.10^v) and 'Nemroth' (f.7^v).

The Rochester scribe is also more accurate in his Latin. He consistently writes 'm' where the Christ Church scribe has 'n' as in 'quamvis' and 'cherubim' (f.4^v). He distinguishes between diphthong 'ae' and 'oe', making an accurate distinction even when these syllables are not distinguished in the exemplar, for instance on f.3 he writes 'amoenitatem' and on f.6 'poenitentia'. Occasionally he indicates diphthong 'ae' where this has been omitted from the Christ Church manuscript as when a tailed 'e' is written at the beginning of 'ethiopia'^(f.8) and 'egyptum' (f.7) although in these cases, the tail is unnecessary. This text contains several numbers, often the source of scribal error, but the Rochester scribe copies them all accurately, even altering the spelling of 'centissimo' to 'centesimo' (f.5^v). He adds the further refinement of a suprascript open 'a' to indicate the abbreviation of '-rae'. Again, though, he sometimes writes the suprascript when it is superfluous, as in the case where the Christ Church scribe wrote 'p̄sens' meaning 'presens', but the Rochester scribe wrote 'p̄^asens', meaning 'praesens' (f.9).

The Rochester scribe's standard of copying is high. He has independent views on word division and makes some reasoned guesses on the true meaning of the text. He read 'mepolis' in his exemplar and altered it in his copy to 'metropolis', as it should be (f.7^v). On f.15^v he read 'et quo' but on the basis of grammar changed the first word to 'ex', which is correct.^(f.14^v) On f.8, realising that the word 'philistim' in the exemplar should be understood in the plural, judging from the sense, he made this clear in his copy by writing 'philistiim'. When dividing words he always ensures that there are two complete syllables to divide, and writes out those syllables, whereas the Christ Church scribe sometimes divides a word leaving only one letter standing alone on the line below as in 'no-m̄'.

The Rochester scribe carefully copied any alterations in the Christ Church exemplar, inserted letters, words or phrases without introducing any extra words himself. On f.4^v

'livore' is written as one word although in the Christ Church text 're' was a late insertion in correction of an error. On f.5, the Rochester manuscript included 'et imaginem' but this is in the margin in the exemplar. Indeed, altogether the Rochester manuscript is far less corrected than the Christ Church one because the Rochester scribe did not make as many omissions in the course of copying as the Christ Church scribe had.

As regards punctuation, the scribe makes few alterations in this manuscript.¹ He occasionally adds points, f.3^v and 19,² but at other times he omits them although whether this is in error or deliberate, it is impossible to tell. He does seem to have gone through the text as a whole amending the punctuation slightly, erasing points which he had originally copied from the exemplar.³ In this manuscript, unlike other Rochester manuscripts, the scribe sometimes inserts a low point to replace a punctus circumflexus, f.7 and 19.⁴ Apart from these isolated cases, the punctuation and the capitalisation of the Rochester manuscript is identical to that of the Christ Church exemplar, no mean achievement.

It seems fair to conclude that the standard of copying at Rochester was so good that the copy is not necessarily a corrupt version of the exemplar. A few words may be misspelt because a scribe omits a letter or two or mistakes one letter for one of a similar shape but such inaccuracies are very slight. On the other hand some of the emendations of spelling, in particular, render the copy more accurate than the exemplar.

Apart from textual improvements, the Rochester copy is superior to its exemplar in appearance largely because of the arrangement of the text, in addition to the appearance of the script which has already been discussed. The Rochester manuscript is written in two columns which is much easier to read than the long lines extending right across the page of the Christ Church manuscript. Furthermore, the Rochester manuscript is ruled in dry point and more neatly than the Christ Church manuscript, which is ruled in plummet. In the Rochester manuscript the sections of the text are distinguished by placing the first letter of the section in the left hand margin and colouring it red or green. At the beginning of each section is a number. In the Christ Church manuscript the beginning of a section may

1. c.f. in *Contra Julianum*, Ker, *English MSS*, pp. 55-56.

2. f.3^v c.f. f.4^v, et dominus conterit sathanum; f.3^v c.f. f.4^v, et theodotion maledicta.

3. e.g. f.9 c.f. f.10 Vera est igitur hebreorum traditio quam supradiximus.

4. f.7 c.f. f.7^v laban iones. qui et greci; f.19 c.f. f.20 Et vocavit iacob nomen loci illius bethel et ulam.

be the middle of a line, a new section being indicated only by the fact that the first letter is coloured. The number of the section is in the margin separated from the text. In the table of Hebrew names, f.75, both manuscripts are in two columns but again, as the result of the use of coloured capitals, the Rochester manuscript is easier to follow. Each name is on a new line and in the Rochester manuscript the first capital is coloured but the Christ Church manuscript at first contains merely a plain initial capital of normal size, although this is altered to a coloured capital later in the table. The Rochester manuscript contains an extra large coloured capital to indicate the first name in a new section of the table but this does not always occur in the Christ Church manuscript. In the last few short items, the Rochester scribe separates the sections in the text by writing an enlarged capital highlighted in red whereas the Christ Church scribe writes a plain capital without the highlighting. Thus the presentation of the Rochester manuscript is much clearer than that of the Christ Church one, even though it is the latter which contains the coloured initials. The Rochester scriptorium may not have been the artistic centre that Christ Church was, but this Rochester scribe, and others, was more aware of the importance of presentation than the Christ Church man. This emphasis on the text rather than illumination is in keeping with the scholarly concern of the period for accurate texts as a prelude to study.

The standard of copying attained by this scribe was not unusual at the Rochester scriptorium. A third pair of manuscripts which are easily compared, since they are preserved in the same modern library, are the texts of Eusebius', Historia Ecclesiastica.¹ Judging from the script, it seems probable that the Christ Church manuscript was written slightly earlier than the Rochester one, at the end of the eleventh century compared with the second decade of the twelfth. The former is in the earliest form of Christ Church script which is relatively rounded in appearance and includes a minuscule 'a' with a large head and minuscule 'g' with a long tail. The minims and ascenders are clubbed, but not necessarily split, and the descenders are often plain without serifs. This is quite a contrast to the developed Christ Church script with its many hair-lines. On the other hand, the Rochester manuscript is an example of Rochester script at its best in the second decade of the twelfth century. The Rochester manuscript is therefore more likely to be a copy

1. CCCC 184 (Rochester) and 187 (Christ Church).

of the Christ Church one than the other way round. This was the view of Dr. James who noted that a long passage omitted from the end of chapter 23 of book 11 in the Christ Church manuscript and added at the end of the text was completely omitted from the Rochester manuscript.¹ Yet the Rochester manuscript contained five words which had been erased from the Christ Church one: "que apud illos sunt elementis." It appears that the text was erased at the end of book 11 in the Christ Church manuscript to make space for a signe de renvoi to indicate an insertion. The insertion can be found at the end of the Christ Church manuscript but the few words which were erased are not. The inclusion of these five words in the Rochester manuscript shows that it was copied from the Christ Church exemplar before this was altered.

This Rochester scribe, too, improves the text as a result of adherence to certain rules relating to orthography. He understood how to use 'y' and 'h', although the Christ Church scribe did not. Like the Rochester copyist just described, this one wrote 'Egyptum' when there was 'egiptum' in his exemplar, and 'martyrum' for 'martirum'. Moreover he omitted 'h' from the Latin word 'simulacrum', although 'simulchrum' was in the Christ Church manuscript, but he inserted an 'h' in the Greek name 'Theodosium', which was without the 'h' in the exemplar. He also was confident enough to place a tail on minuscule 'e' where appropriate, as on 'aetas', without adding too many. In addition he abandoned a 'p' after 'm' although this occurred in the exemplar, in 'calumpniam' for instance. This scribe made a more radical change in punctuation, abandoning the punctus versus, a trait which was characteristic of Rochester scribes in general.

Rochester manuscripts not copied from Christ Church exemplars

It is no surprise to learn that as many as six texts from Rochester and Christ Church are closely related and in some of these cases the Rochester manuscript is a direct copy of the Christ Church manuscript. What is more surprising is the possibility that the Rochester scriptorium acquired exemplars, which were available at Christ Church, from other sources. What has hitherto been mentioned as a possibility can be shown to have been the actuality in at least three cases.

1. James, M.R., Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, 1912, pp.444-5.

These three were the major texts, Gregory's Registrum and Moralia and Augustine's Enarrationes in Psalmos. The first was copied at Rochester before 1100,¹ the third during the second decade of the twelfth century² and the second between these two dates.³ The evidence for divorcing the Rochester manuscripts from the Christ Church ones rests on the analysis of paleographical detail, particularly marginalia and punctuation.

Both the Rochester and Christ Church manuscripts of Gregory's Registrum contain an identical series of letters, an unusual series outside Normandy, to which is appended a supplement of 32 letters omitted from the main text.⁴ The Rochester manuscript, though, contains many annotations absent from the Christ Church manuscript. These are not glosses but marks of reference in the form of majuscule Δ , a new symbol noticed in many Rochester and Christ Church manuscripts. It could be argued that these notes of reference were added by the Rochester scribe independently of any exemplar but the proportion of annotations shared between the Rochester and Christ Church manuscripts is such that it seems likely that they were in the common exemplar. The number of additional annotations in the Rochester manuscripts is large, which suggests that some of these were also in the exemplar and copied by the Rochester scribe but omitted by the Christ Church one. This possibility that the annotations are from an exemplar becomes a near certainty when it is known that other manuscripts exist with many marginal annotations in positions identical to those in the Rochester manuscript.⁵

Similar evidence leads to a similar conclusion about the Canterbury and Rochester copies of Augustine's Enarrationes in Psalmos. This was normally produced in three volumes, each containing the homilies on fifty psalms. The three Rochester volumes were produced over a long period of time, that containing the first fifty psalms being produced last.⁶ The two extant Christ Church volumes of this text are much closer in date.⁷ The first volume only will be considered here. The first volume from each scriptorium contains extensive marginalia,⁸ some of which are corrections of scribal error, others are textual amendments, and yet others are explanations of the text. The last are particularly

1. B.L., Royal 6 C.x. 2. B.L., Royal 5 D.iii 3. B.L., Royal 6 C.vi.

4. ed. Ewald, P. and Hartmann, L., Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae, vol. II, 1891-99, pp.xxii-xxiii.

5. See pp.200-202

6. B.L., Royal 5 D.iii, is later than both Royal 5 D.ii and Royal 5 D.i which contain Psalms 51-150.

7. Trinity, MSS. B.5.26 and B.5.28.

8. i.e. B.L., Royal 5 D.iii c.f. Trinity, MS. B.5.26.

important because they are glosses likely to have been drawn from an exemplar and are not the additions of a copyist. What is important in the case of these two manuscripts is that several of the marginalia in the Rochester manuscript are not in the Christ Church one. The marginalia do not begin in the Christ Church manuscript until Psalm 19 but in the Rochester manuscript there are at least three extended explanations of the text before that point. Even when the glosses appear in both manuscripts, there is an extended one in the Rochester manuscript on Psalm 38 which is omitted from the Christ Church one. This is evidence that the Rochester manuscript is not a direct copy of the Christ Church book. The fact, though, that they do share the same comments on the text is evidence that both manuscripts are copied independently from a common source incorporating these comments.

The third text in common, Gregory's Moralia, has been separated from the Christ Church manuscript on different grounds, glosses and punctuation instead of marginalia. This text too was divided into several volumes, two or three, as the case may be.¹ The copies of this text in both scriptoria were written in two volumes, books 1-16 in the first, and 17-34 in the second. At the end of the Rochester manuscript has been added a gloss on the text which has been identified as the work of Lanfranc,² beginning 'Honorias.hydias.rinocerota'. This is not found in the Christ Church copy of this text although it does exist in several Norman manuscripts.³ Evidently the Rochester manuscript was copied not from the Christ Church manuscript but from an exemplar containing the Moralia and Lanfranc's gloss.

The separation of the Rochester manuscript from the Christ Church one is confirmed by the evidence of punctuation. The Rochester manuscript is the earliest product of the scriptorium to contain the punctus circumflexus. This form of punctuation was new in England and not understood at this date at Rochester. The punctuation was certainly not the invention of the Rochester scribe but must have been copied from his exemplar. This punctuation is not found in the Christ Church manuscript, the final proof that the Rochester manuscript is not a copy of a Christ Church exemplar. This manuscript and the other two described are evidence that the Rochester community derived exemplars from outside Christ

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1. Ker, N.R., "English Manuscripts of the Moralia of Gregory the Great", Kunst-historische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu Ehren, ed. A. Rosenauer and G. Weber, 1971, pp.77-89.
 2. Gibson, M.T., "Lanfranc's Notes on Patristic Texts", Journal of Theological Studies, 22, 1971, p.441.
 3. e.g. Rouen, b.m. 498.

Church. In all three cases there is a strong possibility that the exemplar came from Normandy, a possibility which will be explored later.

There are two other texts which Christ Church and Rochester share but which are probably not related. The first is Gregory's Omeliae in Ezechielem, the second Augustine's de Genesi. The possible relationship between manuscripts of the first text is complicated because there are two extant Christ Church manuscripts of this work.¹ The earliest Christ Church manuscript includes the text of Ezekiel and all the homilies of Gregory the Great on the book in one volume. The Rochester manuscript,² however, contains only the second half of the text of Ezekiel and the ten homilies relating to it. Obviously the Rochester copy of the work was in two volumes but this does not preclude the possibility that it was copied from one volume. The medieval manuscript tradition of this text has been established on the basis of the different titles of the work.³ After the Biblical extract there is usually a heading referring to the homilies. In the Christ Church manuscript this is: "Incipiunt homeliae B. Gregorii Papae super extremam partem ezechielis prophetae." In contrast the heading in the Rochester manuscript refers to: "Liber secundus omeliarum B. Gregorii Papae Urbis Romae super extremam partem Ezechielis Prophetiae." These two manuscripts evidently belong to separate traditions.⁴

The copies of Augustine's de Genesi are unlikely to be connected either, to judge from the differences in marginalia and punctuation. The Rochester manuscript⁵ contains extensive marginalia and is an unusual product of the scriptorium because it is punctuated throughout with the punctus circumflexus. The Christ Church⁶ manuscript contains a large number of marginalia but not so many as the Rochester one. It is only punctuated with the punctus circumflexus, however, on the first two folios. Obviously, the Rochester manuscript, written by a scribe who was not accustomed to the punctus circumflexus, was copied from an exemplar containing this punctuation mark, which could not have been the Christ Church manuscript. The fact that the Christ Church manuscript contains the mark on the first few folios points to the possibility that the Christ Church scribe was also copying

1. The earliest Christ Church manuscript is CUL, MS. Ff.3.9, and the other is Windsor Castle, MS. 5.

2. B.L., Royal 4 B.i. 3. ed. M. Adriaen, CC, vol. cxliii, 1971, p.205.

4. The Rochester manuscript could be a copy of the other Christ Church manuscript of this text, now at Windsor, see James, M.R., "The Manuscripts of St. George's Chapel, Windsor", The Library 4th ser. vol. XIII, 1932-3, pp.55-76. X

5. B.L., Royal 5 C.i.

6. Trinity, MS. B.4.25.

an exemplar which contained the mark but that after the first folio, he replaced it with a point or punctus elevatus. Interestingly, the punctuation of the Christ Church manuscript has been corrected, which suggests that there were at least two exemplars of this text available.

Possible Rochester exemplars of Christ Church manuscripts

There remain six texts extant from both scriptoria which have not been discussed. These include two examples of Rochester manuscripts which were written before the extant Christ Church manuscript, namely Augustine's Confessiones, and some opuscula of John Chrysostom.¹ Unless there was more than one copy of these books at Christ Church which have been lost, it is safe to say that these Rochester books were not copied from Christ Church exemplars either. They might even have been the exemplars of the Christ Church copy, as is the case of at least one extant text, the works of Solinus.² The manuscripts of this text are easily compared because they are both in the British Library. They are both small manuscripts containing several short works by Solinus, Priscian and the text known as Prophetæ Sibyllæ. The Rochester manuscript is in a small neat script, the work of two scribes, but the Christ Church manuscript is in a rather untidy hand with a slight backward slope and hair-lines in profusion.

Both manuscripts contain extensive marginalia, many of which explain the meaning of the text. These explanations are identical in both manuscripts. Other marginalia are corrections of the copyist's errors, of which there are far more in the Christ Church manuscript than the Rochester one. One long correction in the Rochester manuscript is repeated in the Christ Church one but the scribe of the latter omits half of the correction. In the Rochester manuscript (f. 13) the correction reads:

Ab heraclidis tarentum. Insulam tensam ab hionibus. Pestum ab oriensibus.
Amiscello a ceo. crothoniam. Regium a calcidiensibus. Caulonem et
cernam a crotoniensibus. Anariciis locros. Heretum a grecis.

But in the Christ Church manuscript (f. 12) this is reduced to:

Ab heraclidis tarentum. Insulam tensam ab hionibus. Anaritiis locros.
Here tum a grecis.

Clearly the Rochester manuscript is not a copy of the Christ Church one.

1. B.L., Royal 5 B.xvi, Royal 6 A.xii.

2. B.L., Royal 15 A.xxii(Rochester) c.f. Cott. Vesp. B.xxv (Christ Church).

That the Christ Church manuscript was a copy of the Rochester manuscript can be established with reference to the corrections. All the ones in the Christ Church manuscript occur at points where they were likely to occur if the Christ Church scribe was reading the Rochester manuscript. The extended corrections of omissions in the Christ Church book are all the result of homoioteleuton. This happens when the same word is repeated in one sentence and the scribe, having completed his copy of the text up to the first occurrence of the word, recommences copying at the second occurrence of the same word. The result is a long omission which begins or ends with the word which occurs twice in the one sentence. If the Christ Church scribe was copying the Rochester manuscript, these mistakes could easily have arisen because in all cases the omission has been made at points in the Rochester text where the second occurrence of the repeated word is immediately below the first occurrence. This is one extant text which witnesses to the fact that Rochester manuscripts were exemplars of Christ Church manuscripts as well as vice versa.

This leaves two texts shared by Rochester and Christ Church from which it is impossible to learn anything about the relationship between the manuscripts without collating the text. This is a time-consuming task which has not been carried out because these manuscripts do not warrant such in depth study. The first¹ is the third volume of Augustine's Enarrationes in Psalmos and it is probable that the conclusions made about the first volume of the set, which has already been considered, are applicable to this volume, too. The second is the text of Augustine's de adulterinis coniugiis.² Since the Rochester copy of this text is preceded by Jerome's treatise on Joshua, in fact a translation by Rufinus of a work of Origen, which is not in the Christ Church manuscript, it is unlikely that the two manuscripts are directly related. Therefore the collation of these texts has not been attempted.

Exemplars of Rochester manuscripts from St. Augustine's

There were few personal connections between Rochester priory and St. Augustine's but Gundulf did have some dealings with the abbey, although not particularly friendly ones.³

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1. B.L., Royal 5 D. ii (Rochester) and Trinity, MS. B.5.28 (Christ Church).
 2. Oxford, Bodleian, Bodley 387 (Rochester) and Trinity, MS. B.3.33.
 3. Plummer, C. and Earle, J., ed., Acta Lanfranci in Two Saxon Chronicles in Parallel, vol. 2, 1892, pp.290-2.

After the riots at the abbey in 1089, he was sent to sort out the trouble. A few years later, however, he attended the translation of the relics of St. Augustine at the abbey¹ so it is conceivable that this was an occasion to examine manuscripts. This was the period of the closest ties between Rochester and St. Augustine's and in the twelfth century when the Rochester scriptorium was at its peak, there is no concrete evidence of links between the two houses, which makes it unlikely that manuscripts were often exchanged.

Even if the Rochester community looked first to Christ Church for exemplars, it is conceivable that if Christ Church did not possess a manuscript sought by the Rochester monks, they would turn to St. Augustine's. The abbey had a long tradition of manuscript copying and at the time of the Conquest possessed more manuscripts than Christ Church.² The extensive programme of copying at Christ Church, after the arrival of Lanfranc, however, no doubt, reversed this position.

As in the case of Christ Church, the St. Augustine's catalogue was compiled in the late Middle Ages, c.1497,³ so it is difficult to deduce what was at the abbey in the early twelfth century to make a fair comparison with the first Rochester collection. The St. Augustine's catalogue contains a variety of books, covering a much wider range of interests than the Rochester one. This may partly be connected with the fact that the St. Augustine's catalogue is later than the Rochester one. It may also be connected with the fact that the Rochester collection was built up after 1066 but the St. Augustine's library was much older. The St. Augustine's catalogue covers a wide range of subjects including law, natural history, music, geometry, astronomy, medicine and poetry, in both Latin and the vernacular, whereas the Rochester collection is concentrated on patristic texts. The manuscripts copied at St. Augustine's in the eleventh century included more subjects⁴ than those copied at Rochester at the beginning of the twelfth. It therefore seems unlikely that the St. Augustine's library was a model for Rochester's.

Nevertheless, the two catalogues do share a number of titles and in the few cases where Christ Church did not possess the specific title, it is conceivable that Rochester did

1. V.G., 31

2. Bishop, "Notes", II, 1954-8, pp.323-36 and III, pp.93-5, 412-23.

3. James, ALCD

4. Bishop, "Notes", III, pp.412-23.

Identical Manuscripts Extant from Rochester, St. Augustine's and Christ Church

Text	Rochester MS	St. Augustine's MS
1. Augustine, Encheridion	B.L., Royal 5 A.xv s.xii.in.	B.L., Royal 5 B.xv s.xi-xii
2. Jerome, in Josue nave	Bodleian, Bodley 387 s.xii.in.	C.U.L., KK.1.17 s.xii.in.
3. Augustine, contra Faustum	B.L., Royal 5 B.x s.xii.in.	Bodleian, Bodley 826 s.xii
4. Augustine, de doctrina Christiana	B.L., Royal 5 B.xii s.xii.in.	Oxford, University College, 117 s.xii

Text	Rochester MS	Christ Church MS	St. Augustine's MS.
1. Augustine, de Trinitate	B.L., Royal 5 B.iv s.xii.in.	Trinity, MS B.3.31 1110-40	Bodleian, lat. th.2.b.2 s.xii.in
2. Augustine, Confessiones	B.L., Royal 5 B.xvi 1120-30	Trinity, MS B.3.25 1130-40	Oxford, University College, 117 s.xii
3. Augustine, de verbis domini	B.L., Royal 5 C.viii s.xii.½	C.U.L. li.3.33 s.xii	Canterbury Cathedral, 68 s.xii

borrow exemplars from St. Augustine's. The two catalogues do share patristic titles, works such as Gregory's Moralia, Jerome's Epistolae and Augustine's Enarrationes in Psalmos, which any respectable twelfth century library would have possessed. There is not, however, the same overlap of lesser works of the four doctors, which there was between Rochester and Christ Church. St. Augustine's, unlike the other two houses, did not possess all the Biblical commentaries of Jerome, let alone the short works of Augustine, like de ovibus and de nuptiis et concupiscentia, or Ambrose's de Fide. Even so, St. Augustine's and Rochester do share a few titles which were not available at Christ Church, namely Jerome, in Josue Nave, and an anonymous author, not Bede, super apocalipsin. Rochester priory quite possibly copied them from St. Augustine's exemplars.

Unfortunately, so many St. Augustine's manuscripts have been destroyed that it is difficult to compare their products with Rochester's. The post-Conquest library at St. Augustine's has been partly reconstructed by Dr. Ker¹ and comparing his list of extant manuscripts with extant Rochester books, a list of four titles in common has been drawn up. Three of these were listed in the Christ Church catalogue but have since been lost, so only one title, Jerome in Josue Nave was originally shared by Rochester and St. Augustine's, to the exclusion of Christ Church. The Rochester version of this text is combined with de aduterinis coniugiis by St. Augustine but this does not feature in any of the St. Augustine's versions of the Jerome commentary.² It is unlikely, therefore, that the manuscripts from the two houses are directly related.

A more fruitful line of enquiry concerns the manuscripts which are extant from all three houses, which will shed some light on the relationship between all three. The first is St. Augustine's, de Trinitate.³ The Rochester copy of this text contains many annotations, some of which are encircled, as in one of the texts described above,⁴ indicating that they are not corrections of copying errors but explanations of the text.⁵ There are many annotations in the Christ Church manuscript, too, but several of the explanations in the Rochester manuscript are absent from the Christ Church one, so the Rochester book cannot be

1. Ker, English MSS, pp. 29-30

2. ALCD, p.220

3. B.L., Royal 5 B. iv (Rochester), Trinity, MS. B.3.31 (Christ Church), Oxford, Bodleian, Lat. th. 2.b.2 (St. Augustine's).

4. p.158

5. B.L., Royal 5 B. iv, f.13

considered a copy of the Christ Church exemplar. Can it be connected with the St. Augustine's manuscript? Unfortunately, not. Only a fragment of this text survives from St. Augustine's but it is the first folio, listing the capitula of the text. These capitula are unusual, appearing to antedate most manuscripts containing similar headings.¹ Neither the Rochester nor Christ Church manuscripts contain these chapter headings. The presence of these capitula in the St. Augustine's manuscript and their absence from the manuscripts of the other two houses is sufficient evidence to establish that the St. Augustine's manuscript was not the exemplar of either the Rochester or the Christ Church manuscripts.

The transmissions of the second text, Augustine's de verbis Domini is more complicated.² The Rochester manuscript of this text consists of ninety sermons but against the last two is a note that 'Sermonum et ad eum qui sequitur defuit exemplar corrigendi'. Had not the last two sermons in the exemplar been corrected or was it that the Rochester scribes had not been able to compare these last two sermons in the manuscript with a second exemplar to correct their own copy? The Rochester manuscript itself is not much corrected so the note seemingly refers to an exemplar which had been corrected but for the last two sermons. The Christ Church manuscript of this text is probably, but not certainly, Cambridge, University Library, MS li.3.23.³ This manuscript only contains sermons numbered up to 89 and, in fact, lacks both the last two sermons of the Rochester manuscript, so clearly, the Rochester one does not depend on this manuscript.

Was the source of this text St. Augustine's instead of Christ Church? Certainly, the St. Augustine's manuscript is earlier than the Rochester copy of this text. The St. Augustine's manuscript was probably written at the end of the eleventh century, or soon after, for it is in an English hand. The minuscule 'a' has a large head and minuscule 'g' has a straight cross-stroke from the tail of the letter back to the body. Besides, there are no serifs on descenders. The Rochester manuscript is not listed in Catalogue I but is written in the enlarged Christ Church script written at Rochester during the third and fourth decades of the twelfth century. There is paleographical evidence suggesting that the two manuscripts are linked, in that there are a large number of reference marks in both

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1. Hunt, R.W., "The Chapter Headings of Augustine, 'de Trinitate', ascribed to Adam Marsh", Bodleian Library Record, V, 1954, pp. 63-68.
 2. B.L., Royal 5 C.viii, C.U.L., MS. li.3.23, Canterbury Cathedral, MS. 68.
 3. This manuscript is now bound with other texts of Augustine but these were not originally in the same manuscript.

manuscripts, most of which coincide, apart from five or six unique to each manuscript. Furthermore the St. Augustine's manuscript has been compared with another manuscript and as a result the punctuation, though not the text, has been much altered.

Yet a collation of the last three sermons of the text is inconclusive.¹ The last sermon in both the Rochester and St. Augustine's manuscripts seems to derive from different sources but the previous two are close. They cannot be separated and they share many variant readings. On the other hand, the capitalisation throughout the Rochester manuscript is completely different from that of the St. Augustine's manuscript which rather suggests that the Rochester scribe was following the same exemplar as the St. Augustine's scribe but not the St. Augustine's book. The Rochester scribe usually copied his exemplar faithfully, reproducing exactly the punctuation and capitalisation of his exemplar but it is doubtful that he was capable of radically improving the punctuation. It is thus impossible to establish whether the Rochester scriptorium copied a St. Augustine's text in this or any other instance.

The Relationship between the Rochester and Canterbury houses

On the completion of this paleographical comparison between the manuscripts of the scriptoria of Rochester and Canterbury it is possible to draw some tentative conclusions. What evidence exists from the chance coincident survival of manuscripts from the two houses of Rochester and Christ Church, suggests that co-operation between the two houses developed at the beginning of the twelfth century and persisted beyond 1122, even when production at Rochester had fallen off. It could be argued that the large number of books from the second decade of the twelfth century may simply reflect the increase in the number of extant books for this period but the evidence of such a large sample is likely to be accurate. Book production was bound to be slow at first before many monks in the community had been trained in the art of copying. Once the scribes were confident, the only obstacle to building a library was acquiring manuscripts to copy. This process is reflected in the paleographical evidence which points to the second decade of the twelfth century as the period of closest co-operation between Rochester and Christ Church.

1. Migne, P.L., vol. xxxviii

This is the period of overlap of Ernulf's episcopate and Ralph d'Escures' tenure of Canterbury. This opportunity for access to a large number of exemplars from Christ Church was seized by the Rochester community, and hence manuscripts were copied in large numbers in a very short time and a respectable library soon established. The fact that the Rochester scriptorium borrowed exemplars from Christ Church does not mean that the Rochester scribes merely copied whatever the Christ Church scriptorium sent them. Despite the all-embracing scope of the library catalogues of the Canterbury houses, the first Rochester catalogue still contains between fifteen and twenty books which do not occur in the Canterbury lists. This indicates that a fair proportion of Rochester books were copied from exemplars obtained outside Canterbury. Several of these books were collections of the minor works of patristic or Carolingian authors, each item in the manuscript being copied at a different time by a different scribe from a different exemplar.¹ Several of the books, though, which could not have been acquired at Canterbury are long texts which were part of the essential diet of monastic reading. These include the influential work of Cassian, his Collationes and also a history by Orosius. These were known in Anglo-Saxon England and were probably available from the older abbeys.²

Moreover, some of the Rochester manuscripts themselves, it has been shown, were not copied from Christ Church exemplars even when both houses possessed the same text. The Rochester manuscript of Solinus was the exemplar of the Christ Church text, rather than the other way round, and at least five patristic texts which are extant from both houses are independent copies of the same work. One of these texts, Augustine's de Trinitate was copied from neither of the extant manuscripts from Christ Church or St. Augustine's. It is the other patristic texts which Rochester copied independently of Christ Church, which are more significant. Three of these, Augustine's Enarrationes in Psalmos, Gregory's Registrum and Moralia, are among the earliest manuscripts copied at Rochester and show many signs of Norman influence.³ The possibility that Normandy was the source of exemplars, as well as of scribes, scribal practice and art, will be explored in the following chapter.

1. e.g. Trinity, MS. 0.2.24, CCCC, 332.

2. Bishop, T.A.M., English Caroline Minuscule, Oxford, 1971, Pl. 7. Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. D. Inf. 2.9 c.f. B.L. Royal 8 D.xvi.

3. Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos (Royal 5 D.i) and Gregory's Registrum (Royal 6 C.x) are Group A manuscripts copied in a Norman style. The second volume of Gregory's Moralia (Royal 6 C.vi) contains initials based on Norman models. See pp.81 and 108.

Chapter VI : The Influence of Normandy

a. Script and Scribal Practice

The suggestion that the Rochester scriptorium was influenced by Norman practice was associated originally with Group A manuscripts which were compared with the one Norman manuscript brought to England by Lanfranc, namely the decretal collection now in Trinity College, Cambridge.¹ Group B manuscripts are linked with Norman practice through the fact that they are written in a variant of Christ Church script which was developed originally by a Norman scribe. A comparison of Group A with Norman manuscripts will establish possibly the sources of influence on the origins of the Rochester scriptorium. A comparison of Group B will reveal the limits of Norman influence on the production of books in the Rochester style and hence, the Christ Church style, too. More attention will be given to Group B because these are more numerous and incorporate many features also found in Group A.

It is difficult to make a fair comparison between Rochester and Norman manuscripts because Norman manuscripts do not constitute a homogenous group. Manuscripts are extant from at least nine Norman monastic scriptoria:² Mont S. Michel, Jumièges, Fécamp, Bec, S. Evroul, Préaux, Lyre, S. Ouen and S. Wadrille. Even though the manuscripts are from different houses, it is possible to distinguish at least two phases of book production in the Norman abbeys,³ the first in the middle of the eleventh century, and the second at the turn of the century c.1090-1120. The first phase was led by Mont S. Michel where a scriptorium flourished in the middle of the eleventh century, reaching a peak in the third quarter of the century. Mont S. Michel had close links with Fécamp where manuscript production flourished at a similar date. At Jumièges, book production was continuous for much of the eleventh and twelfth centuries but many fine manuscripts were produced at the turn of the century. Finally there were the scriptoria in the recently founded abbeys, such as Préaux and S. Evroul, which only started producing manuscripts in the mid-eleventh century at the

1. Trinity, MS. B.16.44.

2. Avril, F., Manuscrits Normands xi^e - xii^e siècles, Paris, 1975, pp.21-73.

3. Ibid., p.41

earliest, and reached a peak at the turn of the century. These may be termed scriptoria of the second generation or 'new scriptoria'.

A second difficulty in a comparison between Rochester and Norman manuscripts is that so few manuscripts survive from the abbeys which probably had the most direct influence on both Rochester and Christ Church, namely Bec and Caen. This is less important than might be thought unless it is hoped to identify scribes writing in England with those in specific Norman scriptoria. Bec and Caen were both newly founded abbeys in the eleventh century and a scriptorium would only be established after the essential requirements of a monastic community had been met.¹ It is possible that book production was not on a large scale at either scriptorium until the 1060s or 70s. The development of scriptoria at Bec and Caen can therefore be equated with the 'new scriptoria', particularly those such as Préaux and S. Evroul which had links with Bec.² It is therefore likely that Rochester manuscripts will resemble the products of these scriptoria rather than the traditional, established ones, although it is, of course, possible that the latter provided exemplars for the more recent foundations.

Group A Rochester manuscripts and Norman manuscripts

Although this group is small, it is worth considering it separately from the main group because, firstly, it may be possible to trace the precise origins of the style of these manuscripts and secondly, because the manuscripts contain a few features which disappear from later ones. First, though, it must be established which Norman manuscripts the Rochester ones resemble most closely. This will become clear from the study of representative examples from different Norman scriptoria. The first example is a late eleventh century manuscript from Mont S. Michel.

The script of the Group A Rochester manuscripts was of poor quality, being unsteady and cramped, but study of the plate of the Mont S. Michel manuscript shows how the scripts differ.³ The script of the Norman manuscript is well formed and upright. The writing is easy to read because it is fairly even and rounded, unlike the sloping script in the

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1. On the poverty of Bec, see Gibson, M.T., Lanfranc of Bec, 1978, pp.24,30-34.
 2. S. Evroul was established in a church belonging to Bec, O.V., vol. II, p.16. The abbots of Préaux were acquainted with Lanfranc, O.V., vol. II, pp.66 and 90, and later abbots had links with Anselm. Richard of Préaux dedicated his commentaries on Ecclesiasticus, Genesis and Leviticus to Anselm. Avril, F., "MSS bénédictins normands"; 1965, t.77, p.233.
 3. See Pl. XXVII, c.f. Pl. IV. On Mont S. Michel MSS, Alexander, Norman MS III.

Rochester manuscripts, which does not always rest on the ruled line.¹ The roundness of the script of the Norman manuscript is most evident on the bowls of letters with ascenders, 'b' and 'd' and also 't' (Pl. XXVII, 1.2.a, c.f. Pl. IV, 1.6.a). Moreover, the ligatures, particularly 'ct', in the Norman manuscript are widely spaced whereas in Rochester manuscripts the two elements of a ligature are squashed together so that they touch (Pl. XXVII, 1.5.b. and 7.b., c.f. Pl. IV, 1.8.a). The former contains a round 'r' and round 's' but some Rochester manuscripts do not contain either.² The ascenders are clubbed in the Norman manuscript but not split and the descenders sometimes, but by no means always, end in a barely visible serif at an acute angle to the stem.

Two important differences between the Norman manuscript and the Rochester one lie in the punctuation and spacing. Some of the Rochester Group A manuscripts contain points at various levels but the Mont S. Michel group contains a more organised system with points clearly placed at three levels, low and median, and in addition, a high point at the end of a sentence; a punctus circumflexus has been added occasionally. The second difference is that in the Mont S. Michel manuscript the ascenders are nearly, but not quite, double the height of the minims and the space between the top of a minim and the base of the next is a similar size. Majuscule letters are the same size as the ascenders. In the Rochester manuscripts the ascenders are only one and a half times the height of the minims although the vertical space between minims is greater and seems wide because the ascenders are so short. The majuscule letters of the Rochester manuscripts are elongated and usually taller than ascenders.

The second representative of Norman script is an eleventh century manuscript, MS. Rouen 511, from a 'new scriptorium' Bonne Nouvelle, a priory of Bec, so the manuscript is closely associated with the latter and may even have been written there.³ The shape and size of the script in this manuscript resembles more closely the script of the first Rochester manuscripts although there are differences. In both cases the writing is small, even slightly cramped, because the ascenders and descenders are short, being only one and a half times the height of the minim. Moreover, in both manuscripts, individual letters,

1. e.g. Pl. IV, Royal 6 C.x.

2. e.g. B.L., Royal 5 D.i, Royal 5 E.x.

3. Avril, F., Manuscrits Normands, 1975, No. 57. See Pl. XXVIII, c.f. Pl. IV.

especially the ampersand and minuscule 'a', are squashed. The ampersand leans over to the right and the minuscule 'a' does not have a rounded, but an angular, body and lacks a head (Pl. XXVIII, 1.2). The only tall letters are the majuscule ones which are elongated and taller than descenders (Pl. XXXVIII, 1.7 and 8). Both in Rouen 511 and in Rochester manuscripts ascenders are clubbed, sometimes to a hair-line split, and descenders, sometimes, but not always, end in barely visible hair-line serifs at an acute angle to the stem. There are no hair-lines. In Rouen 511 the 'ct' ligature and the round 'r' are avoided, nor is the round 's' used, letters which are avoided in some Rochester manuscripts.

The only difference between the Bonne Nouvelle manuscript and the Rochester ones is that the former is much neater. In this one, the letters are deliberately formed and punctuation, even hyphens, are carefully placed. The points in the Bonne Nouvelle manuscript are slightly above the ruled line but are regularly at the same level, which is a contrast to the confusion of the level of the punctus in the Rochester manuscripts. Clearly both this and the Rochester manuscripts must be separated from the Mont S. Michel manuscript on account of the shape of the script, particularly the form of ampersand and minuscule 'a', the proportion of majuscule letters to others and the punctuation. Despite its untidiness,¹ the script of the Rochester manuscripts appears to be based on the type of script represented by Rouen 511, rather than the Mont S. Michel type.

Norman manuscript production reached a peak at the turn of the century, and an example of the finest products of the 'new scriptoria' is the manuscript of Augustine, In Evangelium Johannis, thought to have been written at S. Ouen at Rouen.² It is a more developed form of the script just described in that it is a small, neat script with a narrow aspect as a result of the tall majuscule letters. Of the letter forms, the cramped ampersand appears once more (Pl. XXIX, 1.8.b) although in this manuscript minuscule 'a' does have a head (Pl. XXIX, 1.2.a). Again the 'ct' ligature is avoided but round 'r' and round 's' are both employed (Pl. XXIX, 1.11.a).

There are three significant changes from the previous manuscript, the spacing, the

1. See p.70.

2. Rouen, b.m. 467 in Avril, F., Manuscripts Normands, 1975, No. 33, Pl. XXIX. See Dodwell, Canterbury School, pp.115-117; Pl. 9 and 71; Alexander, Norman MS. III., Pl. 35c; Avril, "MSS bénédictins normands", t.77, p.226.

punctuation and the abbreviation. The ascenders in this manuscript are twice the height of the minim and the vertical space between the minims is the same, that is larger than in the Bonne Nouvelle and Rochester manuscripts. The punctuation consists not only of a punctus and punctus elevatus, but also the punctus circumflexus, not observed in the previous example. Moreover, the low point is always at one level and placed on the ruled line rather than above it. Finally, the most significant difference is that abbreviation is much more extensive. Contraction is more frequent and includes a new sign for the suspension of '-us', in the shape of a wavy line resembling an 's' (Pl. XXIX, l.10.a). In addition, suprascripts are common, being employed in words of more than two syllables. Besides, suprascript 'a' is as common as the traditional suprascripts 'i' and 'o'.

These three features, spacing, punctuation and abbreviation, are advances made in Normandy before the end of the eleventh century, which were not adopted in Rochester Group A manuscripts, although they do occur later. Rochester Group A is more similar to the style of the manuscript from Bonne Nouvelle than of this later one from S. Ouen. This suggests that the Rochester Group A manuscripts are modelled on manuscripts produced by the 'new scriptoria' before they reached their peak and they are thus in an undeveloped Norman style which persisted in England after the Normans themselves had improved their style. Late eleventh century manuscripts written in Norman script at Rochester can therefore be distinguished from the late eleventh century manuscripts written in Normandy because the script of the latter is more refined and there are clear differences in spacing, punctuation and abbreviation. Rochester Group A, although contemporary with the fine S. Ouen manuscript, are poorer productions because they reflect the primitive style of the 'new scriptoria' from a decade or so earlier.¹

Comparison of Rochester Group A manuscripts with the more primitive Norman products does shed some light on the use of the median point, mentioned in Chapter Three. The text considered there was Gregory's Registrum² and, interestingly, several Norman copies of this text³ are punctuated in a similar way with a median point. The third letter

1. This confirms what was said above about the 'Gundulf' Bible, see pp.80-81.
2. B.L., Royal 6 C.x. See p.74.
3. Avranches, b.m. 102 (Mont S. Michel) and Rouen, b.m. 518 (S. Evroul).

Gregory, Registrum, Bk. IV, Letter 3

Gregorius Constantio Episcopo Mediolanensi

Pervenit ad nos quod quidam episcopi vestrae dioceseos
exquirentes occasionem potius quam inventientes, sese scindere
a fraternitatis vestrae unitate temptaverint, dicentes te apud
Romanam urbem in trium capitulorum damnatione cautionem
fecit. Quod videlicet idcirco dicunt, quia quantum fraternitati
5 tuae etiam sine cautione credere soleam nesciunt. Si enim
hoc esset necessarium fieri, verbis vobis nudis potuisse. Ego
tamen nominata inter nos neque verba, neque scripto, tria
capitula recolo. Sed eis si citius revertuntur de suo errore
10 parcendum est, quia iuxta Pauli apostoli vocem Non intelligunt
neque quae loquuntur, neque de quibus adimant. Nos enim
auctore Veritate, teste conscientia, fatemur fidem sanctae
Chalcedonis synodi inlibatum per omnia custodire, nihilque eius
definitioni addere, subtrahere audere. Sed si quis contra eam
15 eiusdem synodi fidem, sive plus minusque ad sapiendum
usurpare appetit, eum omni dilatione post posita anathematizamus
a sinu matri ecclesiae alienum esse decernimus. Quem igitur
ista mea confessio sanat, non iam Chalcedonensem synodem
diligit sed matris ecclesiae sinum odit. Si ergo ea ipsa
20 quae audere visi sunt zelo loqui animae praesumpserunt,
superest hac satisfactione suscepta, ad fraternitatis tuae
unitatem redeant, seque a Christi corpore quod est
sancta universalis ecclesia non dividant.

of the fourth book of the text in several manuscripts was examined. Study of the Rochester manuscript suggests that there are median points on line 1, line 8 after 'verbo' and 'scripto', on line 11 after 'loquuntur', on line 14 after 'addere', line 15 after 'fidem', and/or 'plus' and line 20 after 'sunt' and line 21 after 'suscepta'. Comparison with the Mont S. Michel manuscript of the same text shows that those on lines, 8, 11, 14, 15 and 21 are shared by both manuscripts. Examination of these five occurrences of the median point may help to clarify the reasoning behind the placing of the point. Of these five, three separate phrases are of like kind, 'neque verbo neque scripto'; 'neque quae loquuntur neque de quibus adimant'; and 'addere subtrahere'. The fourth is before a phrase which contains two similar elements 'sive plus minusque'. The fifth does not fit into this pattern but it is at the end of a subordinate clause which breaks up a main clause. Furthermore, it is a clause which could be omitted from the sentence without loss to the meaning of the whole or loss of information. This statement is applicable to all other occurrences of the same mark. In the first example 'neque verbo neque scripto' merely makes explicit what has already been said in the main clause. Similarly the phrase after 'loquuntur' merely repeats in a different way what has already been said, simply to emphasise a point. The same applies to line 14. The fourth phrase does not contain the same repetition of ideas but the point does precede a phrase which is only present to emphasise the main point, and could be omitted without any loss of information or meaning. If this principle holds, it can be said that the median point is being used in the same way as the classical subdistinctio.

An important difference between classical usage and the usage in these manuscripts is that the classical subdistinctio always preceded the phrase¹ to which it referred although the other punctuation signs succeeded the clauses to which they referred. This was a source of confusion and was not resolved by these medieval scribes who in the instances listed above placed the median point after the phrase to which it referred, with the exception of the last occurrence of the mark, line 21, the one complete subordinate clause.² This confusion was not resolved by medieval scribes for some time and is a chief source of anxiety for editors of medieval texts.

1. See p. 73.

2. See Pl. IV and XXVII.

A more serious objection to the principle evolved above is that there are some other phrases and clauses which are superfluous to the sense of the sentence but which are not indicated by a median point. One such omission is on line 18 'auctore veritate teste conscientia'. Yet in some manuscripts,¹ although not the Rochester one, there is a median point in this very position. Then there are points in the Rochester manuscript, notably line 1, which may be regarded as at median level but since they do not occur in other manuscripts, they may be disregarded and attributed to the poor understanding of the Rochester scribes of any punctuation at this stage.

Whatever the meaning of the median point, it is most significant that Group A manuscripts contain points at various levels. Points at different levels constituted a common feature of mid-eleventh century Norman manuscripts.² As well as the two-fold system of low and median point, yet another system occurs in some manuscripts consisting of three points,³ which suggests a strong link with the classical system. Eleventh century Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, however, regularly contained a simple system of a point at one level only, be it low or median. The fact that the first Rochester scribes attempted to punctuate with points at different levels, even though they were unsure of themselves, is the clearest indication that Group A manuscripts were written by Normans. In view of the inexperience of these scribes, it is likely that they had not worked out the system for themselves but had copied it from Norman exemplars, a possibility which will be examined later in the chapter.

Group B Rochester manuscripts and Norman manuscripts

Many more Norman manuscripts survive from the period 1090-1120, that is contemporary with Group B Rochester manuscripts, so comparisons between these two groups are based on much firmer evidence than for the earlier manuscripts. The two scriptoria from which most manuscripts are extant are S. Evroul and Jumièges, the former a recent foundation and the latter an ancient foundation where there had been a tradition of writing for most of the eleventh century. There are two reasons for concentrating on the manuscripts of S. Evroul, firstly because much is known about the history of the community from Orderic Vitalis, and secondly, because from this, it is possible to establish that

1. e.g. Rouen, b.m. 518.
2. Examples of manuscripts containing points at two levels are B.N. MS. lat. 1938 (Fécamp), Avranches, b.m. 102 (Mont S. Michel), Rouen, b.m. 454 and 468 (Jumièges).
3. Late eleventh century manuscripts containing points at three levels — B.N. MS. lat. 2055 (Mont S. Michel), Rouen, b.m. 483 (Jumièges). Many mid-century Mont S. Michel manuscripts contain a point at a high level, see Alexander, Norman MS. III.

S. Evroul is a 'new scriptorium' whose manuscripts are closer to Rochester products than those from the older abbeys.

Orderic records that the abbot of the first independent community at S. Evroul, Thierry (1050-1058) himself copied books and persuaded others to do the same, with the result that under his abbacy were produced essential liturgical books and parts of the Bible plus the works of Gregory the Great, his Dialoga and Moralia.¹ None of these last mentioned are extant but several of the liturgical books have been identified.² Scribes of the next generation, Orderic says, produced treatises of 'Jerome and Augustine, Ambrose and Isidore, Eusebius and Orosius',³ which were in the library when Orderic began writing in 1114. Several of these treatises survive and they are all in a similar style,⁴ a style which was maintained well into the twelfth century and is found in manuscripts in which Orderic himself copied sections.⁵

It is possible to discover which texts were in the early twelfth century S. Evroul library from a catalogue which was compiled in the fourth decade of the century. The catalogue, to judge from the hands, originally ended at article 107,⁶ but in the succeeding section is listed a book copied by Orderic. He mentions this book in the twelfth volume of his history, as being completed, so it must have been done by 1137,⁷ the date of the history. Thus all the books listed by the first scribe in the catalogue, and those in the succeeding section, were copied before 1137. One of these was the text of Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos, (see plate) so this and the other books which are listed in the catalogue, which are all in a similar script, must have been written either at the end of the eleventh century or during the first half of the twelfth.

Clearly, the S. Evroul manuscripts are examples of the practices of the 'new scriptoria' founded in the middle of the eleventh century but flourishing at the end of that century and the beginning of the twelfth. Practice at this scriptorium after Thierry's

1. O.V., vol. II, p.48.

2. Alençon, b.m. 14,18, Rouen, b.m.31,273.

3. O.V., vol. II, p.50.

4. e.g. Alençon, b.m.2,10,11,72,73; Rouen, b.m.461,484

5. Orderic's hand is rather individual, see Lair, J., Matériaux pour l'édition de Guillaume de Jumièges, Society de l'Histoire de Normandie, Paris, 1914; Delisle, L., Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes, lxxxiv, 1873, pp.267-82. In addition to the autograph MSS of his history, B.N. MS. Lat. 5506 and 10.913, Orderic also copied parts of the following: Rouen 1174, 1343, 31; Alençon 1,6,14,26; B.N. MS. Lat. 10.062 and 6503. Rouen 31 has been added to Orderic's repertoire recently by F. Avril in MSS Normands, 1975, no.75.

6. Omont, H., Catalogue Générale des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques en France: Départements, vol. II, 1888, pp.468

7. O.V., vol. II, p.246. Nortier, G., Les Bibliothèques Médiévales des Abbayes Bénédictines de Normandie, Paris, 1971, p.107.

abbacy is thus representative of Préaux, S. Ouen and Bec rather than the older scriptoria of Mont S. Michel and Jumièges. The features shared by S. Evroul and Rochester manuscripts are therefore highly significant. Given the Norman origins of the Rochester scriptorium, it is reasonable to consider that the features in Rochester manuscripts which are the same as those in S. Evroul manuscripts are signs of Norman influence on the former. The features of Rochester manuscripts not found in Norman manuscripts may be explained by Anglo-Saxon tradition. These features will now be considered in turn.

Script: At S. Evroul the script is like that described above in the late eleventh century manuscript Rouen 456.¹ It is small and neat but the ascenders and descenders are short, being only one and a half times the height of a minim.² The script seems well spaced because the vertical space between two minims is double the height of a minim, which is a greater proportion than that in Rochester manuscripts.³ Majuscule letters are still elongated. Ascenders are clubbed, but not necessarily split, a tendency avoided by many S. Evroul scribes. Descenders sometimes, but not always, end in serifs at an acute angle to the stem of the letter. Serifs did not become a standard part of the repertoire of S. Evroul scribes. Hair-lines too are avoided. Characteristic letter forms include the minuscule 'a' without a head and the ampersand leaning on its side, which have been observed in manuscripts from other Norman scriptoria.⁴ Letter forms possibly peculiar to S. Evroul are the round tail of minuscule 'g' which ends in a serif and an unusual form of 'p' which sometimes has a clubbed shoulder.⁵

Ligatures and Abbreviation: A fair number of S. Evroul scribes avoid the 'ct' ligature,⁶ as in some Rochester manuscripts, and more than half avoid round 'r', such a common feature of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.⁷ Most S. Evroul scribes use round 's' and half uncial 'd'. Abbreviation in most of the manuscripts is extensive except in the Biblical books, unsurprising exceptions. Contraction is frequent, occurring in complex words such as 'predicam̄ta',

1. See Pl. XXIX

2. See Pl. XXIX. Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, p.9. Alexander, *Norman MS. III*. Avril, F., "Manuscrits bénédictins normands", t.77, pp.238-41.

3. i.e. 2:4 or 3:6 c.f. 3:5 in Rochester manuscripts. Pl. 46. f. pp.112,186,193.

4. See pp.178-81. 5. Not in plate but see Alençon, b.m. 7, 19.

6. 'ct' avoided: Rouen, b.m. 455,473,518,1343; Alençon, b.m. 7,10,19,

7. 'or' avoided: Rouen, b.m. 31,484; Alençon, b.m. 11,14,16,26,

'c̄v̄sione', 'accedē', 'habī', 'c̄paratione', 'erraver̄' and 'p̄cepta'. The ampersand is the normal abbreviation for 'et' although it is not used as a substitute for a syllable at the beginning or in the middle of a word, only as a final syllable. This was the practice of Rochester scribes. The abbreviation for '-bus' and 'que' was normally a wavy line like a subscript 's'; the semicolon symbol used in Rochester manuscripts is less common.¹ The S. Evroul scribes used both the Tironian symbol for 'est' and a minuscule 'e', as did Rochester scribes, but a few restricted themselves to the latter.²

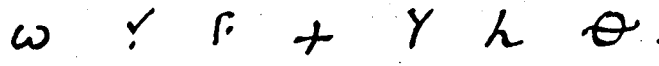
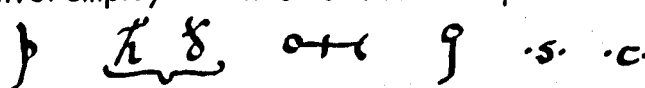
Most of the S. Evroul manuscripts contain suprascripts. Added to suprascripts 'i' and 'o', which had long been used for invariable abbreviations, such as 'v̄' and 'p̄mo', are suprascripts 'a' and 'e'.³ All are used on complex words of more than two syllables. A distinction was made by some scribes between an omitted 'rae' and an omitted 'ua' by indicating the former with an open suprascript 'a' and the latter with a closed letter.⁴ The distinction between a diphthong 'ae' and 'oe' was occasionally observed but it is not so frequent among S. Evroul manuscripts as other Norman manuscripts.⁵

Punctuation: The punctuation of the S. Evroul manuscripts of the period under consideration, but not earlier manuscripts,⁶ had been reduced to a punctus at a low level, both within and at the end of a sentence, and a punctus elevatus, the same as in Rochester manuscripts. The punctus versus was not used.⁷ The abandonment of this mark at the Rochester scriptorium, although it was common in manuscripts in English hands is thus in line with practice in the Norman scriptoria. S. Evroul scribes, like Rochester writers, always ended a sentence with a punctus and began the next one with a capital letter. If this occurred at the beginning of a new line of script, the majuscule letter was placed in the margin.

The punctus circumflexus occurs in several S. Evroul manuscripts but not in every one. Indeed it occurs less frequently in S. Evroul manuscripts than in Rochester manuscripts. Yet the punctus circumflexus was known in Normandy in the mid-eleventh

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1. Rouen, b.m. 455,482,484; Alençon, b.m. 2,26. c.f. Rouen, b.m. 467.
 2. Rouen, b.m. 473, 482,486. c.f. Rouen, b.m. 467,498,511.
 3. Suprascript 'o' and 'e', e.g. Rouen, b.m. 456,473,1343 and Alençon, b.m. 7,10,14,78
 4. Alençon, b.m. 2,7,19 and Rouen, b.m. 456,461,482 (S. Evroul) c.f. Rouen, b.m. 428, 458,497 (Jumièges); Rouen, b.m. 467 (S. Ouen) and Rouen, b.m. 457,498,517 (Préaux
 5. Rouen, b.m. 455,1343; Alençon, b.m. 14 (S. Evroul); c.f. Rouen, b.m. 8,497,513 (Jumièges).
 6. Two points in Alençon, b.m. 1,6; Rouen, b.m. 273.
 7. Except B.N. MS. Lat. 12.131.

century before it was known in England.¹ It cannot, however, be associated in Normandy with a particular period or scriptorium. It was known at every Norman scriptorium but it only ever occurs in a handful of manuscripts from each, even at Jumièges, from where a number of manuscripts survive. Perhaps the mark is to be associated with particular texts. The S. Evroul manuscripts containing the mark are often texts which are similarly punctuated in other copies of the same text made at different scriptoria, including Augustine's Contra Faustum, De Civitate Dei and Enarrationes in Psalmos.² All the late eleventh and early twelfth century manuscripts in Normandy of Gregory's Moralia contain the mark.³ Interestingly, the Rochester copy of the last mentioned text contains the circumflexus. Several other Rochester manuscripts containing the mark include texts which are similarly punctuated in Norman copies, including Jerome's, De Hebraicis Questionibus, Gregory, in Ezechielem and Augustine, de Genesi.⁴

Annotation and Correction: The Rochester manuscripts are unusual among English manuscripts for their extensive marginalia. Such marginalia are common in S. Evroul and Norman manuscripts in general because the scribes preferred to correct their texts by means of signes de renvoi, instead of erasure. At S. Evroul a different sign was used for every correction rather than one sign being adopted by one scribe and used for all his corrections, which was the tendency at Rochester. The most common signs in S. Evroul manuscripts were:- . All of these were known at Rochester except the first two. The last two were common in Rochester manuscripts, as at S. Evroul. The only signes de renvoi employed in Rochester manuscripts not observed so far in Norman manuscripts are:- . The shape of the first two are reminiscent of Anglo-Saxon letter forms and they are probably remnants of Anglo-Saxon practice.

Reference marks in the form of letters of the alphabet observed in Rochester manuscripts, also occur in S. Evroul manuscripts. In these, majuscule 'N', 'R' and minuscule

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1. Alexander, Norman MS. III., p.29 c.f. Ker, English MSS, p.47.
 2. Rouen, b.m. 484,482; Alençon, b.m. 72. Also in Alençon, b.m. 2,14,26; Rouen, b.m. 473,518,529.
 3. Rouen, b.m. 497 (Jumièges) and 498 (Préaux); B.N. MS. Lat. 9559 (Lyre).
 4. Trinity, MS O.4.7 c.f. Alençon, b.m. 2 (S. Evroul); B.L., Royal 4 B.i c.f. Rouen, b.m. 512 (Jumièges) but not Alençon, b.m. 6; B.L., Royal 5 C.i c.f. Rouen, b.m. 454 (Jumièges).

'r' are particularly common and these do occur in Rochester manuscripts. The majuscule 'A', most frequent in Rochester manuscripts, does occur in S. Evroul manuscripts but is more common in manuscripts from other Norman scriptoria.¹

Quiring and Ruling: Most quires in S. Evroul manuscripts contain eight leaves but a number of them contain at least one, if not two, quires of ten leaves.² These larger quires are not connected to the structure of the manuscript, whereby to complete a text a quire was extended contrary to usual practice, or to a particular scribe, although Orderic Vitalis, in particular, produced manuscripts of irregular quiring.³

A considerable proportion of S. Evroul manuscripts, like Rochester manuscripts, retain their quire signatures. In every case but three, these are numbers at the foot of the last verso of the quire. The exceptions, all eleventh century manuscripts,⁴ have letters in the same position, which shows that letters as quire signatures were known in Normandy although they were not standard practice by the late twelfth century. In one instance, too, a S. Evroul manuscript contains a quire signature at the foot of the first verso on the last quire,⁵ a practice of some Rochester scribes, but not standard in either scriptorium.

The ruling of the page in S. Evroul manuscripts is distinctive too. A large number are ruled in the pattern 1,3;A,P,U and an almost equal number are ruled 1,3;A,U.⁶ The first has also been observed at Jumièges and the second at Mont S. Michel,⁷ but at these scriptoria the pattern adopted at Rochester 1,2;P,U also occurs.⁸ Despite all these differences, it is perhaps significant that Norman manuscripts contain at least two extended horizontal lines at the top and bottom of the page, and it was this principle which was adopted at Rochester.

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1. Rouen, b.m. 456,473,482,529 (S. Evroul) c.f. Rouen, b.m. 467 (S. Ouen); Rouen, b.m. 498,517,457 (Préaux); Rouen, b.m. 454,483,485 (Jumièges).
 2. Rouen, b.m. 456,473,508,529,1343; Alençon, b.m. 7,10,16,26.
 3. In his history, B.N. MS. Lat. 5506 and 10.912, and Rouen, b.m. 1343 and 31.
 4. Alençon, b.m. 11, Rouen, b.m. 273 and 473.
 5. Rouen, b.m. 456.
 6. The latter, Rouen, b.m. 456,482, Alençon, b.m. 16,19,26 and B.N. MS. Lat. 5506. The former, Rouen, b.m. 31,461,473,484,1343; Alençon, b.m. 7,10,11.
 7. On Mont S. Michel see Alexander, Norman MS III., p.34; Jumièges MSS, Rouen, b.m. 1123,1126,440,481,183.
 8. Rouen, b.m. 457 (Préaux), 428,459,497,538 (Jumièges).

A moderate number of the S. Evroul books are ruled in two columns, although they are not as large as the books so ruled in English collections. The width of the written space of books in double columns can be as low as 140 mm,¹ and all books with a written space 160 mm wide are ruled in two columns.² This means that several texts written in two columns which would not be so divided in English manuscripts, including Gregory's Registrum, Augustine, Contra Faustum, and Bede, super Lucam. This Norman tendency to favour double columns may explain why the Rochester copy of the Gregory text is written in two columns and why one or two texts like Ambrose's De Fide and Jerome's De Hebraicis Questionibus,³ are in unusually large manuscripts at Rochester and then ruled in two columns.

All S. Evroul manuscripts of the period being examined are ruled in dry point. The plummet was not adopted within the first thirty years of the twelfth century at this or any other Norman scriptorium. The adoption of this instrument at Rochester must be the result of an extraneous influence.

Contents Tables: One or two S. Evroul manuscripts contain a list of contents on the fly-leaf, a practice which has been noted in Rochester manuscripts.⁴ This practice had a long history in Normandy for such tables occur in mid-eleventh century Norman manuscripts from Mont S. Michel and Fécamp. Capitula in Fécamp manuscripts were laid out in a pattern, a characteristic which has been used as grounds of provenance.⁵ The custom of listing the contents of a manuscript thus seems more likely to derive from Normandy than from anywhere else.

Rubrics: In S. Evroul manuscripts these are commonly in mixed red capitals of the same size as the text, as in Rochester manuscripts, but Orderic Vitalis is an exception to the rule in his use of red minuscule. In addition to red, Norman scribes at S. Evroul also employed vermilion, which was common in the established scriptoria.⁶ In more than half the S. Evroul manuscripts, red of one shade or the other is combined with at least one other colour, green, or blue or black.⁷ A

1. B.N., MS. Lat. 10.062.

2. Rouen, b.m. 461,484,518; Alençon, b.m. 7,19.

3. B.L., Royal 6 C.iv; Trinity, MS. 0.4.7. 4. B.N., MS. Lat. 12.131.

5. B.N., MS. Lat. 2639,2088 (Mont S. Michel) and B.N., MS. Lat. 1939, Rouen 471 (Fécamp). See Avril, "MSS bénédictins normands", t.76, p.518.

6. Alençon, b.m. 10,11, Rouen, b.m.484, as in Rouen, b.m. 8,484 (Jumièges).

7. Rouen, b.m. 31,473,508, Alençon, b.m. 11,26,73, as in Rouen, b.m. 467 (S. Ouen), 498,517 (Préaux), 481,454,497 (Jumièges).

combination of red, blue and green is the most common, which is perhaps unique to S. Evroul, and certainly rare among Rochester manuscripts. The first line of the text after the title is usually in mixed black capitals of normal size highlighted in red or green or red and green,¹ a feature which has been observed in Rochester manuscripts.

Conclusions: Norman influence on Rochester manuscripts

It is evident that Rochester manuscripts share many features with S. Evroul manuscripts. Although the form of script is different, some of the auxiliary aspects of script, particularly ligatures and abbreviations, observed at Rochester, are based on Norman trends. The individual preference of some Rochester scribes to avoid the 'ct' ligature or the round 'r' was a fashion adopted earlier by Norman scribes. Similarly, the avoidance of the Tironian form of 'est' and the adoption of the subscript 's' sign as an abbreviation for '-bus' and '-que' is in accordance with the preference of Norman scribes.²

A more significant and positive sign of Norman influence in the Rochester scriptorium is the increase in the extent of abbreviation and the adoption of suprascripts. The earliest Rochester manuscripts in Christ Church script were little abbreviated but abbreviation by contraction and suspension was more frequent in all but the earliest Group B Rochester manuscripts. Since Anglo-Saxon manuscripts are hardly abbreviated, the impetus for this change must have come from outside Anglo-Saxon tradition. Not only the extent, but also the type of abbreviation in Rochester manuscripts was influenced by Norman practice. The use of suprascripts in complex words and the distinction between diphthongs and between a suprascript open 'a' and a suprascript closed 'a' were derived from Norman practice.³

A second positive sign of Norman influence is the use of the punctus circumflexus, which was common in Normandy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but appears to have been limited to specific texts. All the Rochester manuscripts in which this punctuation mark occurs, contain texts which are similarly punctuated in at least one extant Norman copy of the same text. Since the occurrence of this mark is so sporadic, this cannot be coincidence. The mark was used in Normandy before it occurred in England so it must be that the Rochester manuscripts containing the mark are based ultimately on Norman exemplars.

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1. e.g. Rouen, b.m. 31,473,484,508, Alençon, b.m. 2,10,26 e.g. Rouen, b.m. 517 (Préaux).
 2. c.f. Ker, English MSS, pp.22 and 55.
 3. c.f. Vézin, J., Les Scriptoria d'Angers au xi^e siècle, Paris, 1974, pp.139 and 162.

A third positive sign of Norman influence on the Rochester scriptorium appears to lie in the predilection for marginalia, both signes de renvoi and reference notes. The preference for correction by signe de renvoi over erasure is a distinguishing mark of Rochester manuscripts which is derived from Normandy. The choice of signs, even, namely the *Ø* and *h Y* follows Norman habits. Similarly, the frequent annotation of manuscripts, particularly in the form of majuscule 'A' and 'R' is a Norman custom.

A final positive sign of Norman influence on Rochester manuscripts is in the forms of display script. The insular practice of diminuendo is abandoned. Headings are normally in mixed red capitals of the same size as the text and in order to make the transition from the title in red capitals to the text in black minuscule, the Rochester scribes follow the Norman practice of highlighting the first line of the text in red.

In other aspects of book production, the trends of the Rochester scriptorium appear to follow Norman methods, although examination of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts might reveal similar methods. One example of this is the insertion of contents tables in Rochester manuscripts. Another is the tendency at Rochester to retain quire signatures and make sure that signatures were visible which could well be derived from Norman practice. The preference for numbers as quire signatures as normal practice at Rochester seems to derive from Norman custom. This must be the case at Rochester in view of the Norman origins of the scriptorium, but at other scriptoria the same custom may have been absorbed from Anglo-Saxon tradition. On the other hand, quire signatures in the form of letters are not necessarily a sign of Anglo-Saxon tradition at Rochester for Normans were familiar with letter signatures, even though they were not used regularly.

In the same way, the Rochester methods of ruling seem to derive from Norman practice but it is difficult to be certain of this because the specific pattern of ruling is not distinctive. Many manuscripts were so ruled in Normandy but the same pattern was not unknown in pre-Conquest England.¹ All that is clear is that in Norman scriptoria there was a preference for bounding lines, both vertical and horizontal, to be in pairs and Rochester practice is in keeping with this tradition. The spacing of the horizontal lines in Rochester manuscripts, whereby the size of the minim compared to the vertical space between minims is

1. Drage, E.M., *Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter*, Oxford D.Phil., 1978, pp.175-76.

in the ratio 3:5, is slightly cramped. This is an inheritance of Norman practice where the vertical space between minims was never more than double the minim itself, rather than of Anglo-Saxon tradition in which the ruled lines were widely spaced. The fact that several Rochester manuscripts are ruled in double columns, although the texts in other scriptoria, including Christ Church, are not, is another sign that Rochester scribes followed Norman trends. All the Rochester manuscripts so ruled, however, were of a large size, larger than the equivalent texts in Normandy.

Anglo-Saxon tradition in the Rochester scriptorium

Those features of Rochester manuscripts which were not derived from Norman custom may possibly be considered as signs of Anglo-Saxon influence. Obviously, the clearest sign of Anglo-Saxon tradition was in the form of script, which was patterned and calligraphic as in the best Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and not as in the Norman products. The desire to make the letters decorative by means of hair-lines and serifs might be taken as evidence of the hold of Anglo-Saxon tradition. Of individual letter forms, there are few which are exclusively characteristic of Anglo-Saxon tradition. The prevalence of the semicolon sign to abbreviate '-bus' and '-que', although rare in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, in which a colon sign was used, may be closer to that tradition than Norman practice.¹ The occasional occurrence of the 'three-shape' sign to stand for the same syllable has not been observed in Norman manuscripts and may be linked with current English chancery practice.² Likewise, the occurrence of insular forms of signes de renvoi must have been the result of residual Anglo-Saxon influence derived, probably, from Anglo-Saxon exemplars, or characteristic of Anglo-Saxon scribes. These are isolated features of the Rochester scriptorium and hardly constitute evidence of a desire to follow Anglo-Saxon tradition.

There are other aspects of book production, however, which were not derived from Norman custom and yet do not necessarily reflect Anglo-Saxon practice, either. The most notable are the division of a manuscript into two columns and the use of plummet. Rochester scribes appear to have ruled texts in two columns which were not normally so ruled in England

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1. c.f. Drage, E.M., *Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter*, Oxford, D. Phil., 1978.
 2. Bishop, T.A.M., *Scriptores Regis*, 1961, Pl. xii.

but the manuscript was always of a certain size, at least 260 x 170 mm. All the Rochester manuscripts of this size were ruled in two columns but smaller books, even if their content was more important, were not. This practice could be a local custom, resulting from a reluctance to use more vellum than absolutely necessary. The second feature, the adoption of plummet, may not have been known in Norman manuscripts but it is not evidence of Anglo-Saxon tradition for this was an innovation in English manuscripts of the twelfth century. The source of this innovation has yet to be established.¹

These possible remnants of Anglo-Saxon and extraneous influences, however, are mainly peripheral matters and their presence is not surprising in view of the fact that the Christ Church script, although growing out of Norman script, was developed in England. The inspiration for manuscript copying at Rochester and Christ Church was, however, always Norman. The acceptability of manuscript copying on a large scale by monks grew out of Normandy, where scriptoria were flourishing before they were here. More significantly, the elements of the Rochester house-style derive from Normandy and Rochester book production falls in line with the practice of the new Norman scriptoria.

b. The Transmission of Texts

In the analysis of the relationship between the extant manuscripts from Christ Church and Rochester, it was shown that several Rochester manuscripts were not dependent on the equivalent text from Christ Church, so the exemplar of the Rochester manuscript must have come from elsewhere, possibly Normandy. This suggestion was not made simply because the Normans were newcomers and could easily have introduced exemplars from outside sources. It was based on the fact that the texts being copied at Rochester for which exemplars were sought outside Canterbury, were the same type of text, namely patristic, which figure prominently in Norman catalogues.

The emphasis on patristic texts was a feature of Norman collections which was copied at Rochester. Since the choice of titles for the library is so similar in both

1. Mynors, R.A.B., Durham Cathedral Manuscripts, 1939, p.33.

Normandy and Rochester, it is reasonable to expect that Normandy provided the essentials in building the collection, the exemplars for Rochester scribes to copy. It is, after all, well known that manuscripts were sent from Normandy by Anselm to Lanfranc. Lanfranc had asked particularly for patristic works, which suggests that these were in short supply in England compared with their abundance in Normandy. Anselm records the difficulty he had trying to have these texts copied for despatch to England:¹

De moralibus Job mihi mandastis sed domnus abbas Cadumensis Willelmus et domnus Hernostus, fideles vestri, invenerunt scriptorem, qui iam habens nostrum librum, vestrum, ut puto, incepit. Ut libros beatorum Ambrosii et Hieronimi habeam, ad hoc quod iussistis laboravi et laboro sed eos nondum habere potui.

The Moralia was to be a long time coming, as we learn from one or two later letters of Anselm.² First the abbot of Caen had a labour dispute with the first scribe, so he looked for an alternative at Brionne, but in vain. Nobody at Bec was free to do the work so the last we hear of the saga is that the abbot of Caen returned to his abbey still seeking a scribe to make a copy of the Bec Moralia to send to England. He could have entered any abbey on the route between Bec and Caen to have the copy made, which means that the copy which was sent to England may have come from several sources, S. Evroul, Préaux or, possibly S. Ouen at Rouen.

It is not certain whether this or any other book reached England from Normandy, except the Lanfranc collection of decretals³ thought to have been written in Normandy, at Bec or its environs. Not only is the book in the plain, cramped Norman script but it contains a colophon in a near contemporary hand which reads:

Hunc librum data precio emptum ego Lanfrancus archiepiscopus de Beccensi cenobio in anglicam terram deferri feci et ecclesiae Christi dedi. 4

This is one manuscript written in Normandy which came to England to stay.

In the case of exemplars, the manuscript would have been sent to England then returned to Normandy, so the only way to establish Norman influence is to see whether the Rochester and Canterbury manuscripts match Norman manuscripts in ways which cannot be

1. Epp. Anselmi, 23

2. Ibid., 25 and 26

3. Trinity, MS. B.16.44

4. Ibid., see Ker, English MSS, Pl. 5.

Ambrose : De Mysteriis

ed. O. Faller Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum lxxiii, 1955, Vienna

Signs of the Norman family of Manuscripts

1,3,l.13	inhalatum vobis munere sacramentorum carpite	illato vobis munere sacramentorum capite
3,10,l.30 3,10,l.31	quando dimisit	qui dum dimisisset
3,18,l.93	et	add. quidem (et quidem ille)
4,21,l.18	tu autem baptizatus es	tu autem in gratia baptizatus es
4,23,l.37	baptismum nominativus	baptismus
6,33,l.29	ministerio	mysterium
7,34,l.6	secundum legem, quia	secundum legem quidem
9,52,l.32	maioris operationis esse	maioris ess virtutis

paralleled in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Modern editions of patristic works are of some use here. Few take into account the eleventh and twelfth century manuscripts of patristic authors but those of the works of St. Ambrose do give information on the manuscript tradition through the medieval period. The modern editor of Ambrose's De Fide has established a family of manuscripts which circulated in France north of the Loire.¹ A comparison of the readings of the Norman family with the manuscripts extant from both Rochester and Christ Church reveals that they both belong to this branch of the manuscript tradition. Similarly, a Norman family of manuscripts has been established by the editor of de Mysteriis with de Sacramentis and, again, the Rochester manuscript falls into line with it.² It is clear that some Norman manuscripts were copied in England even though the specific exemplar has not been found.

The proof that English manuscripts are linked to Norman ones lies in marginalia unique to late eleventh and early twelfth century Norman and English manuscripts. The Normans had a predilection for glossing and correcting texts, patristic texts in particular, which was not practised in England. Lanfranc was the earliest scholastic commentator to apply the 'artes' to the Pauline Epistles³ and, moreover, added marginalia to Augustine's De Civitate Dei and Gregory's Moralia.⁴ He is also thought to have been responsible for corrections of the text of Ambrose's De Mysteriis.⁵ These corrections are not now visible but were incorporated into the copy of the text now at Le Mans, at the end of which is a colophon, 'Lanfrancus hucusque correxi'. Anselm, too, was concerned to possess the correct text, as is shown by his exhortations to Maurice to be accurate in transcription.⁶ Such marginalia are widespread in many manuscripts from several Norman scriptoria at an earlier date than in England.

There are two forms of marginalia which occur frequently in Norman manuscripts but not in Anglo-Saxon ones. The first type has already been considered, the reference signs in the form of majuscule A.⁷ The second type are comments on the text, often

1. ed. O. Faller, C.S.E.L., vol. lxxviii, Vienna, 1962, pp.32-4.

2. ed. O. Faller, C.S.E.L., vol. lxxiii, Vienna, 1955, pp.36, 57-8.

3. Gibson, M. T., Lanfranc of Bec, 1978, pp.50-61.

4. Gibson, M. T., "Lanfranc's Notes on Patristic Texts", Journal of Theological Studies, 22, 1971, pp.435-49.

5. ed. O. Faller, C.S.E.L., vol. lxxiii, Vienna, 1955, p.36.

6. Epp. Anselmi, 60

7. See pp. 187 and 191.

Marginal Annotations in Augustine Omeliae in Evangelium Johannis

Manuscript reference	Provenance		
R = B.L., Royal 3 C.x	Rochester		Main text preceded by John's Gospel f.1-14
C = Trinity, MS B.4.2	Canterbury	"	" " " f.1-11
N = Rouen, b.m. 467	S. Ouen	"	" " " f.1-9

Homily No.	Marginal Annotation	R	C	N
2	Al. Forinsecus est arcae	f. 19	17	14
2	Al. ipse alio loco sed qui fabricat extrinsecus est	f. 19	17	14
2	Propter propterea	f. 19 ^v	17 ^v	14
5	Cui ecclesiae id est de qua ecclesia	f. 28 ^v	27 ^v	21 ^v
6	Parenthesis usque quo missi sunt	f. 31 ^v	31 ^v	24
6	Al. Hac linguae dividuntur hac copulantur	f. 32	32	24 ^v
6	Pacatae ecclesiae id est de pacata ecclesiae	f. 32 ^v	32 ^v	24 ^v
6	Tibi dictum est id est de te dictum est	f. 32 ^v	32 ^v	25
8	Magis pro maxime	f. 43	44 ^v	32 ^v
9	Parenthesis usque si ergo et de patre	f. 204	212 ^v	155 ^v
10	Diffinitio Ciceronis	f. 204 ^v	213 ^v	156

encircled, which are emended readings or explanations of the text. They are often of a grammatical nature and similar to Lanfranc's notes on texts. The latter have already been noticed in two Rochester manuscripts, Augustine, In Evangelium Johannis¹ and Enarrationes in Psalmos,² volume one, which was not copied from Christ Church.

There are no extant English manuscripts of Augustine on John from the first half of the eleventh century. There are two extant Norman manuscripts, one from the late eleventh century from S. Ouen and an earlier one from Jumièges.³ The Christ Church and Rochester manuscripts plus the two Norman manuscripts contain 124 homilies, each numbered and with a title. This numbering distinguishes these manuscripts from many French and German books, which were derived from a Corbie exemplar lacking some of the first homilies of the series.⁴ The Jumièges manuscript is different from the other three because it does not contain the text of St. John's Gospel, like the other manuscripts, nor does it contain all the marginalia which the other manuscripts share.

The S. Ouen, Rochester and Christ Church manuscripts all contain the same ten comments explaining or emending the text. The first few of these comments are also in the Jumièges manuscript but they were added at a slightly later date in a different hand from the rest of the book. In the other three manuscripts these comments are written by the scribe of the main text and are enclosed in a red or green box, as if they are of special significance. The S. Ouen manuscript does not contain any other marginalia but the English manuscripts do, although these are limited to corrections of copying errors, and are not improvements of the text. Certainly these three manuscripts are of the same family, a family which originated in Normandy.

It may well be that the Canterbury scribes had this particular Norman manuscript as their exemplar. It is known that Rochester, and probably Christ Church, Canterbury, had links with S. Ouen, for it appears in the list of houses with whom Rochester was in confraternity.⁵ Of course, there were many other abbeys with whom Christ Church and Rochester were linked but the collections of which details exist were not in a position to

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1. B.L., Royal 3 C.x c.f. Trinity, MS. B.4.2.
 2. B.L., Royal 5 D.iii c.f. Trinity, MS. B.5.26.
 3. Rouen, b.m. 467 and Rouen, b.m. 468. For the former manuscript, see Dodwell, Canterbury School, pp.11,20,115-117, Pl. 9,71,72. Dodwell, C.R., etc., The St. Alban's Psalter, 195, pl. 165.c; Alexander, Norman MS. III., pl. 35.e, Avril, F., "MSS bénédictins normands", t.77, p.226.
 4. This information was kindly supplied by David Ganz, Research Assistant at St. Andrew's.
 5. Textus, f.222-223^v.

provide copies of this text. The Bec catalogue does not mention a copy of Augustine, In Evangelium Johannis although the donation of Philip de Harcourt does, and the Fécamp catalogue, although it lists this text, only possessed it in two volumes, which could not have been the exemplar of the English manuscripts.¹ Anyway, S. Ouen was producing the finest illuminated products in Normandy at this period, amongst which the Augustine manuscript was a show piece.² As an abbey in a flourishing town regularly visited by the higher clergy, S. Ouen may well have been a centre for the transmission of texts and perhaps to England in particular. Certainly, other texts from the same scriptorium, notably a Bible, reached England.³ And here the same style of illumination was copied at Durham and Exeter.⁴

The detailed similarities between the S. Ouen manuscript and the English ones in further annotation, corrections and punctuation confirm the hypothesis that they are directly linked. There are thirty one passages considered worthy of note by the S. Ouen scribe and of these, twenty one are also marked in the Rochester manuscript. Only four passages annotated in the Rochester manuscript are not also marked in the S. Ouen manuscript. A parallel comparison of the S. Ouen and Christ Church manuscripts reveals a similar duplication: of the thirty one passages in the S. Ouen manuscript, twenty are in the Canterbury manuscript while seven passages marked in the latter are not annotated in the former. The Christ Church and S. Ouen manuscript, but not the Rochester manuscript, also contain a more extended gloss⁵ situated at the beginning of the homilies with the incipit: *Notarii a notis acceperere vocabulum ...*

The corrections reveal an even more remarkable coincidence. It has been suggested in the past that it is possible to trace exemplars by comparing the average number of letters in one line of one manuscript with the average number of letters in the corrections written out in another, later manuscript.⁶ The principle behind this comparison is that corrections are made when a scribe makes a copying error, something which occurs when he finishes writing at a particular word of one line, then picks up the text of the exemplar again

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1. Omont, H., Catalogue Générale des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques, vol. II, p. 385 and vol. I, p. 24.
 2. Avril, "MSS Normands", p. 43.
 3. Durham MS A.11.4. This Bible was part of the Carilef collection acquired by Bishop William S. Carilef when exiled in France and given to his cathedral chapter on his return to Durham.
 4. Avril, "MSS Normands", pp. 42-44, and Pächt, O., "Hugo Pictor", Bodleian Library Record, vol. III, no. 30, trs. 1950, pp. 96-103.
 5. Trinity, MS B.4.2, f. 11 c.f. Rouen, b.m. 467, f. 9^v.
 6. Clark, A. C., The Descent of MSS, 1918, pp. 53-103.

at the same word but at the place where it is repeated one or two lines below. The result is that, having omitted one or two lines from his exemplar, he is obliged to write out those lines in the margin. The average length of the correction will therefore be equal to the average length of one or two lines of text in the exemplar. The average number of letters in the line of the S. Ouen manuscript is 40 or 41. This compares with an average number of letters in the corrections of the Rochester manuscript of 38 and in the Christ Church manuscript of 44. These figures indicate that the Rochester and Christ Church manuscripts were copied from a manuscript in which the length of line is somewhat between 38-44 letters, most likely, then, a manuscript in two columns. The S. Ouen manuscript fits this model very well.

All three manuscripts are very similar in size and appearance. The S. Ouen manuscript has a written area of 282 x 180 mm and the overall size is 365 x 264 mm, close to the size of the other English manuscripts. All are written in two columns. The level of abbreviation is the same in all three manuscripts, that is to say, suprascripts are quite common, which is unusual for English manuscripts of this date. What is more important is that all the manuscripts contain not only a low point and punctus elevatus, but also the punctus circumflexus which, again, is unusual for English manuscripts of this date. In fact, these may be the earliest manuscripts in England containing this punctuation mark.

A fourth point to consider is illumination, which has not before been taken into account. The S. Ouen manuscript contains a historiated initial at the beginning of each homily. The Rochester and Christ Church manuscripts each contain only two illuminations, one at the beginning of John's Gospel and one at the beginning of Augustine's homilies. The illuminations in the Christ Church manuscript are standard but the second one in the Rochester manuscript is less common.¹ Against a blue ground which forms the body of the letter 'I', are painted a frontal view of a lion head, at the top of the letter, and a side view of a dragon. At the very top of the letter is the Lamb of God. This is similar to the first initial in the S. Ouen manuscript which is headed by the eagle of St. John in a frame. Besides, it should be borne in mind that this S. Ouen manuscript contains many

1. B.L., Royal 3 C.x, f.14

Marginal Annotations in Augustine Enarrationes in Psalmos

Manuscript reference	Provenance	
R = B.L., Royal 5 D.iii	Rochester	s.xii in.
N = Rouen, b.m. 457	S. Ouen or Préaux	s.xi-xii in.
E = Rouen, b.m. 456	S. Evroul	s.xi-xii in.
C = Trinity, MS B.5.26	Christ Church	s.xi-xii in.

Psalm	Marginal Annotation	R	N	E	C
10	Afflictionem qua catholicos affligebant donatistae heretici fustes israelis vocabant. Se enim solos putabant deum videre hoc est intelligere quod significat israel.	f. 32 ^v	19 ^v	16 ^v	-
17	Figurate al. fulgorate Congelate al. colligate	f. 39 ^v	25	20 ^v	-
18, tract 2	Concines al; concinnes sunt qui simul canuit	f. 44	28 ^v	22 ^v	-
36, tract 2	Officium vocatur regiae ministerium inde et officiales dicuntur regales ministri.	f. 148 ^v	102	76 ^v	107 ^v
38	Cartigare est in carta hoc est in membrana propter memoriam aliquid scribere. Usitatus de usurariis dicitur	f. 168	112 ^v	87 ^v	121
38, tract 2	Lex mundana possessorem vocat non tantum eum quia tenet sed eum etiam ad quem vis possidendi pertinet.	f. 168 ^v	113	87 ^v	-

dragon initials which were later to feature prominently in Rochester and Christ Church manuscripts. All these details confirm that the S. Ouen manuscript was the exemplar of the Rochester and Christ Church texts.

A second Rochester manuscript which contains many comments in the margin is Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos, I - L. This copy of the text is particularly interesting in connection with the study of Rochester because it contains many annotations not in the equivalent Christ Church manuscript.¹ These same annotations are found in several Norman manuscripts. Again, there are no English manuscripts of this text surviving from the first half of the eleventh century but there are many Norman manuscripts of this text from this period. The copies from Fécamp and from Bec have been lost but there still remain copies from Mont S. Michel and Jumièges,² which are earlier than the extant manuscripts from Préaux and S. Evroul,³ which date from the turn of the century. The first two do not contain annotations but the second two do. In this case, however, the annotations in the Norman and English manuscripts are by no means identical.

The Préaux manuscript contains a series of annotations distinguished because they are in a box drawn in red ink, as in the previous example. All these annotations, as well as others, are in the Rochester manuscript but they are not distinguished from the other comments by any means. In the Rochester manuscript these comments are in the same hand as the text but in the Préaux manuscript, the comments are in a different hand from the text, which shows they were added after the text was written. It was possible that these comments were first added at Préaux since it is the earlier extant manuscript containing them. The fact that these encircled comments form a series is reinforced by a comparison of the Préaux manuscript with the one from S. Evroul,⁴ in which these comments are written in the same hand as the text and are carefully surrounded in a red ink box. The way in which Norman scribes encircled particular comments suggests that these marginalia were of significance to them, a significance which escaped the copiers in England who made no distinction between these comments and any other marginalia.

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1. B.L., Royal 5 D.iii c.f. Trinity, MS. B.5.26.
 2. Avranches, b.m. 7 (Mont S. Michel) and Rouen, b.m. 458 (Jumièges).
 3. Rouen, b.m. 457 (Préaux) and Rouen, b.m. 456 (S. Evroul). For the former see Dodwell, Canterbury School, p.9, Pl. 5.g.
 4. Rouen, b.m. 457 c.f. Rouen, b.m. 456.

The presence of these marginalia from Norman manuscripts in the Rochester copy is evidence of a Norman exemplar of the Rochester manuscript. It is unlikely that the Préaux manuscript is that exemplar. The Préaux manuscript contains annotations omitted entirely from the Rochester manuscript. The Rochester manuscript contains many corrections of scribal error and textual amendments absent from the Préaux manuscript. Some of these refer to the word order of the text, which suggests that they are not written on the initiative of the Rochester scribe but copied from an exemplar.¹ The fact that the same comments are in the Christ Church manuscript supports this suggestion. Neither English manuscript can be considered copies of the Préaux manuscript. For the same reason, disparity in the annotations, it is impossible to consider that the English manuscripts depend on the S. Evroul manuscript.

It has already been observed that the Christ Church manuscript does not contain as many annotations as the Rochester one. This was proof that the Rochester manuscript was copied from a manuscript from outside Christ Church. It is now clear that the Rochester manuscript was copied from a Norman exemplar. The Christ Church manuscript may be a copy of the same exemplar but it is not a copy of the Rochester manuscript. It clearly antedates the Rochester product, to judge from the script and the brightly coloured illumination. This is evidence of a Christ Church product of pre-1100 whereas the Rochester copy is a Group B manuscript from the second decade of the twelfth century. It would seem therefore that when a manuscript was sent from Normandy it was not simply copied at Christ Church and returned to Normandy but was circulated to other scriptoria in England first, then returned. Christ Church may have been the centre for the transmission of manuscripts throughout England but it was not necessarily Christ Church manuscripts which travelled.

A second manuscript which was copied at Rochester independently of the Christ Church equivalent was Gregory's Registrum.² This is an interesting text because the particular selection of letters seems to be unique to France, Normandy and England.³ The collection of Gregory's letters originally comprised 686 letters but in the course of trans-

1. e.g. in the homilies on Psalms 9, 26, 29. 2. B.L., Royal 6 C.x.c.f. CUL, MS li.3.33.
3. Ewald, P. and Hartmann, L., Monumenta Germaniae Historica; Epistolarum, II (1891 and 1899), pp.22-23.

Surviving eleventh and twelfth century MSS are:-

Rouen, b.m. 516 (Jumièges) s.xi	Avranches, b.m. 201 (Mont S. Michel) s.xi
Rouen, b.m. 517 (Préaux) s.xi-xii	York 110 s.xii
Rouen, b.m. 518 (S. Evroul) s.xii	B.N., MS. Lat. 11675 (Corbie) s.xii
Oxford, All Souls' 18 s.xii	

mission, the collection was often deliberately abridged or odd letters omitted by mistake. In the eleventh century a small group of 32 letters first appears at the end of the main collection. Hence at the end of the letters of the fourteenth book there is a new heading: *Epistolae quae praetermissae sunt de superioribus indictionibus*. These omitted letters were from several different books but the bulk of them came from Book XI. This collection is found in all the Norman manuscripts, which come from Jumièges, Mont S. Michel, Préaux and S. Evroul. There was a copy in the early eleventh century collection at Fécamp and a copy from Bec probably existed but these have since been lost.

The Rochester manuscript is thought to be independent of the Christ Church manuscript because it contains more reference symbols, probably copied from the exemplar. All the Norman manuscripts of this text are annotated with the same marks but most of them contain far fewer annotations than the Rochester manuscript, but still more than the Canterbury copy. Obviously the Rochester manuscript was copied from an annotated manuscript which must have been of Norman origin but is it possible to identify which Norman manuscript? On the basis of the annotation, the Mont S. Michel manuscript is the only extant manuscript which could have been the exemplar. It is the only manuscript which contains more reference marks than the Rochester manuscript, with which it has over a hundred in common, although that still leaves a considerable number in each manuscript not found in the other one.

A second significant similarity is the ruling of the manuscripts. Both manuscripts are unusually large with a written area over 260 mm high, exceptional for a patristic text. Both are ruled with a dry point in the ruling pattern 1,3;A,U. This was common in Mont S. Michel manuscripts but rare in Rochester manuscripts, which suggests that the ruling of the Rochester manuscript was copied from an exemplar. This unusual ruling pattern in conjunction with the initial style has been regarded as evidence that two St. Augustine's manuscripts were, in fact, written at Mont S. Michel¹ and brought over to England by Scotland² who was a monk of Mont S. Michel until 1072 when he moved to become abbot of St. Augustine. The exemplar of the Rochester text of Gregory's Registrum may have come to England by the same route. The Mont S. Michel manuscript is a product of the last phase of the scriptorium

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1. Alexander, Norman MS. III., pp.40 and 81, in which the author links the manuscripts from St. Augustine's, B.L., Royal 13 A.xxii and xxiii, with the late group of Mont S. Michel manuscripts on the basis of similarities in initial style. For ruling see p.34.
 2. Obit 1087.

Headings in Gregory's Moralia, 17-35

R = B.L., Royal 6 C.vi	Rochester
N = Rouen, b.m. 497	Jumièges
O = Rouen, b.m. 498	Préaux/S. Ouen

Headings of Books 17-22

	R	N	O
Moralia B. Gregorii Papae per Contemplationem sumpta Libri VI. Pars Quarta inc. Quotiens in ^{sc̄i} viri historia ...	f. 6	1	1
Expl. XVII . Inc. XVIII Plerunque in sacro eloquio ...	f. 15	13 ^v	10
Expl. XVIII. Inc. XVIIIII Quid mirum si eterna ...	f. 33 ^v	40	26 ^v
Expl. XVIIIII. Inc. XX Quamvis omnem scientiam atque ...	f. 45 ^v	59	38
Expl. XX. Inc. XXI Intellectus sacri eloqui	f. 61	84 ^v	53 ^v
Expl. XXI. Inc. XXII Quod a me sepe iam dictum est ...	f. 68 ^v	96 ^v	59 ^v
Expl. XXII. Moralia Gregorii per contemplationē sumpta Libri Pars V incipit. Prefationem huius op̄is totiens necessario	f. 79 ^v	116 ^v	72 ^v

in the eleventh century c.1080-1100 and the Rochester manuscript belongs to Group A, written during this same period. It is thus highly probable that the Mont S. Michel manuscript came over to England during Scotland's abbacy and was circulating in Kent at the end of the eleventh century. Both the Christ Church and the Rochester manuscripts were copied before 1100 independently but probably from the same exemplar.

There is, however, one piece of evidence against this hypothesis, that is the punctuation. Both the Rochester and Mont S. Michel manuscripts are punctuated with points at two levels and a punctus elevatus but the Mont S. Michel scribe places the median point at different positions in the sentence from the Rochester scribe.¹ This may not be important, given the confused state of punctuation in these early Rochester manuscripts except that there is one Norman manuscript extant, that from S. Evroul,² in which the median point and the low point are always exactly in the same position as in the Rochester manuscript. The S. Evroul manuscript, though, is too late to have been the exemplar of the Rochester manuscript since the latter is definitely an eleventh century product, whereas the former was written in the twelfth century. Nevertheless, this difference in punctuation between the Rochester manuscript and the Mont S. Michel one may indicate that the Rochester manuscript is a copy of another Norman exemplar, very like the Mont S. Michel manuscript, but for the details of punctuation, which is no longer extant.

The third manuscript which was copied at Rochester independently of Christ Church was Gregory's Moralia. Copies of this text are numerous but there is no surviving English manuscript of it from the eleventh century, although there are numerous Norman manuscripts from this period, including volumes from Mont S. Michel, Jumièges, Préaux and Lyre.³ From these it is possible to establish that the Rochester manuscript belonged to the Norman manuscript tradition of the text, which was distinct from other traditions. Not only was the text divided into two or three volumes, as explained above, but it was sometimes divided into six parts, a division only indicated in headings,⁴ which read:

MORALIA BEATI GREGORII PAPAE PER CONTEMPLATIONEM SUMPTA LIBRI VI PARS
QUARTA INCIPIT.

1. See pp. 181-83.

2. Rouen, b.m. 518

3. Respectively Avranches, b.m. 97 and 98; Rouen, b.m. 496 and 497; Paris, MS. Lat. 9559.

4. Ker, N.R., "English Manuscripts of the Moralia of Gregory the Great", Kunst-historische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu Ehren, ed. A. Rosenauer and G. Weber, Salzburg, 1972, pp.77-89.

This division of the work is found in the earliest manuscripts but it was often lost or miscopied when the framework of the text was altered from two to three volumes, or vice versa, or reduced to one book, because the divisions did not appear to make sense in the new arrangement. This division was noted accurately in the Rochester manuscript.

Another alteration to the text in the course of transmission was the omission of the explanatory preamble at the beginning of each book which is separated from the rest of the text in Migne's edition.¹ Thus the incipit of the first book of the second volume of the text, Book 17, in fact, might read:

Non sit recordatione ... OR Quotiens in sancti viri historia

The Rochester manuscript begins with the latter, omitting the preamble. This adoption or retention of the complex heading and the omission of the preamble is the combination in all the Norman manuscripts of the Moralia, distinguishing them from English manuscripts.

The Rochester copy of this text, then, is certainly from a Norman, not an English, exemplar but is it possible to track down that exemplar from the extant Norman manuscripts, especially when the copies from Bec, Fécamp and S. Evroul have been lost? Among the extant manuscripts, it is possible to limit the potential exemplars of the Rochester Moralia to one. The Rochester manuscript was separated from the Christ Church one because it was punctuated with the punctus circumflexus and because it contains a gloss attributed to Lanfranc,² neither of which occur in the latter manuscript. This punctus circumflexus occurs in all the Norman manuscripts of the Moralia written between 1060 and 1120 but not in the earlier Mont S. Michel manuscript, which can therefore be excluded from consideration. The possible exemplars are reduced to the Jumièges and Préaux manuscripts.

It has been shown that the distribution of this punctuation mark in the Rochester manuscript was uneven so it is worth examining the use of the circumflexus in the Jumièges and Préaux manuscripts to see if a distinction can be drawn between them. A close examination of the punctuation of just one book, Part IV, Book 19, in the two Norman manuscripts,³ reveals quite a wide variation in the placing of the mark. The punctus

1. Migne, J.P., P.L., vol. 76.

2. See p.168.

3. Rouen, b.m. 497, fos. (Jumièges) c.f. Rouen, b.m. 498, fos. 26^v-36 (Préaux). On the latter, see Dodwell, Canterbury School, p.118; Avril, "MSS bénédictins normands", t.77, pp.233 and 238; Simmonet, C., Six siècles d'enluminure, Rouen, 1973.

circumflexus occurs in many places in the Préaux manuscript but not in the Jumièges manuscript; on a few occasions the circumflexus appears in the Jumièges manuscript but not in the Préaux one. Of the former, there are three examples in the first chapter alone, one in chapter 2, one in each of chapters 12-14, two in chapter 14, three in chapter 20 and one each of chapters 23-26. The fact that two groups of this punctuation occurring in chapters 1 and 20 are entirely omitted from the Jumièges manuscript, suggests that the variations in punctuation are not the result of copying errors but of a different manuscript tradition, in which the punctuation is somewhat different, or that the Préaux scribe introduced additional marks for some reason. The first possibility is confirmed by the fact that the Jumièges manuscript contains three passages punctuated with the mark which are not so punctuated in the Préaux manuscript, namely in Books 6, 7 and 21. Furthermore, even in chapter 25, when the circumflexus appears in both manuscripts, only once is it in an identical position in the text in both manuscripts. The mark occurs at one other point in the chapter in the Préaux manuscript and at four other completely different points in the chapter in the Jumièges manuscript.

Bearing these variations in mind, it is possible to give much weight to the fact that the use of the circumflexus in the Rochester manuscript coincides almost exactly with the use of the mark in the Préaux manuscript.¹ At every point, except one, where the mark appears in the Préaux book, it also appears in the Rochester copy. One omission could easily be the result of an error of the scribe. Evidently, the relationship between the Préaux and the Rochester manuscripts is very close, closer than that between the Préaux and Jumièges manuscripts. There are, however, five occurrences of the punctus circumflexus in the Rochester manuscript which do not occur in the Préaux manuscript. This may mean that the Rochester manuscript is not copied from the Préaux manuscript but from one very like it.

Yet the Rochester and Préaux manuscripts share another feature. The Rochester manuscript was separated from the Christ Church manuscript on a second piece of evidence, that the former contains a Lanfranc gloss, which is not included in the latter. This same gloss occurs in the Préaux manuscript² and is followed there, as in the Rochester manuscript

1. B.L., Royal 6 C.vi, fos. 33^v-56.

2. Rouen, b.m. 498, f.241.

by a piece of the same genre from Isidore with the incipit:

Solennitas a sacris dicitur . . .

These similarities of content constitute strong evidence for linking the two manuscripts but paleographical evidence argues against the possibility that the Préaux manuscript was the exemplar of the Rochester, and possibly the Christ Church, manuscripts. The most important difference is that the English manuscripts are written in two columns and the Norman script is written right across the page, which is contrary to normal custom whereby the Norman manuscript would be in two columns and the English one written across the page. The illumination of the two manuscripts is rather different too. The Préaux manuscript contains initials of representations of the story of Job and the monastic life, whereas the Rochester manuscript contains distinctive initials of the story of Job, which are different from other known illustrations of this period but are closer in colouring and structure to initials in a Jumièges manuscript.¹

What then is the relationship between the Préaux and Rochester copies of the Moralia? From the correspondence between Anselm and Lanfranc, it is clear that Anselm was trying to have a copy made of the Bec manuscript and send that copy to Christ Church. The Norman manuscript was passed on to Rochester where another copy was made and then it appears that the exemplar was returned to Normandy. The similarities of content in both the Rochester and Préaux manuscripts are such that they must at least derive from a common exemplar, even if they cannot be linked directly. It is feasible that the Bec manuscript was taken to Préaux where the community made a copy for export and a copy for themselves. One copy was sent to England and copied at Christ Church and Rochester at least, but the exemplar was not kept there. Christ Church only possessed one copy of the Moralia and the extant Christ Church manuscript is a Christ Church, not a Norman product. Presumably the exemplar was returned to Normandy, to Bec or to the scriptorium where it had been written. If it was not returned to Bec, then it might be possible to identify the Préaux manuscript with the lost exemplar. Because of differences in paleography and illumination and the silence of the historical records, the Préaux manuscript can only be regarded as the closest thing to the exemplar which Anselm sent to Lanfranc, rather than the actual exemplar.

1. Dodwell, C.R., "Un manuscrit illuminé de Jumièges au B.M.", in Jumièges, Congrès scientifique du xiii centenaire, 1954, p.741.

It has now been shown how Rochester manuscripts were copied from Norman manuscripts. More than this, it has been shown that the Rochester scriptorium copied Norman exemplars directly, not at one remove, from a Christ Church exemplar based on a Norman manuscript. In the case of the Moralia the Christ Church scriptorium received a Norman exemplar then passed it on to Rochester. In the case of Gregory's Registrum, on the other hand, it seems that the manuscript came to St. Augustine's and was then passed on to the Rochester and Christ Church scriptoria. The Rochester scriptorium was not dependent only on Christ Church as a link with Normandy. And in the cases of other manuscripts, which were not copied from Christ Church, it is highly likely that the Rochester scriptorium obtained an exemplar direct from Normandy. The Rochester copy of Augustine, de Genesi, was separated from the Christ Church manuscript because it contained the circumflexus but the latter did not.¹ And the circumflexus links the manuscript with Normandy.

The proven links with Normandy all relate to manuscripts produced at Rochester before or just after 1100. Obviously, links between English and Norman houses would be closest when the monks at English houses had been professed in Normandy. The exchange of manuscripts between England and Normandy did not necessarily cease when the first generation of Norman monks in England died. The Rochester manuscript of Augustine de Genesi, a late product, is witness to the possibility of exchange of manuscripts well into the twelfth century. Exchange continued as long as Norman monks were coming to England and English monks going to Normandy. From the above discussion, it is clear that exemplars were sought from different scriptoria. No one scriptorium, least of all Bec, had a monopoly in exporting manuscripts to England.

The multiplication of manuscripts in England at the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century received its impetus from the Normans. Norman scriptoria had been active throughout the eleventh century and it was the custom to establish a scriptorium as soon as a new abbey was founded, which was a frequent occurrence in Normandy. Norman abbots and priors applied the same principle not only at Rochester and Canterbury but throughout England, establishing scriptoria in the abbeys they took over. The number of manuscripts

1. See p. 169.

copied was directly related to the accessibility of certain desirable texts, those of patristic authors. The predominance of these authors was based on Norman taste, as exhibited in Norman catalogues, and on the exemplars which Norman abbeys provided.

VII : The Rochester Monks and their books :

Scholarship at Rochester Cathedral Priory I

Life in a monastic priory modelled on Lanfranc's Constitutions was centred on the liturgy but the second most important activity was reading.¹ Even within the daily round of Offices and Masses, the monks listened to one of their brethren reading to them, something which also took place during meal-times. Thus the monks were never far from books. In addition there was much time for private reading which could include anything from learning the Psalter to studying patristic theology. Now that the development of the library has been traced, it is natural to consider how the books were used.

It is possible to learn something about the use of manuscripts by individuals in private study. For this, much material survives in the extant original writings of Rochester monks. The monastic bishops of Rochester, themselves, left behind examples of their work. The interests of Bishop Ralph are apparent in his homily for the Feast of the Assumption, formerly ascribed to Archbishop Anselm, with the incipit, 'Intravit Jesus ad quoddam castellum ...'² Bishop Ernulf was a more academic writer, whose work is now represented by two extended letters, more like treatises, one on the canon law relating to marriage and the second on the Eucharist.³ They are examples of the powerful intellects within the Rochester community, evidence of the depth of learning in a Benedictine community at the beginning of the twelfth century.

In addition to these surviving works, there are some other extant original writings by Rochester monks who have until recently been anonymous.⁴ The first of these is a group of theological treatises which exists in several manuscripts but among which the Rochester one is certainly the earliest.⁵ It is the only early manuscript, too, which contains a prologue in which the author's name is given, namely Rodulfus. Somewhat

1. MC, pp. xxxv-xxxvii

2. Wilmart, A., "Les Homélie attribuées à S. Anselme", Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire, Vol. II, 1927, pp. 1-20.

Migne, P.L., vol. 158, 644-9 and vol. 163, col. 1341-56.

3. Migne, P.L., vol. 163, 1457 and d'Achery, L., Spicilegium, 1723, vol. i, pp. 464-70.

4. Southern, R.W., "St. Anselm and his English Pupils", MARS, vol. I, 1941, pp. 1-34.

5. B.L., Royal 12 C.i.

later is another creative piece of prose, the Vita Gundulfi, written by a 'coetaneus' of Gundulf, most likely a member of Rochester priory.¹ Of the same genre, and probably also written at Rochester, is the Miracula Ythamari.² Since Ralph's works are of an earlier date than the others they represent a different stage from the hagiographical writings in the development of monastic learning at Rochester and deserve separate treatment. They will therefore be examined first in this chapter and the hagiographical works considered in a later chapter.

a. The identity of the monk Rodulfus and his writings

The identity of the monk Ralph has been a subject of dispute but the fact that he was at Rochester has never been questioned. This is because it is in a Rochester manuscript, Royal 12 C.i, that the author is identified in a short prologue inserted at the beginning of the manuscript after the work was copied.³ This prologue does not occur in the only other twelfth century manuscript, which is from St. Alban's. The Rochester manuscript differs from the St. Alban's manuscript in a second significant way, in that there are many erased passages, alterations to the text, whose original wording is still in the St. Alban's manuscript.⁴ But the St. Alban's manuscript is later than the Rochester manuscript and cannot be the exemplar of the latter. The Rochester manuscript was written first and the key to the relationship between the two manuscripts is to be found in the prologue of the Rochester one in which the author complains that his work has been copied without his permission, the implication being that it was copied before it was completed. The alterations in the Rochester manuscript must be regarded as the refinements of an author perfecting his writing, although the manuscript was not necessarily copied by his hand.

Who was a monk at Rochester named Ralph, who was of such repute that his works were copied before he had finished what he was writing? There are two possible candidates,

1. ed. Thomson, R., The Life of Gundulf, 1977.

2. Bethell, D., "The Miracles of St. Ithamar", Analecta Bollandiana, vol. 89, 1971, pp.421-37.

3. B.L., Royal 12 C.i, f.2^v c.f. Oxford, Bodleian, Laud misc. 363. Henceforward, Royal 12 C.i and Laud misc. 363.

4. e.g. Royal 12 C.i, f.7^v c.f. Laud misc. 363, f.4^v; f.21^v c.f. f.10.

Ralph d'Escures, Bishop of Rochester 1108-1114, and Ralph, prior of Rochester until 1107, when he was appointed abbot of Battle. Both men, as well as being connected with Rochester, were associated with Anselm on whose writings these treatises are based. Yet there are three reasons for discounting Ralph d'Escures. First, the description of the author as a monk, although Ralph d'Escures' link with Rochester was probably entirely as bishop. He did not come to England until 1100 when he fled from his abbacy at Sées¹ and between that date and his appointment at Rochester, he appears to have wandered from house to house although acquaintance with Anselm would have enabled him to stay at Canterbury.² But once he became bishop of Rochester, the community was happy to be associated with him, all the more so once he transferred to the archiepiscopal see at Canterbury, one of the few examples in the whole history of Rochester of such a promotion. If Ralph d'Escures was indeed the author of the treatises, it is strange that his office was not mentioned, or added at a later date. Second, there is no evidence that Ralph d'Escures wrote creatively at any length, for all that he was a learned man. He appears to have devoted his energies to homilies and administration.³ Moreover, and this is the third point, the style of writing in the homily is completely different from that of these treatises. The author of the homily is confident, perhaps over-confident, in drawing allegories from his text and arguing about grammatical points whereas the author of the treatises writes in a taut style and rarely draws allegories, and when he does, they are based on St. Augustine and are not his own.

On the other hand there is much positive evidence in favour of Ralph of Battle. He had established his reputation at Rochester so he must have been there for some years before his promotion to the prestige position at Battle in 1107. He had long been associated with Lanfranc and had known Anselm. According to the Vita Lanfranci, which is not very reliable, being written after Ralph's death, he commenced wearing the habit at Bec⁴ but did not make his profession until after his move with Lanfranc to Caen. It

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1. O.V., vol. IV, pp.168-70 Hic litteris admodum fuit imbutus, eloquens et iocundus, ideoque amabilis omnibus.
 2. Epp. Anselmi, no. 145 and no. 175.
 3. Migne, P.L., 158, 644-9 (homily) and P.L., 163, col. 1341-56.
 4. Lanfranci Opera Omnia, ed. J. Giles, 1844, p.290.

seems likely that the Vita is correct on this point for such a loyal Bec author would not have missed a claim in favour of Bec had there been the possibility of Ralph being professed there, and although there are several monks named Rodulfus in the list of Bec professions, none are entitled abbot, although in other cases Bec monks who later held office are noted.¹ The unreliability of the Vita Lanfranci on a matter which might be a claim to fame renders the statement that Ralph was Prior of Caen dubious. There must have been many monks at Caen senior to Ralph who were qualified to be Lanfranc's prior.² A monk Rodulfus did become prior of Caen but it seems unlikely that he is to be identified with Ralph of Rochester and Battle.

Anselm addresses three letters to Ralph at Caen,³ two of which may be to Ralph, the prior, and one which is to a different individual, an expert in music, to whom Anselm writes in a more formal tone than in the other two letters. Of the first two, one concerns the loan of books but the other is Anselm's reply to the desire previously expressed by Ralph to stay with Anselm at Bec. This is rather uncharacteristic of a prior but probably quite common among newly professed monks. Anselm's letter should not therefore be linked to Prior Ralph but to a recently moved, newly professed monk at Caen, named Ralph, who can be identified with Ralph, prior of Rochester and abbot of Battle.

Just as Ralph had moved with Lanfranc to Caen, so he appears to have moved with Lanfranc to England. In the account of the acquisition of Falchenham in the Textus, it is recorded that Rodulfus, a monk of Caen and now chaplain of Lanfranc, was sent to Normandy to put the case of the archbishop against Odo of Bayeux.⁴ This was good practice for Ralph for the later disputes about land when abbot at Battle.⁵ This must have been circa 1075 but what he did between then and becoming prior of Rochester is not known. He was at Rochester long enough to have been considered a likely candidate for the bishopric on the death of Gundulf.

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1. Porée, A.A., Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec, t.1, 1901, p.629.
 2. e.g. Gundulf, who moved with Lanfranc to Caen and was the latter's coadjutor, V.G., 9.
 3. Epp. Anselmi, 12,13,29
 4. Textus, f.173
 5. Searle, E., ed., The Chronicle of Battle Abbey, 1980, p.118.

In addition to the evidence of long standing relationship with Lanfranc and Anselm, several contemporaries provide testimony that he engaged in writing, and study. Orderic Vitalis records that:¹

studioque sanctitatis et salutaris doctrinae sibi multisque coessentibus
prodesse satagit. et bona in senectute spiritualibus studiis fervidus
adhuc insistit.

And the Battle chronicler gives even more praise to Ralph on this aspect of his work:²

Factus est et spiritualis agricola vomere doctrinae multorum quos scripsit
librorum corda terrena excolens ad boni operis frugem humili quidem stilo
sed sensu moralitatis foecundo ea vocans.

It may be that Ralph was more prolific at Battle than at Rochester since his activities are mentioned by the writer there but not among Rochester sources. The fact that the earliest manuscript of his writings and one which contains author's corrections is from Rochester, is clear proof that he did engage in original work there.

To the writings designated as his in the Rochester manuscript have been added a further series of a similar nature which were copied into the slightly later manuscript from St. Alban's at the same time as the first series. It can be established that all the pieces are by the same author by comparing their style and content. His works are of three types: theological treatises, meditations and dialogues with unbelievers. Only the theological treatises are in the Rochester manuscript:³

1. De peccatore qui desperat, a dialogue between Peccator and Ratio, Ff. 2^v-61.
2. Quod sint octo quae observantes monachi, Ff. 61^v-66.
3. Fides exposita de veritate corporis et sanguinis domini, Ff. 66-70.
4. De perpetua virginitate S. Mariae, Ff. 70-73^v.
5. Meditatio cuiusdam Christiani de fide, Ff. 74^v-92^v.
6. De hoc quod dicitur quia spiritus sanctus amor est et de processione eius a patre et filio, Ff. 92^v-94.

1. O.V., vol. II, p.192.

2. Searle, E., The Chronicle of Battle Abbey, 1980, p.118.

3. c.f. Farmer, D.H., "Ralph's Octo Puncta of Monastic Life", Studia Monastica, vol. 11 1968, p.22 De creatore et creatura, the meditations and two dialogues are not in the Rochester manuscript but are in the St. Alban's copy.

7. Quare Deus hominem fecit quem peccatum esse prescivit, Ff. 94^v-99^v.

In addition to these treatises are several paragraphs on miscellaneous subjects of a theological nature, including:

Ff. 73 ^v -74	De similitudine candelae
Ff. 99 ^v -100	De paradiso et inferno
Ff. 100	Sententia B. Ieronimi de libero arbitrio de expositione epistolae ad Philemonem
Ff. 100-101	Sententia B. Ieronimi in expositione epistolae ad Titum
Ff. 101-104	Quid existiment quidam ex occasione huius expositionis B. Ieronimi
Ff. 104-107	Fides exposita quomodo credatur unus deus trinitas et trinitas unus deus.
Ff. 107-111	De creatura quam unus deus trinitas fecit quando ei placuit et quia filius dei in sua propria persona pro redemptione hominis carnem suscepit.
Ff. 111-112 ^v	Quid dicere sit dei et quia quemadmodum verbo dei facta est creatura ita eodem verbo facta caro fit panis et vinum eiusdem verbi caro et sanguis in celebratione missae.

All these are also found in the St. Alban's manuscript which contains, in addition, twelve meditations formerly attributed to St. Anselm, and printed in Migne under meditationes 19 and 5, oratio 3, meditatio 4, oratio 4, oratio 6, meditatio 6, orationes 25-28, and oratio 15. After these come two dialogues with unbelievers on the necessity of faith:

1. Libellus de nesciente et sciente
2. Libellus de inquirente et respondente

Deferring consideration of the meditations, it may first be established that the theological treatises occurring in both manuscripts and the dialogues of the St. Alban's manuscript only are by the same author, Ralph. The treatises and dialogues share the same approach, following a plan which has been described as Anselmian.¹ All are permeated with the attitude that faith is consistent with reason and that it is impossible to understand the universe following reason except with reference to faith which is in itself

1. Southern, R.W., "St. Anselm and his English Pupils", MARS, I, 1941, pp. 14-15.

reasonable. In the Meditatio cuiusdam Christiani de fide, he writes in his introduction:

Quamvis enim omnia credamus que de illo nobis illa Scriptura precepit credere, de qua nulli Christiano omnino fas est dubitare: tamen quodammodo dulcius nobis est, si ea ipsa que credimus, quod ita sint nec aliter esse possint nisi sicut fides docet, rationabiliter intelligere possumus. 1

This emphasis on the reasonableness of faith is the necessary concomitant of that which distinguishes man from beasts, his reasoning faculty, according to *Sciens*, in the first dialogue with unbelievers. It is the characteristic in which man most closely resembles God. The same view is put forward in the first treatise in the Rochester manuscript:

Qui enim secundum rationem vivunt, recte incedunt et recta via si cum ratione semper se tenent, perveniunt ad societatem sanctorum qui rationabiliter vivere curaverunt. 2

The insistence that the world is organised in the best possible way and that it is impossible to think of it being organised differently is a fundamental aspect of Anselmian thought as developed in the Proslogion and Cur Deus Homo.³ Similarly, the presumption that the right way to live is the way of reason echoes Anselm, too.

The closest parallels between the two series of works are found in the Meditatio cuiusdam Christiani de Fide which is in both the Rochester and St. Alban's manuscripts, and the dialogue between *Nesciens* and *Sciens*, which is in the latter but not in the former. The meditation on what a Christian believes according to both faith and reason is a key work because it contains many of the ideas which are found in the rest of the Ralph corpus. The emphasis on the reasoning in man and God has already been quoted. Thinking of God as 'summa ratio' and man as having received the gift of reasoning, the author attempts to establish that what he believes is in accordance with reason and what it is necessary to believe.⁴ He defines faith in Pauline terms, 'Fides est sperandarum substantiarum rerum', and separates things which are invisible from those which are visible.⁵ He then sets out in Anselmian manner to derive the whole of Christian belief from the starting point that God

1. Royal 12 C. i, f.74^v quoted by Professor R.W. Southern in op. cit., MARS I, 1941.

2. Royal 12 C. i, f.26

3. Proslogion, ch. 4 c.f. Cur Deus Homo, I, 1 and II, 17.

4. Royal 12 C. i, f.75

5. Royal 12 C. i, f.75^v

created the world.¹ He considers first the timing and purpose of Creation and the Trinity. Returning to his original premise that man is a reasoning being, he declares that this is a characteristic shared by men and angels which is a reflection of God.² Then there is some discussion of the wicked angels and the relationship between the expulsion of the devil from heaven and the creation of man.³ Man failed to fulfil the role God had planned for him because he ate of the tree of Knowledge. This event, the Fall of Man, did not arise out of necessity but resulted from Man's free will.⁴ After the Fall, however, it was only possible for a sinless man to give satisfaction for sin. Such a man did not exist. That God should become flesh was the 'utilius et honestius' method of restoring man.⁵ The end of the treatise describes the birth, resurrection and ascension of Christ and tries to evaluate the importance of the Passion.⁶ In these few folios, Ralph briefly states the essence of Christian belief. And he does it by starting from the single premise that God is the highest reason who created man in his image as a reasoning being.

In a similar way the dialogues with unbelievers, found only in the St. Alban's manuscript, are attempts to establish the validity of the Christian faith on the basis of reason. Since the argument is with an unbeliever, the starting point is the position of the unbeliever, who will not believe anything except that which he sees. He is easily driven to acknowledge the evidence of the other senses, then of an understanding by which he has knowledge. The final step is to acknowledge a vital principle within him, proof of life, which is incorporeal and invisible.⁷ Once this is established, it is easy to prove the existence of a first Cause and a vivifying principle in the world itself, using the argument from effect to cause to a first cause and the analogy with the human soul.⁸ The author then examines a crucial issue, the status and destiny of the human soul. This is distinguished from the soul of beasts by its perception of right and wrong. Because it is rational, it cannot die and if it lives by reason, will enter the community of saints who have all tried to live by reason.⁹

Having established all these things by reason, the author turns to a discussion of the value of faith.¹⁰ This is established by referring to its use in daily life and by making a

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1. Royal 12 C.i, f.77^v-81 c.f. Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo*, I, 1-4.
 2. Royal 12 C.i, f.81-82 3. Royal 12 C.i, f.82^v-84 4. Royal 12 C.i, f.84^v
 5. Royal 12 C.i, f.86 6. Royal 12 C.i, f.86^v-92
 7. Laud misc. 363, f.78-80. See Southern, R.W., *MARS*, I, 1941, pp.15-17.
 8. Laud misc. 363, f.80-81 9. Laud misc. 363, f.81-89
 10. Laud misc. 363, f.90-95

connection between the objects of faith and the objects of perception which leads to a complete identification of the process of knowing by faith and knowing through the senses. After some further explanations of the difference between the 'summa essentia' and other essences, Sciens has now reached the limit to which he can go by reason. He has proved the necessity for, and the existence of faith.

The rest of the book, two thirds, is restricted to an account of the True Faith.¹ The author starts to go through the Old Testament explaining the significance of crucial events, such as the Fall, the Flood, Abraham and Isaac, all of which explanations derive from Augustine. The unbeliever is made to ask questions which the author can easily answer following Augustine, and these degenerate into questions more typical of a Christian than an unbeliever including inquiries about angels, the second coming, the Eucharist, confession and seeking ecclesiastical office. And there is some consideration of the meaning of the Passion. It would appear in the latter part of the treatise Ralph is filling out the traces of his thought which he had made in the Meditatio.

Certainly there are several passages in the separate works which are almost identical. These are important not only in establishing that the treatises and dialogues were written by the same man but also in showing that Ralph had formulated his ideas before he left Rochester. Both works commence from the same premise, the Pauline definition of faith, from which the author argues that the process of knowing by the senses and knowing through faith are to be identified. In the Meditatio he wrote:²

Fidem vero vocat sperandarum substantiam rerum quia tam certi sumus eas res esse venturas de quibus credimus quam certi sumus de qualibet substantia quam coram positi oculis cernimus et palpate possumus.

And in the dialogue, similarly,³

Fides est substantia rerum non apparentium sicut dicit apostolus id est rerum quae non videntur sed tantum audiuntur; et dicitur: fides eo quod fiat, id est verum sit quod creditur.

1. Laud misc. 363, f.95 onwards, c.f. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, Bk. XI, XII, XIII, C.C., vol. lxxvii, 1955.

2. Royal 12 C.i, f.76.

3. Laud misc. 363, f.90. Also, Laud misc. 363, f.34^v and Royal 12 C.i, f.75^v.

'Fides est sperandarum substantia rerum non propterea de preteritis quae iam christus operatus est tacuit et de futuris quae eum operaturum esse speramus dixit ...'

c.f. Isidore, Orig. 8,24. Fides est qua veraciter credimus id quod nequaquam videre valemus

and Nomen fidei inde est dictum si omnino fiat quod dictum est aut promissum ...

In the account of the faith, both treatise and dialogue start from Creation asserting that God is beyond time and that he created the world out of nothing, not even his own substance.

Si quis quaerat a me unde vel propter quid deus creaturam fecerit, quia antequam eam faceret non erat nisi ipse, respondeo: de nichilo, non de se ipso id est de substantia sua

he writes in the Meditatio,¹ which can be compared with this passage from the dialogue:²

Credimus unum deum esse, et nullum alium praeter illum, quia omnia quae facta sunt creavit de nichilo; et quia sit aeternus deus nullum scilicet habens principium sua beatitudine sibi omnino sufficiens.

This evidence of parallel passages in the longest works of the corpus can be supplemented with examples of passages in the Rochester manuscript which are repeated verbatim in the dialogues of the St. Alban's manuscript. The former contains a series of excerpts from patristic authors on various subjects, probably notes taken in preparation for writing. Several of these excerpts recur in the dialogues with unbelievers, the most striking being a quotation from Jerome on the timing of Creation which occurs as an excerpt in the Rochester manuscript and is incorporated in the dialogue between Nesciens and Sciens in the later St. Alban's one.³

Ex quo inquit iuxta historiam geneseos: factus est mundus et per vices noctium ac dierum et mensium pariter et annorum tempora constituta sunt in hoc curriculo et rota mundi tempora labuntur et veniunt . . . in quibus angeli, throni, dominationes, caeteraeque virtutes servierint deo at absque temporum vicibus atque mensuris deo iubente substiterint.

1. Royal 12 C.i, f.77^v

2. Laud misc. 363, f.95^v

3. Royal 12 C.i, f.100^v, and Laud. misc. f.96^v c.f. Jerome, ed. Migne, P.L., vol. 26, col. 559.

These passages¹ are the strongest evidence that the author of the theological works in the Rochester manuscript also wrote the dialogues in the St. Alban's manuscript. Since that author is now established as Ralph, the fact that these excerpts appear in the Rochester manuscript shows that Ralph's ideas were first developed at Rochester, rather than later at Battle.

What do these extracts and completed works reveal about the literary sources available at Rochester at the time when Ralph was writing, that is, before 1107? Naturally, the authority which Ralph quotes most frequently is the Bible, particularly the Psalms, with which he would be very familiar after years of reciting the monastic office, and also the New Testament. Much of Ralph's thought follows St. Augustine but it is difficult to prove that he had the works of this author by him while he was writing. The emphasis on free will, the argument for the existence of God from a First Cause, and the stress on God as an all-

1. Other excerpts made by Ralph which are included in his writings are:-

Royal 12 C.i, f.94^V-99 sed tamen utrunque esse credo et praescientiam futurorum scilicet deum scire omnia que futura sunt et liberum arbitrium quo faciamus quod volumus et non faciamus quod nolumus ... Religiosus itaque animus utrunque eligit, utrunque confitetur, et fide pietatis utrunque confirmat, et deum scire omnia antequam fiant, et voluntate nos facere quicquid a nobis non nisi volentibus fieri sentimus et novimus.

Laud misc. 363, f.102 Porro si ille qui praescivit quid futurum esset in nostra voluntate non utique nichil sed aliquid praescivit.^V profecto et illo praesciente est aliquid in nostra voluntate. Quocirco nullomodo cogimur aut retenta praescientia dei tollere voluntatis arbitrium aut retento voluntatis arbitrio deum quod nefas est praescium futurorum

Royal 12 C.i, f.22^V In hoc et enim homo similis deo dicitur esse, qui non necessitate sed voluntate bonus est, ut quomodo deus voluntate sua non necessitate bonus est, ita homo qui ad similitudinem dei factus est voluntate sua non necessitate bonus sit ...

Laud misc. Jeronimus f.47 Si enim deus voluntarie et non ex necessitate bonus est, debuit hominem faciens ad suam imaginem et similitudinem facere, hoc est ut ipse voluntariae et non ex necessitate bonus esset.

Royal 12 C.i, f.70-73^V Exire autem verbum de patre, fuit carnem sumere. Verbum ero patris scilicet dei filius totus in patre totus in virgine et ad nos totus venit; et apud patrem totus remansit et quem non poteramus videre quia erat verbum vidimus propter nos hominem factum.

c.f. Laud misc. 373, f.123 non est verum quod dicitis quod christus non fuisset ante mariam virginem qui in principio id est antequam creatura fuisset quae principium habet verbum erat, et apud deum erat et deus verbum erat et hoc verbum caro factum est et ideo quia verbum erat ante mariam fuit quam et sibi ut mater esset in fine seculorum, ante secula praeparavit quia vero caro factum verbum et habitavit in nobis secundum hoc ex maria initium habuit.

powerful Creator are themes of Augustine. Ralph only refers explicitly, however, to the De Civitate Dei, De Trinitate and contra Faustum and all but one of these explicit references occur in the dialogues with unbelievers, written after Ralph had left Rochester. Unfortunately, none of the Rochester manuscripts of these texts, which are all extant,¹ are annotated at the points where Ralph draws a quotation. This is not surprising since the script of these manuscripts suggests that they were written after 1107. The one explicit reference to Augustine in the works written by Ralph at Rochester is from De Trinitate² so it may be that this one text was acquired at this early date or it is possible that Ralph looked up the text elsewhere, for example, at Canterbury.

Ralph also cites Gregory the Great but, again, the text from which he draws the quotation, the Moralia, is not annotated. In this case, Ralph does not quote accurately but paraphrases the original, possibly relying on his memory of the Scripture which is central to the quotation. Speaking of the monastic life, he writes:³

tunc nullum enim modo eis in hac re obediendum est quia, sicut beatus Gregorius dicit, malum per obedientiam numquam debet fieri.

This compares with Book XXXV, chapter 14 of the Moralia, where Gregory comments on Job 42, verse 9:

Sciendum vero est quod nunquam per obedientiam malum fieri aliquando autem debet per obedientiam bonum quod agitur, intermitteri.

In his Meditatio, Ralph cites as Gregory's opinion that the number of fallen angels equals the number of angels still in heaven but although there are many references to angels in Gregory's writings a passage corresponding with Ralph's quotation has not yet been identified.⁴

In contrast to these paraphrases where Ralph is probably quoting from memory, stand the passages, noted above, which are extracts taken verbatim from Jerome's commentary on

1. Royal 5 D. ix, Royal 5 B. iv, Royal 5 B. x.
2. Royal 12 C. i, f. 80 c.f. Augustine, De Trinitate, Book 15.
3. Royal 12 C. i, f. 61^v. I owe this reference to D. H. Farmer, "Ralph's Octo Puncta of the Monastic Life", Studia Monastica, vol. II, 1969, p. 26.
4. Royal 12 C. i, f. 82^v c.f. P.L., vol. 75 and 76, col. 1601, 542, 110, 1121, 884, 1073 c.f. Rochester manuscripts Royal 3 C. iv, Royal 6 C. vi.

Paul's letters to Titus and Philemon.¹ Evidently, Ralph did have this text in front of him when he wrote down these passages. Again, though, there is no sign of annotation at the appropriate place in the extant Rochester manuscript of this text and the script is exceptionally good if it was produced before Ralph left the priory in 1107. This commentary is one of the more unusual texts in the possession of Rochester priory so it may well have been copied at Ralph's individual request, if it was produced too late for him to handle personally.

The only other authors used by Ralph are Isidore and Cassian. In the Meditatio he acknowledges Isidore as his source on the Trinity.² This is a short quotation which may have been gleaned from a florilegium. There is no work by Isidore specifically on the Trinity. There were a few of his works in the first Rochester library, his catalogue of great men and his commentary on Genesis but this quotation does not occur in any of these. It seems unlikely that Ralph had read the texts of Isidore from the Rochester library to produce this reference. In the dialogue between Peccator and Ratio, Ralph tells the tale of the obedient disciple of a hermit who walked three miles daily to fetch water to pour on a dried up plant which eventually miraculously bore fruit.³ Ralph has summarised this story, which is found in several different authorities with slight variations. He is not quoting directly from the text but probably recounting the tale from memory, having heard it himself many times before.

Thus, it has been impossible to link Ralph's sources with any specific Rochester manuscript from Catalogue I. It is clear that Ralph was familiar with the teachings of the Fathers but it is not established that he diligently read the patristic works for himself. As he was writing before most of the manuscripts were copied, either he cited authors from memory or borrowed manuscripts, possibly from Canterbury, as he required them. It is highly likely that he encouraged the priory to acquire the patristic works which became the core of the library. Patristic works were generally sought after during this period and Ralph's taste is not unusual in this respect but one possible example of his influence as an individual is the presence in Catalogue I of Jerome's commentary on Paul's letters to Titus and Philemon.

1. Royal 12 C.i, f.100-101, c.f. Royal 3 B.i.

2. Royal 12 C.i, f.80

3. Royal 12 C.i, f.48, c.f. Cassian, De Institutis Coenobiorum, Book IV, C.S.E.L., vol. XVII, 1888, p.63.

So far, we have only considered the ancient authorities to which Ralph referred. A more fruitful line of enquiry lies in the relation between Ralph and more recent authors. Among the books listed in Catalogue I are the works of Ralph's teachers, Lanfranc and Anselm, including Lanfranc's, contra Berengarium, and his Consuetudines and letters, and Anselm's writings on the Virgin and his Cur Deus Homo. Ralph wrote pieces on all the topics covered by these works¹ and had evidently read them, to judge from the way he closely follows them. Thus, in his brief discussion of the Eucharist, Ralph describes the transformation of the bread and wine, using the term 'essence', as Lanfranc had done:²

Credo quod panis et vinum, quae praeparantur a sacerdote super altare ad conficiendum corpus et sanguinem domini post consecrationem ab eodem sacerdote, factam et post verba domini super ipsa oblata ab eodem dicta, id quod erat ante istam consecrationem et ante ista verba essentialiter panis at vinum, post istam consecrationem et post ista verba essentialiter sunt corpus et sanguinis domini nostri Jesu Christi, mutata omnino sua priori essentia, et si non mutato suo priori colore ac sapore.

This is comparable to Lanfranc's view that:³

Credimus igitur terrenas substantias quae in mensa dominica per sacerdotale mysterium divinitus sanctificantur, ineffabiliter, incomprehensibiliter, mirabiliter operante superna potentia, converti in essentiam dominici corporis, reservatis ipsarum rerum speciebus et quibusdam aliis qualitatibus ne percipientes cruda et cruenta horrerent, et ut credentes fidei praemia ampliora perciperent ...

Evidence of reference to Anselm's work is much stronger throughout Ralph's works, both the dialogues and the meditations. The influence of Anselm is thus central in an assessment of monastic culture at Rochester as well as shedding light on how Anselm's work was received by his contemporaries. It is therefore worth examining Ralph's works in more depth, in relation to Anselm's, concentrating particularly on the major work which was written at Rochester, the dialogue between Peccator and Ratio. In this way, Ralph's method of working will become clearer and the nature of monastic scholarship at Rochester will be established.

1. See pp.212-13.

2. Royal 12 C. i, f.66

3. Gibson, M. T., Lanfranc of Bec, 1978, p.89 (c.f. Berengar's oath of 1079 to prove his orthodoxy, ibid., p.95)

b. The Dialogue between Peccator and Ratio

The starting point of Ralph's discussion is the burden of sin which so weighs down the sinner that he has lost sight of the possibility of salvation:¹

Haec sunt quae me desperare faciunt quia plusquam dici possit horribilia sunt. Foetorem enim eorum ego ipse qui haec eadem operatus sum vix ferre possum.

Peccator receives assurance from Ratio that no sin is too great for God's forgiveness as long as one repents of the sin. Peccator is not convinced by this assurance because his sins are so numerous and grave but he is prepared to believe in the omnipotence of God. Ratio is relieved by this and explains that if he can believe in God's omnipotence, he can believe that God is able to save the worst sinner:²

Si ergo quia deus omnipotens sit vere credis, tunc sine dubio credere debes quia quaecumque vult facit Potest ergo si vult omnes infirmitates tuas ad integrum sanare, et festinanter de omnibus languoribus tuis quibus tam fortiter gravaris si ei placet liberare.

Believing this, Peccator cannot fall into total despair and the unforgivable sin of blasphemy of the spirit. Ratio is now able to encourage Peccator by introducing the main theme of the work, that God wishes to save all men, an argument based on a quotation from Paul's letter to Timothy:³

Vides autem et bene intelligis quod deus, quia omnipotens est quicquid vult facit, et quod omnes homines vult salvos fieri.

This is a most unusual choice of text, hardly quoted by patristic authorities and not cited by Anselm in any of his theological writings. Out of context, it might be understood in such a way as to undermine Anselm's concept of Christ's death as a full and necessary satisfaction for sin.

Peccator makes several objections to this statement, objections which reflect those of contemporaries. First, how can an all-powerful and just God forgive such grave sins

1. Royal 12 C. i, f. 3

2. Royal 12 C. i, f. 7

3. Royal 12 C. i, f. 9^v

when he is supposed to render to each according to his deeds? Peccator feels that he will never be able to counter the weight of sins against him. Besides, God hates even one sin so how can he possibly tolerate the many sins Peccator has committed? Peccator himself must be beyond God's desire to forgive sin. This is the heart of the problem which Ratio clearly grasps but at this stage he cleverly turns the questions back on Peccator. If God is all-powerful, why is he not able to save a sinner? Secondly, if God demands a satisfaction which a sinner cannot make, isn't God unjust? Peccator is confounded. Ratio, after a long discourse on the impossibility of a sinner making satisfaction to God, states that what is impossible for man, is possible for God. Furthermore, God saves those he wishes to save but does not save those he does not wish to save because he cannot do what he does not wish, because he ought not to:¹

Item quod Deus omnes homines vult salvos fieri de quibus tamen certum est non omnes salvos fieri; sic solet a quibusdam exponi: quod deus omnes illos salvos fieri velit quos ei certum est ita vivere ut mereantur salvari, et omnes quos vult salvari . . . salvare potest quia omnipotens est; illos vero quos non vult salvare non potest salvare, quod ideo non potest salvare. quod ideo non potest quia non debet et quia non debet non potest.

The issues raised in the first book are probed more deeply in the following one. Ratio is asked to explain more fully why it is that not all men are saved. In order to do this he first considers the assumptions in his argument. He shows that to have the good for which he was created, man must choose that good for himself. He also makes a short digression into the nature of God's power: God wishes, is able and ought. Given his premises, Ratio can extend the meaning of the text to argue that God wishes and is able to save all men, but if men themselves do not care for salvation, God does not wish to save them, and is not able to do so, because he ought not to do so. Men are not damned because God wishes their death, but because they have not chosen to love God:²

non illos deus damnat, qui 'non vult mortem peccatoris' sed ipsi se damnant qui voluntate sua bonitatem dei quam eis deus gratis offert non amant.

There follows a close argument in the interpretation of the text in the letter to Timothy. Ralph differs from his contemporaries who thought that only those who deserved salvation

1. Royal 12 C.i, f.17^y

2. Royal 12 C.i, f.25 Ez. 23.11.

were in fact saved. This, says Ralph, contradicts the insertion of 'omnes' in the verse. There is no point in the insertion if the people who are saved are in fact restricted by some sort of condition made by God.

Peccator accepts that but is still unclear how he can be reconciled with God since his sins are grave and he cannot give God the congruent satisfaction. Ratio replies that the sinner makes the satisfaction in God, the Son of God who assumed flesh for our sins. He then repeats the call to repentance saying that as by sinning, Peccator offended ('extulit') God, so in humbling himself beneath the feet of him whom he dishonoured, he must recognise that he is worthy of damnation but for the mercy of his creator.¹ He does not make it clear, though, as Peccator points out, how it is that because of the Incarnation the sinner is freed from the guilt of damnation incurred through sin. Ratio does not fully answer this question but resorts to emphasising God's desire to save man and the only way this could be done was through a sinless man, which necessitated the Incarnation of the Son of God.² After a long exposition of this theme, Peccator seems convinced, but has one last question on a traditional subject, the justice and mercy of God.³ To a traditional question comes a traditional answer: castigation is not without mercy and always includes justice. In the context of true confession, God forgives because he is merciful but that mercy is not without justice. He judges rightly that he should be merciful to a sinner who wounds himself in penitence. Ratio ends with an injunction that the sinner will find mercy when he does good works, for then mercy is able to free him justly.

This is a convenient lead into the theme of the third book which is concerned with the practical application of the above theology in the life of the monk, which is thought to be the best and easiest, though not the only, way to be saved. Monastic life gives the best opportunity to amend one's life. The temptations of the monastic life are now the main focus of attention. Those mentioned include withholding confession, desire to leave the monastery, loss of concentration during prayer and psalm singing.⁴ The discussion finally moves on to the most difficult task of all for a monk, the acquisition of humility.⁵

1. Royal 12 C.i, f.27^v

3. Royal 12 C.i, f.29^v-35^v

5. Royal 12 C.i, f.42-54

2. Royal 12 C.i, f.27^v-29^v

4. Royal 12 C.i, f.37^v-40

This is a complex discussion revealing of a monk's attitudes, but not high-powered theology. Eventually, it gives way to the final issue that the demands made on monks are identical to those made on all Christians and it is pointed out that it is much easier to meet these demands in a monastic community than elsewhere:¹

Est itaque magnus ordo monachorum et quicumque illum suscipit et custodit sicut rectum est et ordo exigit, nullam vitam in hoc saeculo arripere potest quae tam cito ducat eum ad celsitudinem perfectionis. Non autem hoc ideo dicimus ut sine istis indumentis, quibus utuntur illi qui vocantur monachi, non possit recta paenitentia et Deo acceptabilis fieri, sicut multi faciunt qui adhuc in saeculo sunt, sed quia qui hunc habitum suscipiunt partim propter distictionem ordinis, partim propter verecundiam saeculi non tam facile possint ad peccatum et ad vanitatem redire in hoc ordine quam si adhuc conversarentur inter illos quos quotidie vident ad malum et ad peccatum intentos esse.

The practice of taking the habit when death approaches is to be commended as a sign of intention and recognition of the perfection attainable in the monastic life.

In the course of his discussion, Ralph examines in detail several of Anselm's ideas and touches on many points raised by Anselm. The author himself provides evidence that his writing is based on recent work. When he embarks on close criticism of the meaning of the text 'Deus vult omnes homines salvari', he states that 'Exponitur autem hoc ita a quibusdam qui has quasi diversas sententias hoc modo concordant',² which appears to be a reference to the method of exegesis in the schools whereby one text was balanced against another to arrive at the truth. More significant is his prefatory remark to his discussion of why it is impossible for the sinner to make satisfaction to God:³ 'sic a quibusdam exponitur, quorum non spernendus esse intellectus videtur'. Ralph seems to be on the defensive here, as if he has drawn his inspiration from authors who lack the authority of antiquity. The great minds to whom he refers are evidently modern scholars, perhaps specifically Anselm. The similarity of Ralph's views to those of Anselm may, of course, be due to the fact that the two authors focus on the same topic, the value of the Incarnation, a subject which was

1. Royal 12 C. i, f. 54^v-61^v

2. Royal 12 C. i, f. 22

3. Royal 12 C. i, f. 13^v

current too in the schools. But there are many ideas which Ralph and Anselm share which could only have been derived from Anselm and some of which are evidence that Ralph had access when he was writing, to a copy of Anselm's Cur Deus Homo.

The first similarity between Ralph and Anselm, which distinguishes them from their contemporaries, is the concept that sin and the necessity for the Incarnation was primarily about man's relationship to God with the devil in a subsidiary role. The idea that sin dishonours God was central to Anselm's thought and is most clearly expressed in Book XI of Cur Deus Homo:²

Hunc honorem debitum qui Deo non reddit, aufert Deo quod suum est, et Deum exhonorat; et hoc est peccare.

Ralph virtually repeats this definition:³

Omne vero peccatum, etiam vel minimum, exhonorat deum. Exhonorare vero deum, est suum honorem ei tollere. Qui itaque peccat, deum exhonorat.

He has clearly grasped Anselm's argument that through sin, the sinner affects God without diminishing him. Furthermore, he acknowledges God's right to require satisfaction, a satisfaction, though, of which the sinner is incapable:⁴

sed dum ad iniquitates meas quas tam diu operatus sum respicio et deo quem offensum habeo non sine congrua satisfactione me reconciliandum esse intelligo, nec me ad satisfaciendum pro tantis iniquitatibus quas operatus sum potentem video.

This definition of sin in Ralph comes after much agonising over the gravity of sin. Anselm had argued that even the least sin dishonours God and it is not worth committing anything against God's will even were the whole universe to be saved from destruction by a simple action which is in itself harmless.⁵ Ralph is not so vivid in his argument but he can imagine that God sees every detail of his actions.⁶

sed quomodo michi certum sit quod ipse me velit salvare, cuius peccata tam districte vult examinare, qui nullum de peccatis meis sine vindicta patitur remanere de quibus certus sum quod nullo modo vel de uno etiam parvissimo possim satisfacere.

1. On the devil as a side issue, see p. 229.

2. Schmitt, F.S., ed., Anselmi Opera Omnia, vol. II, Cur Deus Homo, Bk. I, ch. 11, 1946 p. 68. Henceforward C.D.H.

3. Royal 12 C.i, f.13. See also:-

F.14^v Sed hanc rectitudinem impossibile est peccatori deo persolvere, quem in aeternum quantum ad se probatus exhonorasse. Si ergo aliquando peccator a peccatis resipiscens deo quem sic exhonoravit plenam rectitudinem curat offerre de iniuria et tortitudine quem ei facit, nonne tibi rectum videtur ut perpetuis subiciatur tormentis pro tanta temeritate et iniuria qua sic eum exhonoravit?

f.27 Peccator ergo quando peccat, quantum ad se sicut ostensum est deum in aeternum exhonorat, et ideo pro tanta contumelia quam deo facit, recte decernitur esse prociendus in aeternis tormentis.

4. Royal 12 C.i, f.8^v

5. C.D.H., Book I, ch.21

6. Royal 12 C.i, f.11. See also f.8^v.

This echoes a passage in Cur Deus Homo when Anselm imagines being face to face with God:¹

Sic graviter peccamus quotienscumque scienter aliquid quamlibet parvum contra voluntatem Dei facimus, quoniam semper sumus in conspectu eius, et semper ipse praecepit nobis ne peccemus.

Moreover, for both authors, sin is serious because it not only affects the relationship between the individual and God, but also disrupts the whole universe. Anselm devotes a whole chapter to this concept:²

Cum vero non vult quod debet, Deum, quantum ad illam pertinet, inhonorat; quoniam non se sponte subdit illius dispositioni, et universitatis ordinem et pulchritudinem, quantum in se est, perturbat, licet potestatem aut dignitatem Dei nullatenus laedat aut decoloret.

Ralph merely mentions the idea but it is sufficient to show that he was familiar with Anselm's views:³

Peccator, inquit, quando peccat, deum et quicquid a deo creatum est adversum se ad iram provocat.

Ralph follows Anselm, too, in his views on the impossibility of the sinner making satisfaction to God. Anselm argues that the least sin dishonours God and that it is in the nature of sin that what is removed by sin cannot be restored. For him satisfaction entailed restoring to God the honour, which had been removed, and something in addition, which could not have been demanded of the sinner had he not stolen what had not belonged to him.⁴

Hoc quoque attendendum quia cum aliquis quod iniuste abstulit solvit, hoc debet dare quod ab illo non posset exigi, si alienum non rapuisset.

Ralph is very much aware of the impossibility of compensating God for the wrong he has done but this is because of the number of sins a man has committed rather than because the nature of sin destroys what it cannot replace. It is with the number of sins in mind rather than the nature of sin, that he declares that even if he had lived a thousand years he would not be able to expiate his sins and he feels that he cannot provide a satisfaction equal to the

1. C.D.H., Bk. I, ch. 21.
2. Ibid., Bk. I, ch. 15, p.73
3. Royal 12 C.i, f.13^v
4. C.D.H., Bk. I, ch. 11, p.68

sins he has committed.¹ Yet he is also acquainted with the second strand in Anselm's argument, that a sinner ought to restore to God more than the equivalent of his sins to compensate for the harm he has caused which would not have occurred had he not sinned. He attempts to illustrate this with the analogy of a man who kills another.² The payment of wergild is not sufficient compensation for the loss of a dead man because it cannot bring him back to life. This is an unsatisfactory analogy because a man who is killed suffers physical damage which is not comparable with the effect of sin on God. On the other hand, there is some value in the analogy because it could relate to the quality of the life which has been cut off. Besides, the analogy is evidence that Ralph had not only understood the consequences of Anselm's thinking but appreciated the value of Anselm's conversation with its references to everyday life.³ Such analogies, even if expressing old thoughts, show the influence of Anselm and the nature of learning in a monastic context.

Ralph is in agreement with Anselm on a third point, that is on the necessity of the Incarnation. God must punish the sinner because he must act consistently as a just judge. Anselm puts this very succinctly:⁴

*Necesse est ergo, ut aut ablatum honor solvatur, aut poena sequatur.
Alioquin aut sibi Deus ipsi iustus non erit aut ad utrumque impotens
erit; quod nefas est vel cogitare.*

This is repeated by Ralph in long-winded fashion:⁵

*Hoc iudicium aequitatis eius videtur expostulare, secundum quod creditur
esse iustus iudex, ut qui male operatur, malum etiam suis peccatis congruum
patiat, sicut etiam qui bene operatur, bonorum operum iusta mercede
remuneretur.*

This might be thought to be a traditional view but both writers are distinguished from their predecessors because they see the Incarnation as the way to restore the direct relationship

1. Royal 12 C.i, f.11

Cum itaque videam me tanta mala tamque gravia quae operatus sum sicut mea conscientia me accusat ad expiandum non posse sufficere etiam si per mille annos possem vivere ...

2. Royal 12 C.i, f.15^v

3. Southern, R.W., St. Anselm and his Biographer, 1963, pp.217-226.

4. C.D.H., Bk. I, ch. 13, p.71

5. Royal 12 C.i, f.11^v and f.27^v

between man, who has sinned, and God, not as a means of freeing man from the devil, which is the traditional view.¹ And the Incarnation was the necessary and only way which could bring about such a restoration. According to Ralph:²

Ut homo vero peccator ad paradysum reduceretur, opus fuit ut ipse qui eum creaverat incarnaretur, quia non aliter nec debuit nec potuit homo de peccato quod fecit liberari, nisi deus, qui eum fecit, pro eius liberatione naturam carnis quae peccaverat sine peccato assumeret. et eadem natura hominis qui peccaverat a deo sine peccato assumpta hominem iuste redimeret.

Prior to this statement, Ralph explained the circumstances of the Incarnation. Man had been expelled from Paradise as punishment for sin and now he was to be restored:³

Non enim maiestati illius decebat. ut tam careres quam homo erat, quem ad suam similitudinem fecerat, tam facile fuisset perdita; nec postea quaesita veluti res vilissima et omnino despecta. Hac ergo ratione pietas creatoris mota, ut homini quem fraude sua inimicus seduxerat subveniat ... naturam ut peccatricis carnis sine peccato assumpsit. ut quia natura carnis quam assumpserat naturae eiusdem carnis erat quae peccaverat. ... illam naturam carnis iuste mundare posset quae peccaverat.

God was moved by the Fall of Man because man had so easily been deceived by the devil. He wished to find a way to restore man and cleanse him from sin, not free him from the devil.

The devil is only mentioned by Ralph as a deceiver, not as a power. The traditional view of devil's rights is ignored by Ralph, surely as a result of reading the argument in Cur Deus Homo about this very question. The traditional view was that as a result of man's sin, the devil had scored a just victory over man and held him in his power. Man was redeemed when the devil killed Christ, a sinless man, thereby overstepping his jurisdiction and forfeiting his rights over man.⁴ This view was apparently rejected by Anselm, who, anyway, concentrated on the Incarnation as a means to restore man who had

1. See p. 226.

2. Royal 12 C. i, f. 29

3. Royal 12 C. i, f. 28^v

4. Southern, R. W., St. Anselm and his Biographer, 1963, pp. 93-7

Rivière, J., Le Dogme de la Rédemption au début du Moyen Age, 1934.

dishonoured God, not to regain man from the captivity of the devil.¹ Ralph, too, by reducing the devil's role to one of deceit, does not seem to regard the devil as having a just hold over man but is concerned with the restoration of man who has sinned. It is the relationship between God and man which is central, not the relationship between God and the devil, with man as a secondary consideration.

Clearly Ralph had understood the crux of Anselm's argument. Man could not compensate God for the dishonour he had done to God through sin. Only a sinless man could do this, a man free from the taint of original sin and who did not sin during his life.²

Caro vero illa quam sumpsit, de eadem natura fuit unde fuit et illa caro quae peccavit, sed ista caro quam filius dei pro peccatoribus sumpsit, licet fuisset de eadem natura carnis quae peccavit, peccati omnino expers fuit.

This should be compared with Anselm's exposition:³

Hoc autem fieri nequit, nisi sit qui solvat deo pro peccato hominis aliquid maius quam omne quod praeter deum est. ... Illum quoque, qui de suo poterit deo dare aliquid, quod superet omne quod sub deo est, maiorem esse necesse est quam omne quod non est deus ... Nihil autem est supra omne quod deus non est, nisi Deus. ... Non ergo potest hanc satisfactionem facere, nisi deus ... Sed nec facere illam debet, nisi homo. Alioquin non satisfacit homo ... Si ergo, sicut constat, necesse est ut de hominibus perficiatur illa superna civitas, nec hoc esse valet, nisi fiat predicta satisfactio, quam nec potest facere nisi deus, nec debet nisi homo: necesse est ut eam faciat deus-homo.

The emphasis on necessity so predominant in Anselm's thinking is not evident in the above passage from Ralph's dialogue but this theme does occur in other parts of Ralph's work:⁴

Aliter enim homo, nec debuit nec potuit iuste redimi, nisi per incarnationem filii dei; ideo non aliter quia non alio modo tam utiliter nec cum tanto honore deus hominem liberaret.

Anselm goes further into the significance of the Incarnation for he is trying to work out a problem to its logical conclusion whereas Ralph limits his discussion to reassuring a

1. *C.D.H.*, Bk. I, ch. 7

2. *Royal 12 C.i*, f.27

Aliter enim homo nec debuit nec potuit iuste redimi nisi per incarnationem filii dei ideo non aliter quia non alio modo tam utiliter nec cum tanto honore hominum liberaret.

3. *C.D.H.*, Bk. II, ch. 6, p.101

4. *Royal 12 C.i*, f.29

sinner that he can be forgiven. Ralph, therefore, does not enter into the mechanics of how salvation was brought about but uses Anselm's conclusions. He omits the logic but simply acknowledges that man can claim the benefit of Christ's death.¹

Ut autem iustum sit quod peccator per hanc satisfactionem filii dei a tormentis quae peccando meruerat debeat liberari, rectum est et omnino conveniens ut sicut peccando contra deum se extulit, sic humiliando prosternat se sub eis vestigiis quem peccando exhonoravit atque recognoscat se esse dignum poenis perpetuis, nisi illum adiuvet misericordia sui conditoris qui eum cum non esset creavit.

This is an interesting quotation both for the use of the word 'exhonoravit' and for the attachment of the sinner to the physical representation of Christ. Penance is the means of claiming the benefits of Christ's death. In penance he acknowledges his sin and the fact that he should be punished but for the mercy of God. The sinner gains by coming forward to link himself with the satisfaction provided by Christ's death. This line of argument can be seen as a development of the ideas at the end of Cur Deus Homo. Anselm had argued that through the death of a sinless man, Christ, the honour due to God was restored.² Because Christ was a God-Man, he restored not only what was due for the damage resulting from sin, but also added a compensation for the fact of causing a loss. Christ gained merit in the sight of God, merit which is available to all. Anselm himself remained silent on the implications of his argument for the individual sinner. He had been concerned to establish the necessity of the Incarnation at the philosophical level but Ralph, concerned with the individual sinner, allows that Christ provides total satisfaction but adds that the sinner himself must claim the benefits.

This development is not inconsistent with Anselm's views. One of the key concepts in Anselm's thinking about God was the notion of 'aseitas', that is that God always acted from Himself, not out of any compulsion but from the logical consequences of his own nature.³

Quod autem dicitur quia quod vult iustum est, et quod non vult non est, iustum non ita intelligendum est ut, si Deus velit quodlibet inconueniens, iustum sit, quia ipse vult. Non enim sequitur: si deus vult mentiri, iustum esse mentiri; sed potius Deum illum non esse.

1. Royal 12 C. i, f. 27^v

2. McIntyre, J., St. Anselm and his Critics, 1954, pp. 178-85.

3. C.D.H., Bk. I, ch. 12, p. 70

Anselm was keen to make this point to show that the Incarnation was necessary but God was not compelled to such action.¹ Similarly, Christ died not because of a compulsion imposed on him from above but because his nature obliged him to react to a set of given circumstances in a given way.

The relation between God's essence and his attributes was a recurring problem for Anselm but Ralph seems to have understood the main point and maintained it consistently.²

Nam quia Deus omnipotens est: quicquid vult potest, et quicquid potest debet; quia posse non potest quod non debet, et hoc sicut iam dictum est potenter non potest, quia si unquam faceret quod non deberet minus potens esset. Si itaque quicquid vult potest, et quicquid vult potest, et non vult neque potest, nisi quod debet; idem videtur esse in deo: et velle, et posse, et debere.

The inclusion of the phrase 'quia posse non potest quod non debet' clearly indicates that what God ought or ought not to do is connected with his nature. God's actions depend on his will and his will never does any thing except what he ought, that is what is in accord with his nature.

For Ralph this notion of God acting in accordance with the nature of his being is reflected in man.³

In hoc et enim homo similis deo dicitur esse, qui non necessitate sed voluntate bonus est.

This is an expansion of Anselm's view that⁴

Simili ratione probatur quia ad hoc accepit potestatem discernendi, ut odisset et vitaret malum, ac amaret et eligeret bonum, atque magis bonum magis amaret et eligeret.

Furthermore, God created man to share his goodness but he cannot share it unless he so chooses:⁵

Sicut itaque omnes homines creat, quia nullus illos nisi ipse creat, ita vult ut illud bonum habeant pro quo illos creat. Sed ut perfecte homo

1. C.D.H., Bk. II, ch. 10

2. Royal 12 C.i, f.23^v c.f. Schmitt, F.S., Anselmi Opera Omnia, vol. 1, 1946, Proslogion, ch. 7, p.105.

3. Royal 12 C.i, f.22^v

4. C.D.H., Bk. II, ch. 1, p.97

5. Royal 12 C.i, f.22^v

illud bonum habeat pro quo illum deus creat, vult Deus ut idem bonum etiam homo velit pro quo illum creat, quia non aliter potest fieri ut hoc bonum homini bonum sit, nisi illud velit et diligat, et ita ex voluntate sua illud possideat.

Man was created to share God's goodness but like God, his nature is such that he can choose whether or not he shares that goodness. As a result of the deceit of the devil, he ignored God's goodness and forfeited a share in Paradise. As a result of the satisfaction Christ offered to God, man is able once more to share in God's goodness. He is able to and, as before the Fall, he must choose to do so. He is not automatically a participant in Paradise but he can be because of the death of Christ.¹

Itaque deus quantum ad se omnes salvantur, quia in illo non deficit ut non omnes homines salventur. Qui vero sua voluntate non faciunt ut salventur, sed sua voluntate faciunt ut perdantur, non illos deus damnat qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed ipsi se damnant qui voluntate sua bonitatem dei quam eis deus gratis offert non amant.

The meaning of the text from which Ralph begins his exposition is clear, God does desire to save all men and has restored them from the consequences of sin but the reason that not all men are saved is that they do not choose salvation. Ralph may not be successful as a philosopher but he was capable of understanding Anselm's thought and interpreting it for the lesser minds among the Rochester monks. The importance of individual action is made an integral part of salvation in addition to the complete satisfaction provided by the death of Christ. Penance, ignored by Anselm's theology, is re-established as a necessary activity. The differences between Ralph's treatise and Anselm's Cur Deus Homo can all be explained by their different approaches to the same question. It is not that Ralph has altered Anselm's arguments but just that he starts from the individual's standpoint rather than discussing abstract concepts of metaphysical reality.

The different starting point explains, for example, Ralph's emphasis on the sins of the individual rather than the problem of sin. In his discussion of sin, Ralph starts from the number of sins committed. Aware of the gravity of sin, Peccator complains that:²

Cum itaque videam me tanta mala tamque gravia quae operatus sum sicut mea conscientia me accusat ad expiandum non posse sufficere, etiam si per mille annos possem vivere, et ex alia parte respicio quod deus unum vel minimum peccatum non patitur sine vindicta remanere.

1. Royal 12 C.i, f.25

2. Royal 12 C.i, f.11

This contrasts with Anselm's concept of sin and the 'massa peccatrix'¹ but Ralph does eventually reach the same conclusion as Anselm on the nature of sin, viz. that sin is dishonouring God. When he speaks of the fact that the sinner cannot compensate God for sin he means the quality rather than the quantity of sin:²

deinde quam impossibile sit illi qui peccat deo plenam rectitudinem posse facere.

The different starting point led Ralph to an unusual choice of text to explain salvation, that from Paul's letter to Timothy. It was a reassuring text and clearly it was this which prompted Ralph's choice. It is not a text which he would have gleaned from reading Anselm or the Fathers. Anselm did not consciously use it nor even unconsciously quote it. And we have only noticed it once in patristic texts.³

Undoubtedly, in this work, Ralph was writing an interpretation of the Cur Deus Homo, drawing out the implications for the Christian life, for those who could not understand the writings of Anselm themselves. He does not criticise Anselm's thought, not differing from him on any essential point. It is impossible to know whether Anselm would have developed this line of argument in the same way as Ralph but it can be said that Ralph is successful in that he does not misinterpret Anselm and his extension of Anselm's arguments is consistent with all that Anselm wrote in Cur Deus Homo. It is a humane interpretation of one of Anselm's most rigorous works.

c. The Meditations

The same humanity, the same themes and the same inelegant style are to be found in the meditations sandwiched between the copy of Ralph's treatises in the St. Alban's manuscript. There are twelve prayers altogether and these can be identified with four meditations, numbered in the Migne edition, 4,5,6,19; and eight prayers, numbers 3,

1. C.D.H., Bk. I, ch. 5,22; Bk. II, ch. 8.

2. Royal 12 C.i, f.10.

3. Jerome, Commentariorum in Hiezechielem, ed. F. Glorie, C.C., lxxv, 1964, p.245.

4,6,15,25-28, but the order in which they appear in the manuscript is rather different.¹ They concern familiar Anselmian themes, the power of God, the sinfulness of man and the contemplation of the Sacrament. The first prayer in the manuscript (Meditation 19) is a long meditation on the mercy, goodness and power of God and the creation of man in his own image. It is more in the nature of a theological treatise, interspersed with short bursts of devotion, than a private prayer to God. The second one in the group (Meditation 5) is in similar vein but concentrates on the two-fold nature of man, the soul and the flesh. The six central prayers all dwell on the gravity of sin, although this is sometimes relieved by praise for God's mercy. Then there are three prayers in which the priest contemplates the sacrament. The group ends with a more personal prayer in which the author repeatedly invokes the memory of the sufferings of Christ on earth, asking God's mercy as he confesses his sins.

It is not surprising that these prayers were later included in the Anselm corpus, in view of their content, but Dom Wilmart, in his study of medieval devotional writings, recognised that this group, although attributed to Anselm in Continental manuscripts, constituted a separate series written by a single author who was a contemporary of Anselm.² The fact that these prayers have been discovered in the St. Alban's manuscript, quite apart from the works of Anselm, is proof that they were written by another author and that author is probably the man who wrote the dialogues in that same manuscript.³ That this was the case can be established by comparing the prayers with the dialogue which has just been examined.

The meditation on f.67, printed in the Migne edition as Anselm's Meditation VI, could be a summary of the dialogue just described. The aim is to strengthen the spirit

1. The prayers were edited by Migne as part of the Anselm Corpus, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 158. In the manuscript, the order of prayers, using Migne's numbering is as follows: *Meditatio XIX*, *Meditatio V*, *Oratio III*, *Meditatio IV*, *Oratio IV*, *Oratio VI*, *Meditatio VI*, *Orationes XXV-XXVIII*, *XXVII* and *XXVIII*, making up one long prayer, *Oratio XV*.
2. Wilmart, A., *Auteurs Spirituels et Textes Dévots du Moyen Age Latin*, 1932, pp.147-201. Wilmart, A., "*La Tradition des Prières de S. Anselme, Tables et Notes*", *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. 36, 1924, pp.52-71
3. Southern, R.W., "St. Anselm and his English Pupils", *MARS*, vol. 1, 1941, pp.24-27. Bestul, T.H., "The Verdun Anselm, Ralph of Battle and the Formation of the Anselmian Apocrypha", *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. 87, 1977, pp.383-89.

against despair on the grounds that if we do true penance, we will find mercy. The author starts from the weight of sin but counters this with the mercy of God as shown to Adam and as in the Incarnation, from which resulted the gift of penance. He returns again to the mercy of God as preached by the prophets and then contemplates the marvel of penance, using the quotation which occurs throughout the dialogue 'quia non vult mortem peccatoris sed ut convertatur et vivat'.¹ There follows a contemplation of Christ on the Cross with a particular emphasis on his bodily afflictions and the identification of the sinner with the robber crucified with Christ, who was assured that he would enter Paradise. The confession of sin at the beginning of the meditation is almost identical to the confession of Peccator in the dialogue:

Med. VI, P.L. vol. 158, col.736 Creator itaque meus cum omni creatura sua peccatis meis graviter offensus me damnat; mea conscientia certa de suis malis operibus, ex omni parte me accusat.

Royal 12 C.i, f.8^v fateor de impetranda venia peccatorum. et si ore dicere non audeo quia despero, in corde meo ubi tamen mea pessima conscientia me accusat omnino despero.

Furthermore much of the meditation on the meaning of the Incarnation repeats that section of the dialogue where Ratio explains the significance of the Incarnation to Peccator:

Med. VI, P.L. vol. 158, col.737-738 Sed cum nec admonitione nec correctione sepius ab eo visitati reverterentur, non se potuit fons pietatis ultra retinere ... ut salutarem de peccatis suis poenitentiam agerent, et ipsum esse Filium Dei cognoscarent. ... Nullum est enim tam grave peccatum quod non possit per poenitentiam aboleri ... *et* ut certi sint omnes peccatores et inquit se veniam peccatorum suorum accipere, si ipsa peccata sua curant dimittere et poenitentiam agere, ipse fons pietatis, pro amore quem erga eos habebat, eandem carnem quam pro eis sumpsit. / ...

These ideas were expressed in the dialogue:

Royal 12 C.i, f.9^v Videns ergo quia immensa dei pietas te potest et vult salvare: noli desperare de tua deliberatione ... Non enim potes salvari si non vis sed si vis sine omni dubitatione potes salvus fieri quia ante te currit fons pietatis qui omnes suscipit, omnes abluit, nullum sicut dictum est excludit. 2

1. P.L., vol. 158, col. 738, c.f. Royal 12 C.i, f.7^v and f.18^v.

2. Another phrase which occurs in both the meditation and the dialogue is 'fons pietatis'. P.L., vol. 158, cols. 737 and 738, c.f. Royal 12 C.i, f.9^v, 39^v.

Many other parallels can be drawn between the other prayers and meditations and this one dialogue. Professor Southern drew attention to similar passages in both the dialogue between Peccator and Ratio and Oratio IV, in which the wording is almost identical.¹

Or. IV, P. L. vol. 158, col. 870 Sunt et alia multa que de radice huius pestis exoriuntur, que me habere et eorum molestiis non parum inquietari et sepiissime atteri similiter confiteor ... Sunt autem hec, videlicet ira, impatientia, inimica Deo et omnibus sanctis odiosa discordia, indignatio, rancor animi, tedium mentis, voracitas gulae, murmuratio, avaritia, rapacitas et multa his similia, quibus vexari et affici, lacerari et discerpi infeliciter animam meam conspicio.

Royal 12 C. i, f. 5^v Ex una vero parte infelicem animam meam vulneravit superbia, et quasi ipsa sola non sufficeret ad inferenda mortifera vulnera, veluti ad auxilium suum affuit invidia, et cum illa inimica Deo et omnibus bonis odiosa discordia, ira indignatio, voracitas gulae, rancor mentis et omnes ille infernales mortes que miseram animam trahunt ad damnationem, usque ad interiora ipsius mentis meae irrumpentes et ex omni parte suis sordibus commaculantes vix respirare permiserunt.

Not only do these quotations establish that the meditations were written by the author of the dialogue, namely Ralph, but they also reveal an interesting aspect of Ralph's technique. Where a meditation is a personal prayer, the language is akin to the more personal passages of the dialogue but, at times, the meditations are didactic and the language is drawn from speeches of Ratio, the figure in the dialogue who teaches Peccator. The inconsistency of Ralph's technique in the prayers suggests that they are drawn directly from the dialogue. Alternatively, it may be that Ralph always assumed a didactic approach because he was so steeped in learning himself. Examining Meditation VI again, it becomes apparant that the confession in this prayer is taken from a speech of Peccator in the dialogue but after this the author consciously distances himself before the explanation of the Incarnation by saying, 'Audiui, et sicut ipsi attestantur qui experti sunt ...'² and from this point the prose resembles that of Ratio in the dialogue. At the end of the prayer, for the meditation on the Cross, the writer once more resumes a personal approach.

1. Southern, R.W., "St. Anselm and his English Pupils", MARS, 1, 1941, pp. 25-27

2. P.L., vol. 158, col. 737

A similar change in technique can be observed in Meditation 19, especially in the original version in the Laud manuscript where the prayer begins, 'Suavissime et dulcissime Jesu;;;' (Migne, vol. 158, col. 805). This opening enthusiasm is maintained with a long passage of praise to God but then he becomes philosophical, turning his attention to man's nature and his similarity to God. When he reaches the second point, the author starts talking about God, instead of to Him, and his language is close to that of the dialogue:

Med. XIX, P. L. 158, col. 806-7 Fecit autem Deus Creator hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam, quia fecit eum rationalem. Et sicut Deus voluntate bonus est, sic homo, ad eius similitudinem factus, voluntate bonus est. In hoc similis Creatori, quia Creator voluntate bonus, homo voluntate bonus; sed in hoc differens, quia Creator aeternaliter a se ipso est bonus et essentialiter; homo vero ideo bonus, quia imitatur eum qui aeternaliter et essentialiter a se ipso est bonus.

Royal 12 C. i, f. 22-22^v Et secundum etiam naturam suam secundum quam bonus est, nec omnino aliud quam bonus esse potest; velle non potest, ut aliud de homine velit quem pro bonitate sua creat quam ut bonum pro quo eum fecit habeat ... Sed ut perfecte homo illud bonum habeat pro quo illum Deus creat, vult Deus ut idem bonum etiam homo velit pro quo illum creat, quia non aliter potest fieri ut hoc bonum homini bonum sit, nisi illud velit et diligit et ita ex voluntate sua non necessitate illud possideat. In hoc et enim homo similis deo dicitur esse ...

The prayer ends with a direct appeal to God not to allow man to use his free will for wicked purposes. Again, in Prayer VI, the opening and conclusion of the prayer are written in the first person plural and are impersonal but the heart of the prayer is more personal and is written in the first person singular.¹

1. Oratio VI, P. L., vol. 158, col. 874 Scimus autem quia non vis peccatores perdere, sed a peccatis cessare, et vivere. Si ergo omnipotens es, sicut vere es, quia quidquid vis facere potes; et non vis peccatores perdere, sed a malis resipiscere, et vivere, de multitudine miserationum tuarum non debemus desperare, sed securi de spe veniae, misericordiam exspectare.

c.f. Royal 12 C. i, f. 18^v Dixi tibi, si bene recolis, quia Deus omnipotens est quod et tu veraciter credis, et propter hoc quia omnipotens est; si vult potest te salvare et ideo non debes desperare quod te non possit si vult salvare. Quod autem te velit salvare, ostenditur ibi ubi dicitur, quia vult omnes homines salvare et maxime in propheta in quo iurat se mortem peccatoris nolle sed eum converti et vivere.

See also, Orationes XXV-XXVIII.

This inconsistency of technique is one reason why these prayers are not as fluent as Anselm's. Ralph, though, simply cannot match Anselm's taut style.¹ He is repetitive and writes long clauses. He does not attempt to structure the sentences to bring them to a climax, as Anselm does, even at the opening of a prayer, where the difference between the style of the two authors is most obvious:

Ralph, *Med. IV*, P. L. vol. 158, col. 729 Anima mea, anima misera et foeda, diligenter collige ad te intrinsecus omnes sensus corporis tui, diligentiusque intueri et vide quam graviter intus vulnerata atque prostrata sis.

Anselm, *Meditatio II*, Schmitt, vol. III, p. 80 Anima mea, anima aerumnosa, anima, inquam misera miseri homunculi, excute torporem tuum et discute peccatum tuum et concute mentem tuam. Reduc ad cor enorme delictum et perduc de corde immanem rugitum.

Clearly Ralph is not so careful as Anselm in his choice of words and the structure of his sentences.

Nevertheless, there are two elements of Anselmian prayer, characteristic of eleventh century devotion, which were employed by Ralph and distinguish their work from their Carolingian predecessors.² Although Ralph does not address his prayers to saints, as Anselm does, he does address them directly to God or Christ, speaking to Him as another person. He begins Prayer XV, as follows:

Ad te dulcissime et benignissime Domine Jesu Christe, qui fons pietatis es et misericordiae potissime me converto ...

1. Ward, B., transl., *The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm*, 1973, pp. 278-283. The prolixity of Ralph's expression is amply evident in Meditation VI, P. L., vol. 158, cols. 737-9. Another good comparison between Anselm and Ralph is:-
Ralph, *Oration XV*, P. L., vol. 158, col. 888 Ad te dulcissime et benignissime, Domine Jesu Christe, qui fons pietatis es et misericordiae, potissime me converto, quia et per potentiam divinitatis tuae, qua cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto unus Deus omnia ex nihilo fecisti, me creatum esse fateor.
Anselm, *Oratio II*, ed. Schmitt, F. S., *Anselmi Opera Omnia*, vol. III, p. 8
Benignissime, suavissime, serenissime: quando restaurabis mihi quia non vidi illam beatam tuam carnis incorruptionem? Quia non sum deosculatus loca vulnerum, fixuras clavorum? Quia non respersi lacrimis gaudii cicatrices testes veri corporis?
2. Ward, B., *op. cit.*, pp. 27-59, esp. pp. 39-49.

The second element Ralph shares with Anselm is his awareness of Christ as a human being who endured physical suffering.¹ In Meditation VI, there is extended contemplation of Christ on the Cross:

Cernens ergo te pro redemptione peccatorum esse mortuum, manus tuis et pedes clavis confixos, latus tuum lancea militis apertum undam sanguinis et aquae de eodem, latere currentem desperare debeo?

This awareness is evident throughout Ralph's works but his emotion is never as intense as Anselm's.

Study of the different works of Ralph has thus established his authorship of all the works in the Rochester manuscript, Royal 12 C. i, and in the St. Alban's manuscript, Laud misc. 363. More than this, the establishment of the inter-relationship between the texts shows how an individual's interests grew and developed in a monastic context. The dialogue between Peccator and Ratio was written before the Rochester library was stocked. It was a product of meditative reflection upon one particular work, Anselm's Cur Deus Homo, not the result of reading several authors on a particular topic. Most of the rest of the works in the Rochester manuscript, though perhaps not the later writings in the St. Alban's manuscript, are the product of reminiscence. This reminiscence was based primarily on the Bible, particularly the Psalms, recited for years in the Daily Office, and also the words of the Fathers, Gregory and Cassian, which were probably remembered from private reading or from listening to somebody else reading.

While at Rochester, however, Ralph applied himself to Anselm's metaphysics to produce a work which is evidently the product of an able mind but is not a scholarly treatise. The dialogue and the prayers show how deeply academic thinking had penetrated all the aspects of monastic life, in reflection on theological matters and private devotion. Ralph's

1. The importance of an awareness of the physical suffering of Christ is explicitly stated in the dialogue, Royal 12 C. i, f. 39. Est autem non parum utile his omnibus qui huiusmodi tribulationes patiuntur ut quanto gravius his molestiis in oratione vel in psalmis pulsantur tanto frequentius sibi ponant ante oculos in eadem hora qua talia patiuntur mortem domini quam pro eis sustinuit; manus eius et pedes pro eis clavis confixos, dolores et multas alias contumelias pro eis similiter pertulit respiciant ... Credant autem quoniam si sepius has cogitationes de morte domini et de poenis quas pro peccatoribus sustinuit contra illas vanitates quas in oratione patiuntur opponant ...

thoughts, though, at this stage, were not presented as learned works and were not to be regarded by his fellows as scholarship. They were to be an inspiration to meditation and prayer and this religious intention is paramount, distinguishing these writings from those of the contemporary schools. Nevertheless, these works reveal that in Ralph, Rochester priory possessed a powerful intellect and his writings are testimony to the high academic standards in a Benedictine priory in England at the beginning of the twelfth century.

VIII The Rochester Monks and their books :
Scholarship at Rochester Cathedral Priory II

The writings of Ralph, outstanding as they are, constitute the sole example of learning among the first generation of monks at Rochester. This is perhaps not surprising, since at the time that he was writing, that is in the first few years of the twelfth century, the priory possessed few books, so the number of monks who could engage in study was small. The second generation of Rochester monks had access to more books and it might be expected that these would be the basis of much intellectual activity. In the second and third decade there are certainly more written products of monastic culture at Rochester in the shape of the Textus Roffensis, the Vita Gundulfi and the Miracula S. Ithamari. There is no correlation, however, between an increase in quantity and an improvement in quality. The nature and quality of the writings of the second generation of monks at Rochester are rather different from the writings of Ralph. Although Ralph was writing before an extensive collection of texts had been acquired, he was familiar with patristic thought and applied himself to learned reflection on theology. In contrast, the second generation of Rochester monks, although they possessed a full complement of patristic texts, did not attempt to write about theology but turned their attention to laws and documents (the Textus) and to biography. This change of direction and diversification of interests will be traced in this chapter through the study of the writings of the bishop, Ernulf, and of the monks under his rule.

a. The Learning of Bishop Ernulf

Bishop Ernulf, who was responsible for acquiring so many exemplars for Rochester priory, was a monk and, more significantly, an important scholar in his own right. At Christ Church he had been responsible for teaching the novices¹ and was known as the 'grammaticus'. There are no traces of his work as a grammarian but two of his letters, which are more in the nature of learned treatises, survive. One, on the Eucharist,² written before 1095 to Lambert, a monk of St. Bertin, is fairly traditional.³ The second, to

1. Epp. Anselmi, no. 64

2. Epistola de Sacramentis, printed in L. d'Achery, Spicilegium, vol. i, 1723, pp.464-70.

3. de Laplane, H., Les Abbés de S. Bertin, 1854, p.175. Lambert became abbot in 1095

Walkelin of Winchester, which must have been written before the bishop's death in 1098, is a discussion of canon law relating to incest, and is advanced for its time.¹ It is worth examining one of these to illustrate Ernulf's high standard of scholarship and in order to establish a link between Ernulf's own interest in patristic thought and the choice of texts in the Rochester library.

These points can be made most clearly with reference to the letter on canon law, which is also the more accessible text.² The letter is a reply to a question by Walkelin on whether a woman who commits adultery with her husband's son, who is not her own son, should be removed from her husband.³ The whole point of Ernulf's argument is that the couple are not only permitted to separate, but should indeed do so, for the safety of their souls. This sounds conservative but, in fact, is not, since Ernulf's approach represents new developments in the exposition of canon law in the eleventh century because he introduces theology into the argument. His method of argument is refined, in that he first establishes the precise meaning of the Scriptural texts then supplements these with the later canonical texts. The value of canonical decrees is assessed according to theological principles, rather than their antiquity, and balanced against each other in an attempt to seek the solution which is supported with the greatest authority. Ernulf explains his method thus:⁴

Conabar igitur modis omnibus astruere separationem coniugum praedicto modo, praedicta causa fieri debere, id tum ex Patrum consiliis, tum ex libris poenitentialibus, tum ex more Ecclesiae, cui contradici non modo fas non esse, imo nefas esse creditur, asserens fieri oportere.

First he recites the relevant texts from the Gospel and from the words of St. Paul.⁵ Those in the Gospels he interprets to mean that an innocent husband or wife may not repudiate

1. *Epistola de Incestis Nuptiis*, ed. J.P. Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 163, col. 1457-74.
2. For the analysis of the text, I have drawn upon an undergraduate dissertation for the Cambridge Tripos, kindly lent to me by Mr. P. Cramer. Cramer, P., *Ernulf of Rochester and his Two Letters*, Cambridge, 1977.
3. Ernulf refers to a previous discussion of the subject (col. 1457) when Walkelin visited Canterbury, which may have been in 1097. Ernulf says that the bishop was with the 'regii executores' and Eadmer records that Walkelin was at a meeting at Canterbury just prior to Anselm's first exile. *H.N.*, p.81 Walkelin ob. 1089.
4. *P.L.*, vol. 163, col. 1458.
5. *Ibid.*, col. 1459-63.

a chaste wife (or husband) but that an innocent husband or wife is permitted to dismiss an adulterous partner. Most of the Pauline texts, Ernulf dismisses as irrelevant because they refer to chaste partners. The exception is I Cor. 7.2 in which the Apostle opposes separation but if a couple do separate, each partner must remain unmarried or be reconciled. The Fathers, notably Augustine, also generally oppose separation. Then Ernulf turns to the decrees of councils and these provide that where one partner in a marriage commits fornication, the couple should separate but not remarry.¹ Ernulf then counters the objections of St. Paul and St. Augustine with a detailed analysis of the context of their statements. He points out that the Apostle permits reconciliation but the unspoken assumption is that some partners are permanently separated. And of those who are separated, the Apostle states not his own view, as previously, but the divine command that they are to be continent. Here is divine sanction for separation. As for Augustine's view that marriage partners should not be separated except by death, Ernulf shows that Augustine was confused for he did concede that a man who remarries after repudiating an adulterous wife, only commits venial sin.²

But Ernulf has yet to establish his case in full. He has shown that all the authorities, scriptural, patristic and canonical, allowed separation but this does not mean that divine law dictates separation. Besides, separation is only allowed after fornication which is not the same as incest, the crime under discussion. To establish his view, Ernulf pushes the argument on to a new plane, by arguing that fornication in these texts means any kind of evil which alienates a man from God.³ The discussion moves from law to theology as Ernulf considers the effect of fornication on the soul of the individual. Incest is equivalent to fornication because it destroys the marriage vow alienating a man from God. On this, too, he cites Biblical, patristic and canonical texts. He deepens the debate, examining the whole meaning and purpose of law.

Clearly, Ernulf's treatise is not based just on legal practice but constitutes an academic study of how legal texts should be regarded. He attempts to reconcile different authorities by applying to them a theological criterion, the effect of actions on the soul,

1. P.L., vol. 163, col. 1459-63

2. Ibid., col. 1463-65

3. Ibid., col. 1468

against which the value of canons can be assessed. The authority of a canon does not depend on its antiquity but on how far it meets the theological principle. In this respect, Ernulf shows a marked advance on the previous major canon law text, Burchard's 'Decretum', which was a handbook for practical use.¹ Like his famous contemporary, Ivo of Chartres,² Ernulf acknowledged that there were areas of conduct where there was no obvious canon to apply to the situation. The canons must therefore be carefully weighed up alongside the authority of the Bible and the Fathers to decide which canon was relevant in a particular situation.³

In both his letters Ernulf frequently cites patristic sources. He cites twelve in his letter on incest and another four in the letter on the Eucharist.⁴ It is possible that he was merely copying these quotations at second hand but it may well be that he had read the original works of the Fathers for himself. This is hinted at in his comment to Lambert that he should read Jerome's commentary on Joel:⁵

Huius lucubraciunculam de b. ieronimi commentariolo super duodecim prophetarum expositionem composito decerpere potuistis. si forte librum apud vos habuistis. Quod quia liber idem nobiscum est et ego possem nisi brevitatem eius sufficere vobis non posse dubitare.

The point that Ernulf had read patristic texts for himself is most easily made with reference to the letter on law since extensive patristic citation was less usual in this type of work than in writings on the Eucharist.

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1. Fournier, P. and le Bras, G., Histoire des Collections Canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses-Decretales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien, vol. 1, 1931, pp. 364-421.
 2. Ivo refers to Ernulf in one of his letters (Migne, P.L., vol. 162, col. 100, Ep. 78) which suggests that they were personally acquainted. They were at Beauvais during the same period, and may have studied at Bec together. Similarities between the writings of the two men is more likely to be the result of personal acquaintance rather than Ernulf's dependence on Ivo's texts. See below, pp. 246-7.
 3. Ivo expounded his theory for the treatment of canonical texts in his preface to the 'Decretum'. Migne, P.L., vol. 161, col. 47.
Habet enim omnis ecclesiastica disciplina principaliter hanc intentionem: vel omnem aedificationem adversus scientiam Christi se erigentem destruere, vel aedificationem Dei, fidei veritate, et morum honestate constantem construere, vel eandem si contaminata fuerit, poenitentiae remediis emundare.
 4. Although they will not be discussed, Ernulf's citations in the letter on the Eucharist are Augustine's letter to Januarius, Jerome's commentaries on Paul's letter to Titus and the book of Joel and Gregory's letter to Januarius.
 5. d'Achery, L., Spicilegium, vol. i, p. 464 or B.L., Royal 7 C.viii, f. 106.

The standard works available on canon law available in the eleventh century were Burchard of Worms, Decretum and the collection known as Pseudo-Isidore. In addition there were the products of the Gregorian Reform movement, Anselm of Lucca's Collection in thirteen books and the Collection in 74 titles.¹ When Ernulf was writing at Christ Church, Canterbury, he certainly had access to Pseudo-Isidore, although possibly only in the abridgement brought to England by Lanfranc.² It is possible that there was a copy of Burchard at Christ Church at this date for there is an eleventh century manuscript of the text now bound up with other Canterbury material.³ In the first quarter of the twelfth century the Christ Church community possibly acquired a copy of the complete text of Pseudo-Isidore and an extended version of the Collection in 74 titles.⁴ The works of Ivo of Chartres, his Decretum and the Panormia were acquired at an early date too.⁵

It is possible to establish which texts Ernulf probably used on the basis of the canons which he cites.⁶ These include canons from the Councils of Mainz, Verberie, Macon and Tribur, Rome and Elvira plus a letter of Pope Deusdedit. The canons from the first four councils and the letter of Pope Deusdedit all occur in both Burchard's and Ivo's Decretum but not in any of the other possible sources. The other two canons cited, Rome and Elvira, are both quoted in Pseudo-Isidore but in all the other sources only one or the other occurs. It appears therefore that Ernulf used Burchard or Ivo in combination with Pseudo-Isidore. On textual evidence it seems more likely that Ernulf copied Burchard than Ivo since the canons occur in the same order in the former as in Ernulf's treatise. Besides, although the same canons are cited by Ivo, they are used in connection with questions not strictly relevant to Ernulf's case of incest.⁷ The internal evidence coincides with external evidence. It is likely that Ernulf had known Burchard's work for some time, as there was probably a copy at

1. Fournier, P. and le Bras, G., Histoire des Collections canoniques en Occident, vol. II, 1932, pp.4-36.
Fournier, P., "Le premier manuel canonique de la Réforme du xi^e siècle", Ecole française de Rome, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, vol. xiv, Rome, 1894, pp.147-223?
2. Trinity College, MS B.16.44. See Brooke, Z. N., The English Church and the Papacy from the Conquest to King John, Cambridge, 1952, pp.57-83.
3. Cott. Cl. C.vi.
4. B.L., Cott. Cl. E.v and Canterbury Cathedral, B.7.
5. Corpus Christi MS. 19, B.L., Cott. Vit. A.iii (Gonville and Caius 455?)
6. This is shown by P. Cramer in his dissertation.
7. Burchard, Decretum, Bk. xvii, ch. 9-12, 15 and 16, ed. Migne, P.L., vol. 140, col. 921-2. c.f. Ivo, Decretum, Bk. ix, ch. 71-80, ed. Migne, P.L., vol. 161, col. 678-80.

Bec when he was there, and, later, one at Christ Church.¹ On the other hand, Ivo did not compose the Decretum until 1094² at the earliest, only three years at the maximum before Ernulf wrote his letter. This does not allow much time for the text to reach Canterbury so that Ernulf could study it.

If Ernulf relied on Burchard and Pseudo-Isidore for his legal authorities, he must have searched elsewhere for his patristic quotations. Neither of these texts contain any of the patristic quotations which Ernulf used. He cites from four different texts of Augustine, his de adulterinis coniugiis, contra Faustum, his letters and de sermone Domini in monte. Two of these were certainly available at Christ Church when Ernulf was writing since the late eleventh century manuscripts of Augustine's letters and his de adulterinis coniugiis are extant.³ The other texts occur in the Christ Church catalogue but it is not known when they were first acquired by the priory. Most of the excerpts from Augustine are quoted in full, not paraphrased, evidence that they were copied out of a manuscript of the whole text, not memorised or taken from a florilegium. Interestingly, most of them are connected with Ernulf's theory of law and even those which concern marriage are general in content, as for instance, in the excerpt which explains why fornication must be regarded as more than a carnal act of sin.

In his work on canon law, it is evident that Ernulf was an independent thinker and was able to choose patristic texts, as well as canons, to support his arguments. In these two respects, particularly the second, Ernulf's scholarship is akin to Ralph's. They shared a familiarity with patristic texts and because this was the basis of their scholarship, they were led naturally to an emphasis on theology. Ernulf followed the same tradition of learning as Ralph and built the Rochester library within that tradition. He collected books directly related to his own interests: three out of the four texts cited in his letter on canon law were acquired by Rochester priory while he was bishop.⁴ A scholar himself, Ernulf did not merely accept whatever exemplars Christ Church could provide but, as was suggested above,⁵ sought specific texts in order to establish a collection on which scholarship could be based.

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1. 'in uno volumine collectiones Burcardi Wormatiensis episcopi lib. xx tam ad ecclesiastica quam secularia', ed. H. Omont, Catalogue Générale des MSS des Bibliothèques Publiques de France : Depts., vol. II, 1888, p.392.
 2. Fournier, P., "Les collections attribuées à Yves de Chartres", Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, vol. lvii, 1896, p.677.
 3. Trinity College, Cambridge, MSS. B.4.26 and B.3.33.
 4. Augustine, de adulterinis coniugiis (Oxford, Bodley 387), contra Faustum (B. L., Royal 5 B.x), de sermone Domini in monte (Rochester Cathedral).
 5. See above, p.176.

Ernulf brought two interests to Rochester, patristic texts and law. He was unable to encourage his monks in the study of the former, but his interest in law bore fruit in the Textus Roffensis; this contains a number of Saxon law codes and because these relate to Ernulf's known interest in law, the compilation has long been associated with him. The manuscript contains a fourteenth century inscription claiming that he was the patron of the work.¹ Paleographical evidence supports this hypothesis for the manuscript was copied by one of the leading Rochester scribes, who completed the genealogies and episcopal successions up to the death of Archbishop Ralph in 1122.² The manuscript was therefore produced towards the end of Ernulf's episcopate and is the first example of the intellectual interests of the members of his priory which will be examined.

b. The Textus Roffensis

It should be pointed out that the two parts now bound in one volume as the Textus Roffensis were not conceived as a whole but are two separate manuscripts. Both codicological and historical evidence supports this view. The quire signatures of the second part of the manuscript form a completely different series from that of the first part.³ Furthermore, there is an illumination on f.119 of the present volume, a large initial which is out of place in its present position, but which is suitable for an opening page of a manuscript. It is therefore most probable that the present f.119 was once the first folio of a separate volume. In addition, there is the evidence of the first Rochester catalogue in the second part of the Textus which lists as a separate item Institutiones Regum Anglorum, which is an exact description of Volume I. At that time, therefore, it is clear that the set of law codes was kept in the library separately from the second part of the Textus in which the first library catalogue was written. The two parts of the present volume must therefore be studied separately.

The first volume of the Textus is an interesting compilation of Saxon laws and customs,⁴ comparable with other Anglo-Norman collections such as the Quadripartitus and

1. f.1 Textus de ecclesia Roffensis per Ernulfum episcopum.

2. See above, p.32.

3. Sawyer, P.H., ed. Textus Roffensis, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vols. vii and xi (1957 and 1962), p.11 and 12.

4. Liebermann, F., "Notes on the Textus Roffensis", Arch. Cant., vol. xxiii, 1898, pp.94-112.

the Leges Henrici. None of the work in the manuscript is original, being copied from other documents, but it is a unique compilation in which material from a variety of sources has been drawn together to produce an orderly record of Saxon legal tradition. The volume originally began with the texts which have been rebound as quires seven to nine.¹ These are the last set of laws drawn up in England before the Conquest, the Instituta Cnuti, and the ten articles issued by William the Conqueror shortly after 1066. Following these are a set of Kentish laws, not known from any other source, then a long series of law codes from Alfred to Ethelred. Finally there are two post-Conquest documents, William I on exculpation and Henry I's Coronation Charter, plus several royal genealogies and lists of episcopal and papal successions. Interspersed with these secular codes are some extracts concerned with ecclesiastical matters, including one from Pseudo-Isidore on 'Accusatores' and another on exorcism.

Different sources were copied for different parts of the collection. Several of these were probably from Canterbury. The law codes from Alfred to Ethelred and several miscellaneous items in between also occur in an eleventh century manuscript, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 383.² To judge from the language, both manuscripts were probably copied from the same tenth century exemplar, which has since been lost. The West Saxon regnal table on f.7^v is related to the list in another Canterbury manuscript, a tenth century one, Corpus Christi College MS. 173.³ The successions of kings and prelates at the end of the volume are close to those of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle but closer to the list in the late eleventh century Canterbury manuscript, British Library, Cotton Tiberius, B.v.⁴

Several items remain, however, for which the earliest known copy is in the Textus and which are of immense value to the historian. These may have been copied from outside sources or may have been in the archive at Rochester. The Instituta Cnuti, the ten articles of William I and Henry I's Coronation Charter circulated together in a single exemplar, which was copied by the Textus scribe, and exists in another extant twelfth century manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian MS. Rawl. C.641.⁵ On the other hand, Athelstan's London law, Ethelred's Wantage statute and William I's charter on exculpation in Anglo-Saxon are unique to the Textus

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1. Sawyer, P. H., Textus Roffensis, vol. vii, 1957, p. 12.
 2. Liebermann, F., Arch. Cant., vol. xxiii, 1898, pp. 105-6.
 3. Ibid., p. 106
 4. Ibid., p. 106
 5. Sawyer, P. H., Textus Roffensis, vol. vii, 1957, p. 20.

and may have been found in the Rochester archive by the compiler. This archive which formed the basis of the second volume of the Textus has been preserved almost intact.¹

Clearly, the compiler of this part of the Textus went to some trouble to find texts which would give a full picture of Anglo-Saxon law and practice. He was interested in the most ancient texts, notably the Kentish laws, which were difficult to copy for they were drawn from an ancient exemplar. He was possibly inspired in the work by the size of the Saxon archive at Rochester and he supplemented this with sources from elsewhere, especially Canterbury. This link with Canterbury and the scholarly attitude evident from the collection supports the likelihood that the compilation was organised by Ernulf.

It is rather different from the second part of the volume, which, although it contains many Saxon documents, was made for a practical purpose and is not at all scholarly in execution. It is a record of all the grants and privileges made to the priory from the date of the foundation of the see until Ernulf's episcopate. Examination of this part of the Textus reveals the wide gap between the study of law and the maintenance of documents which were necessary for the practice of law. In the person of Ernulf, Rochester priory boasted a learned student of law yet the monks of his priory did not record legal transactions in anything like a systematic manner.

The pre-Conquest section of this volume of the Textus is well ordered and relatively straightforward. It consists of copies, remarkably accurate ones,² of royal charters, solemn charters in Latin and less formal ones in the vernacular, in strict chronological order. In addition, there is some narrative covering the period between the end of the tenth century and the mid-eleventh century, after the original grants had been made but when various estates were lost and regained, a confusing period in the history of the see. Apart from these few folios, the pre-Conquest section of the volume is very clear and coherent, especially when compared with the post-Conquest section which covers the period within living memory of members of the priory. This section consists of miscellaneous records, including charters, narrative, lists and even the library catalogue, arranged in a loose chronological order, commencing with the reign of William I and Bishop Gundulf and ending

1. Campbell, A., ed., Charters of Rochester : Anglo-Saxon Charters I, Oxford, 1973, pp.xii-xv

2. Ibid. Extant Saxon charters are:-

Cotton Charter xvii.1	(Textus f.120 ^v -122)	Cotton Charter viii.34	(Textus f.129-130)
" "	vi.4 (" f.130 ^v -131)	" "	viii.31 (" f.136 ^v -137)
" "	viii.30 (" f.138 ^v -139)	" "	viii.29 (" f.134-135)
" "	viii.20 (" f.147-148)	" "	viii.33 (" f.150-152)
" "	viii.32	" "	viii.14
" "	viii.19 (Forgery)		

with the reign of Henry I, although for some reason, the documents relating to William Rufus and Gundulf are placed after Bishop Ernulf's charters.¹

The archivist does not appear to have given much thought to the presentation of the material relating to his life-time. Since all the documents relate to the lands and privileges of the priory, this volume of the Textus may be considered a cartulary but it lacks the organisation of cartularies produced later in the century when the majority of abbeys had learned the value of record keeping.² In this very early example of a cartulary there is no arrangement of records according to the type of document or the status of the donor, whereby papal, royal, episcopal and lay grants each constituted a separate group. Nor is there even much attempt to group all the documents relating to the same district.

The disorganisation of the cartulary as a whole has a parallel in the muddled character³ of each separate record. Many of these are partly in narrative and partly in the formal phrasing usual in charters. Often this is because there was no generally accepted method of recording the sort of transactions which the Rochester archivist wished to write down. The record of the Penenden Heath plea, f.168, is one of those written soon after the event and is written as a consecutive narrative in which complex litigation is presented as a clash between two personalities, Lanfranc and Odo of Bayeux.⁴ Procedure at such pleas and the method of recording such litigation had not been regularised and scribes were obliged to give coherence to a confusing situation although they lacked technical terms to describe the event. Another example of this difficulty are the agreements drawn up between two parties who had been in dispute. The agreements between Bishop Gundulf and Gilbert of Tonbridge and Bishop Ernulf and Ralph, the cleric, fos. 175 and 199, are in narrative form although later such

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1. Sawyer, Textus Roffensis, vol. xi, 1962, p.16.
 2. c.f. Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis, ed. T. Hearne, 1723 and Ker, N.R., "Hemming's Cartulary", Studies in Medieval History presented to F.M. Powicke, ed. R.W. Hunt., W.A. Pantin, R.W. Southern, Oxford, 1948, pp.49-75.
 3. Walker, D., "The Organisation of Material in Medieval Cartularies", in The Study of Medieval Records - essays in honour of Kathleen Major, ed. D.A. Bullough and R.L. Storey, Oxford, 1971, pp.133-47.
 4. Bates, D.R., "Penenden Heath Revisited", BIHR, vol. 51, 1978, pp.1-19.
Douglas, D.C., "Odo, Lanfranc and the Domesday Survey", Essays in honour of James Tait, ed. J.G. Edwards, V.H. Galbraith, E.F. Jacob, Manchester, 1933, pp.47-57.
Le Patourel, J., "The Date of the Trial on Penenden Heath", E.H.R., 61, 1946, pp.378-

agreements were recorded in a formal document known as a 'finalis concordia'.¹ In the agreement concerning Ernulf and Ralph, the term 'pro concordia et pace' is actually used and it appears that the two clerics were trying to make a systematic record although the final concord was not yet a recognised legal instrument.

In the cases just cited the apparent disorganisation results from the fact that the compiler is recording procedures for which no formal chancery practice had been evolved. In other items of this section of the Textus, however, the muddle represents the changing state of royal, lay and episcopal chancery practice. Not even royal documents, so solemn and formal during the Saxon period, are consistent in form.² The grants by the Conqueror and Henry I are in the form of epistolary writs, in keeping with chancery practice in Normandy, but some grants by William Rufus are enshrined in old-fashioned diplomata. Two documents issued by him are introduced by a vague preamble and written in the present tense whereas epistolary writs are normally addressed to an individual and written in the past tense.

Since not even the royal documents are consistent, it is not surprising that the documents of laymen are irregular in format too. Of the five lay grants which are written out in full, two are epistolary writs and three are diplomata.³ Interestingly, the two in the old-fashioned form are grants by men known to have been closely associated with the King, Robert, the king's son, and William d'Albini, the king's steward, who even goes as far as introducing his document (f.188) with the sign of a cross, to indicate its sacred character, a remnant of ancient practice. Similarly, the episcopal charters are inconsistent.⁴ Archbishop Anselm's grant (f.181^v) is a formal epistolary writ and so are Ernulf's (196^v). One of Gundulf's, on the other hand, appointing an abbess of Malling, is in narrative form yet signed at the end by several witnesses, a late occurrence of narrative in what purports to be a charter (f.198).

The two volumes which now make up the Textus Roffensis form a contrasting pair. The first is a collection of law codes made, not for practical purposes, but simply out of a

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1. c.f. "Conventum inter Guillelmum Aquitanorum comitem et Hugonem Chiliarchum", ed. J. Martindale, E.H.R., vol. 84, 1969, pp.538-48.
 2. Davis, H.W.C., and Whitwell, R.J., Regesta Regum, 1, 1913, p.xvi-xxi. Bishop, T.A.M. and Chaplais, P., English Royal Writs to AD.1100, 1957. Bishop, T.A.M., Scriptores Regis, 1961.
 3. Most lay donations are listed but five for which a whole charter is copied are on fos. 180, 191^v, 192, 195, 198^v.
 4. Cheney, C.R., English Bishops' Chanceries, Manchester, 1950, esp. p.57.

scholarly interest in past legal custom. The second volume is of much more practical use, being a record of the lands and privileges of the priory, but its organisation is far from scholarly and it is evident that chancery practice at Rochester did not meet the highest standards. The collection of law codes for study purposes was one thing; the keeping of legal records was another. This one manuscript contains within its covers a dilemma of early twelfth century learning. Learned debates on the nature of law and legal procedure had no immediate effect on the care of contemporary documents even though these were essential for the development of a code of legal procedure. The Rochester archivist was aware of the importance of writing down all the gifts made to the priory but he was not accustomed to producing formal documents which conformed to prescribed methods.

c. The Vita Gundulfi

This is often linked with the Textus because it was probably written when the Textus was being compiled and the two works could be regarded as part of the same project. Undoubtedly, the Vita was composed in the same period as the Textus, for it centres on the life of Gundulf and continues the tale until after the election of Ernulf as bishop. It must therefore have been written after 1114 and before 1124, the period of Ernulf's rule, and may be regarded as the second product of the monastic culture of the second generation at Rochester priory. The Vita, however, is not a straightforward biographical account of the bishop for it is also a literary piece and is worth studying as such, since it will shed light on literary standards within the community.

It was stated at the beginning of this thesis that the Vita was written by a 'coetaneus of Gundulf'.¹ It should be made clear that this 'coetaneus' was a monk, a member of Rochester priory, not a secular in the bishop's household.² The account of the healing of the Christ Church monk establishes that the author was a monk who had moved from Christ Church to Rochester. This incident is recorded in Eadmer's Vita Dunstani, in Osbern's account of the miracles following the translation of the saint and in the Vita Lanfranci.³ All

1. See p. 2.

2. c.f. Thomson, R., The Life of Gundulf, 1977, p.4 and Smith, R.A.L., "The Place of Gundulf in the Anglo-Norman Church", Collected Papers, 1947, p.84.

3. V.G., II, c.f. Memorials of St. Dunstan, ed. W. Stubbs, R.S. 63, 1874, pp.234-7 and 144-151. Vita Lanfranci, ed. J.A. Giles, Lanfranci Opera Omnia, 1844, p.309.

tell the tale of a monk who became mad but only in the Vita Gundulfi and the Vita Lanfranci is Gundulf's role mentioned. In the Vita Gundulfi, the value of Gundulf's prayers and personal struggle with that particular demon are emphasised and the influences of Lanfranc and Dunstan, which are dominant in the other accounts, are reduced to one line. The intimate knowledge of Gundulf's role in this incident shows that the writer knew Gundulf at Christ Church, for the incident occurred after the translation of St. Dunstan's relics in 1073, but before Gundulf became bishop in 1077. On the other hand, the fact that the Vita Gundulfi contains a different version of the incident from Eadmer's account, reveals that a separate tradition had developed regarding this event. The author was not writing in the Christ Church tradition but from the point of view of a Rochester monk.

It is possible, but not proven, that this Rochester monk came from Normandy. A Continental standpoint is suggested in at least two passages. He introduces the healing of the mad man at Christ Church by referring to the sins of the community¹ (which, of course, the Normans had come to correct) but omits Eadmer's comment that the incident led to an improvement in standards. Secondly, it has been observed that at the reunion of Gundulf and Anselm in England, the author uses the phrase, 'in finibus terrae' which is suggestive of a Continental attitude.² If the author is a Norman, this would explain one or two difficulties about the evidence for Gundulf's early life, particularly the reported conversations between Anselm and Gundulf.³ These are in praise of Gundulf and therefore unlikely to have been passed on to the author by Gundulf himself.

The contents of the Vita are well organised, following, for the most part, a strictly chronological order. The disadvantage of this method is that the author has to switch from describing Gundulf's activities in the priory to his responsibilities as a bishop of national importance and vice versa, which sometimes makes the narrative difficult to follow. There is a short description of Gundulf's parentage, his origins in the Vexin and his education at Rouen.⁴ Then comes the first drama in the book, Gundulf's journey to Jerusalem with the archdeacon of Rouen, William Bonne-Ame, later a monk and Archbishop of Rouen. On their return, they are threatened with shipwreck in a storm and vow that if they are saved, they will take monastic vows. The storm subsides and once back in Normandy, Gundulf

1. V.G., 11.

2. R. Thomson, ed., Life of Gundulf, 1977, p.5.

3. V.G., 8.

4. V.G., 2,3.

enters Bec.¹ His intense spirituality soon becomes apparant and he is appointed sacrist. When Lanfranc is moved to Caen, Gundulf moves too, becoming his 'coadiutor'. And when Lanfranc is appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, Gundulf comes to England, acting as Lanfranc's procurator. His services to the archbishop include his work for the relief of the poor and his leadership in Christ Church priory.²

Then there is a digression, the insertion of three letters from Anselm to Gundulf, introduced as a sample of their relationship.³ After this, the author returns to his chronological account, telling of Gundulf's appointment to the see of Rochester and his consecration. Of Gundulf's achievements at Rochester, the author speaks first of his acquisition of lands for the priory, the building of the priory, the growth in the numbers of monks and the translation of Paulinus' relics.⁴ At this point is inserted another letter of Anselm congratulating Gundulf on his elevation and consoling him on the burdens of office, and a second, which is more intimate in tone.⁵ Gundulf's personal routine in the monastery is next outlined, including the celebration of Mass, the music, his prayers and sermons. The benefactions of Lanfranc are recorded and the decision of Gundulf, with Lanfranc's approval, to give the monks land to provide for their food and clothing, 'pro eorum victus necessitudine et vestitus'.⁶ The author then turns briefly to Gundulf's peacemaker role in secular affairs but soon returns to his work in the priory, this time his provision for the poor.⁷ There follows an account of Gundulf's activity during the vacancy at Canterbury after Lanfranc's death. The appointment of Anselm gives the author a pretext to introduce more material on the relationship between the two men. Rufus' oppression of the Church provides the background for a speech by Gundulf against corruption in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.⁸ During this period only one achievement at Rochester is mentioned, the foundation of a convent at Malling.⁹ The second occurrence of an absence of the archbishop, the exile of Anselm (1097-1100) means that Gundulf again becomes a figure of national importance, as Anselm's deputy.¹⁰ The author praises the bishop's ability to negotiate with the king and his nobles and, as a sidelight, mentions Gundulf's influence on Henry's queen. The

1. V.G., section 4-7

2. V.G., sections 8-11

3. V.G., sections 12-14

4. V.G., sections 15-18

5. V.G., sections 19-20

6. V.G., sections 21-26
esp. 26

7. V.G., section 29

8. V.G., section 33

9. V.G., sections 34, 36

10. V.G., sections 35-38

rest of the Vita is devoted entirely to a narration of the last year of Gundulf's life, when he was gravely ill, and a long drawn out death-bed scene, which is a feature of medieval Latin literature.¹ The Vita records Gundulf's provision for the poor, his appointment of an abess of Malling and his choice of a successor. In the course of the narrative, details of Gundulf's devotion are mentioned, his gift of compunction, his prayer life, his love of the liturgy, his last Mass in the cathedral, his confession to Anselm, his request to be flogged for his sins and his final hours.

Although it is written in a literary mode, the Vita is remarkably reliable as a historical source. It is almost always in agreement with the Textus, for example, on the number of monks at Rochester, on the division of the mensa and the appointment of an abess of Malling.² The main difference between the two sources is that in the Vita the bishop's influence and consequent smoothness of transactions with the monarch and local landowners is exaggerated. The acquisition of manors was a long drawn out process although the grant of the manors of Haddenham and Lambeth, for example, by William Rufus is presented as an instance of Gundulf's personal influence on the King.³ It is clear, though, from the documents in the Textus that the manors were almost dragged out of Rufus. Haddenham had been bought by Lanfranc and transferred to Gundulf but the King refused to confirm Gundulf's grant of the manor to the priory and demanded payment for the concession. Finally, it was agreed that the King would confirm the grant, if Gundulf contributed to the building of a castle at Rochester. Similarly, Lambeth was only granted to the bishop, not as a gift freely given, but as compensation for the damage to the cathedral during the siege of Rochester by the King against Odo of Bayeux in 1088.⁴

Where the facts recorded in the Vita can be checked against independent sources, the Vita can be shown to be accurate. The healing of the Christ Church monk while Gundulf was a monk at Canterbury agrees with Eadmer's association of the incident with the translation of the relics of St. Dunstan in 1073.⁵ Gundulf's presence at the translation of the relics of St. Augustine, while he was in charge of Canterbury during the vacancy after

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1. V.G., sections 39-48 2. V.G., sections 17, 26, 36, 43 c.f. Textus, f.172,218,
 3. V.G., section 27 c.f. Textus, f.211-14, 173-174^v 198.
 4. Colvin, H.M., History of the Kings Works, 1963, pp.28-9.
 5. Eadmer, Vita Dunstani, in Memorials of St. Dunstan, ed. W. Stubbs, R.S. 63, 1874, pp.234-7.

Lanfranc's death, can be established as correct, by comparison with the records of St. Augustine's in which the translation is dated to the rule of Guido, abbot from 1087-93.¹ Even the circumstances of Gundulf's promise to become a monk, which have in the past been doubted,² can be corroborated with Norman sources. Gundulf made the journey to Jerusalem with William Bonne-Ame, whom Orderic Vitalis mentions as among the party of Thierry, abbot of S. Evroul who made the pilgrimage in 1057. This was two years before Gundulf entered Bec, which allows an appropriate length of time for such an arduous journey.³

As a piece of Latin prose, the Vita is fairly easy to read because it consists of short sentences or long sentences broken up by short clauses. A clause is often balanced against the preceding clause by rhyme or antithesis. Thus in chapter 6, the calming of the storm is described as:

Facto igitur voto cadit maris tempestas, redit serenitas.

More complicated examples of the rhyming technique occur:⁴

Sepius enim in diversis locis convenientes, mutuis se verbis in Dei succendebant amorem, archiepiscopo tamen divini amoris ignem frequentius accendente loquendo, episcopo vero se ad ignem illum accensum propius calefaciente tacendo.

Another favourite technique is to repeat the same idea in two clauses, using similar words but in a different order. Of Gundulf's relationship with Anselm, the author writes:⁵

Anselmus tamen, quia in Scripturis eruditior erat, frequentior loquebatur. Gundulfus vero, quia in lacrimis profusior erat, magis fletibus rigabatur. Loquebatur ille; plorabat iste. Ille plantabat; iste rigabat. Divina ille proferebat eloquia; profunda iste trahebat suspiria.

The same device is employed to praise Gundulf as bishop and abbot:⁶

His Gundulfus vivendi speculum, his totius religionis factus est documentum; his virga puerilia districte corrigendo, his baculis senilia misericorditer sustentando; his Martha necessaria procurando, his Maria intentae contemplationis se formam praebendo.

1. Goscelin, Historia Translationis, ed. J.P. Migne, P.L., vol. 155, col. 17.

2. Smith, R.A.L., "The Place of Gundulf in the Anglo-Norman Church", Collected Papers, 1947, p.84.

3. O.V., vol. II, p.69. 4. V.G., 33 and sections 2, 8, 24.

5. V.G., 8 c.f. I Cor. 3,6 6. V.G., 17

In addition, word-play occurs throughout the piece, as in chapter 16:

Vox se indignum clamantis opprimitur, cum quo se clamat indigniorem,
eo dignior acclamatur

and similarly in the description of Gundulf at the end of his life:¹

Pauperum igitur, ut coeperat, mortem ad esque curam paternam egit, nec
tamen episcopium suum pauperum miserando pauperavit.

The rhetorical question is also frequently used but exclamation is rare.²

Such tricks of style suggest a facility in the use of Latin, an observation supported by examination of the sources of the style. He does indeed employ several topoi of classical origin, notably in the description of Gundulf as,

clericum iuvenem iuvenilem aetatem morum senectute venustantem³

His facility in Latin is particularly striking in the way he moves the narrative along. A fine example of this is the phrase:⁴

iam nunc narrare incipiam, ne multa adhuc dicenda dicendo fastidium
lectoris incurram

On the other hand, for all that the Vita was written in a monastery, the author rarely quotes Scripture. The only direct quotations from the Bible are used to establish a specific time during the liturgy.⁵ Reminiscence is more common but the passages resembling the Bible are not extended.⁶

The narrative is broken up by the inclusion of snippets of conversation, anecdotes and two sermons of Gundulf. The dialogue is usually short and not particularly profound but one example of Gundulf's conversation shows that he was not without humour and was a match for Anselm: the latter complains that he does not remember all that he would like to remember: to which Gundulf replies that:⁷

lure utique ille amittit omnia, qui omnia concupiscendo amplectitur. Ego
autem non omnibus quae audio aequaliter intendo, sed ex omnibus unum
quod michi magis est cordi eligo, eique studiosius inhaerens aliquam ex eo

1. V.G., 39

2. e.g. V.G., 24, 29, 33

3. V.G., 3

4. V.G., 38 — see R. Thomson, The Life of Gundulf, 1977. 5. e.g. V.G., 22, 46

6. e.g. V.G., 3, 4, 8, 16, 17, 40 c.f. Anselm's letters in V.G., 12, 13, 19.

7. V.G., 33 (p. 55)

superni amoris dulcedinem michi elicio. Quemadmodum si cui egroto plura ciborum genera offerantur, ille autem non omnia sed ex omnibus unum sibi magis gratum veluti pomum eligat, quod degustando suae infirmitatis remedium aliquod capere valeat.

Often the excerpts are, as in classical biographies, revealing of character, expressions of Gundulf's attitudes to wealth, to the monastic life and even to death. Thus he exclaims when crowds flock to greet him:¹

O quis est qui pro me gaudere debeat? Ecce, infirmitate gravi detentus morior, et quid laude dignum in omni vita mea egi? Nec etiam unquam scintillulam unam fervoris et amoris Dei, ut dignum esset, tamdiu vivens apprehendere potui.

The Vita then is interesting as a piece of literature, as well as being a useful historical source. It does not fall naturally, though, into a particular literary genre, not even hagiography. There is evidence of various influences on the work but the author himself points to Eadmer's Vita Anselmi as a model.² A comparison of the Vita Gundulfi with the Vita Anselmi should therefore throw some light on the Rochester author's sources and will also assist in defining the literary genre to which his work belongs.

Eadmer's conception of his work, even when Anselm was alive, was different from that of the author of the Vita Gundulfi. Eadmer's Vita Anselmi was the second half of a two part biography, the first half being the Historia Novorum. That was an account of Anselm's public life as archbishop, while the Vita Anselmi was to be an account of Anselm's private life,³

ad privatam conversationem, vel ad morum ipsius Anselmi qualitatem.

This two-fold division was quite common in Anglo-Saxon hagiographical models⁴ and contrasts with the Vita Gundulfi which is a straightforward chronological account of Gundulf's life. In practice, of course, both the Vita Anselmi and the Vita Gundulfi, emphasise the personal life of their subjects. If anything, the Vita Anselmi contains more information on public events than the Vita Gundulfi simply because Eadmer, as Anselm's companion in exile, attended important events, whereas little is recorded about Gundulf's public life, not because

1. V.G., 40

2. V.G., 32

3. V.A., p.1

4. Gransden, A., Historical Writing in England 500-1307, 1974, pp.105-135.

it was deliberately excluded, but because Gundulf was not very active in national politics.

Since each author was a close personal friend of the subject of his biography, it is not surprising that two important themes in both works are personal spirituality and friendship. Eadmer presents Anselm as the contemplative monk, weighed down, as archbishop, by worldly cares. His disdain for secular business was so great that before pleadings in court, he would take a rest while his opponents argued about the presentation of their case.¹ At every opportunity, it seems, Anselm took time for contemplation and discussion of the Christian life.² In the Vita Gundulfi, stress is laid on Gundulf's single-minded devotion, as evidenced not only by his daily celebration of Mass, but also by his personal life in his attempt to construct oratories in each village of his diocese, so that he could pause for prayer as he journeyed between parishes.³ A particular aspect of Gundulf's devotion which is repeatedly mentioned is the gift of tears,⁴ which occurred during prayer, and his ability to move others to tears through his preaching.⁵

Depth of feeling is also apparent in both *Vitae* whenever friendship is discussed. The author of the Vita Gundulfi carefully describes the friendship between Gundulf and Anselm, through comments and letters. He mentions Anselm's opinion of Gundulf:⁶

Tunc cote mea cultrum tuum semper acuere quaeris; cote vero tua me
meum cultrum nunquam acuere permittis?

The appointment of Anselm as archbishop which results in he and Gundulf being reunited is seen by the Rochester author as an emotional climax in the relationship between the two men.⁷ This particular relationship between Anselm and Gundulf is only mentioned in passing by Eadmer but the Vita Anselmi is full of incidents which reveal the nature of Anselm's relationships with his monks, though not with fellow bishops. Anselm's companions in exile, including Eadmer, feature particularly prominently in the tales which Eadmer tells of concealing Anselm's identity at Susa and the incident with the relic of St. Prisca.⁸

Another manifestation of the personal approach in both biographies is the use of

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| 1. <u>V.A.</u> , p.45 | 2. <u>V.A.</u> , pp.32-34 and 93-97. | 3. <u>V.G.</u> , 21 |
| 4. <u>V.G.</u> , 7,10,21,17,40 | 5. <u>V.G.</u> , 33 | 6. <u>V.G.</u> , 8 |
| 7. <u>V.G.</u> , 33 | 8. <u>V.A.</u> , pp.103 and 133. | |

direct speech as a means of expression. Both authors adopt this but Eadmer includes direct speech far more than the Rochester author. The latter restricts the direct speech to one or two sentences only at a time, apart from the reported sermons of Gundulf, at least one of which is a set piece for an attack on corruption in the clergy. The odd sentences of direct speech are only excerpts from dialogue in which more often than not the words of only one speaker are given.¹ The direct speech is a means of revealing Gundulf's character showing his attitude to wealth, meditation and the monastic life. Only once, when Gundulf indicates that he wishes Ralph of Seez to be his successor, is dialogue a means of recording an event.² Eadmer employs dialogue for this purpose frequently. The disputes with the King and the audience with the Pope are portrayed as conversation between the central figures.³ This can heighten the drama of the occasion and is used to this effect in the conversation between Eadmer and the abbot of Susa when the former did not disclose the identity of his companion, Anselm. Eadmer employs dialogue in yet another setting: to record Anselm's views and his parables, as in the dialogue with the abbot on the treatment of novices, with Lanfranc on the English saints and with the guest on the secular and religious life.⁴ The most minor of incidents, such as the rescue of the hare and the freeing of the bird, are an opportunity for another simile, from Anselm, which Eadmer dutifully recorded.⁵ Eadmer is writing a long work in which he has time to dwell on the details of Anselm's life, recalling conversations which he himself heard. The dialogues therefore are quite extended and entirely natural.

This distinction between the use of dialogue in the works is the first hint that the prose style of each author is different. Eadmer's preference for direct speech to record events must in part be due to the fact that it is easier to write in direct speech than in indirect speech. He lacked the facility with Latin which has been noticed in the Vita Gundulfi. The devices employed in the Vita Gundulfi include rhyme, antithesis, rhetorical questions and balanced sentences. Eadmer was familiar with these devices but his sentences are very long and he relies more on rhythm than on rhyme to maintain momentum.

This concern for rhythm is seen in Eadmer's care for the punctuation of his manu-

1. V.G., 8,25,39,40 c.f. sermons in 23,33.
 3. V.A., pp.91,105 and 103.
 5. Ibid., pp.89-91.

2. V.G., 45
 4. Ibid., pp.37,50,74.

script, which has been described in some detail.¹ It is impossible to assess the original punctuation in the *Vita Gundulfi* because the surviving manuscript is not an autograph, but it is clear that the work did not depend on a carefully graded punctuation since it was written in short clauses and sentences, in marked contrast to Eadmer's.² In Eadmer's sentences, because they were long, the clauses had to be broken up according to the sound to make the sense clearer. A typical sentence of Eadmer's prose should be compared with a typical sentence in the *Vita Gundulfi*: Eadmer writes thus:³

Quam assequi cupiens, venit ad quendam sibi notum abbatem, rogans illum ut se monachum faceret. Sed abbas voluntate ipsius agnita, quod petebat inscio patre illius ne offenderet animum eius facere recusavit. At ille in suo proposito perstans, oravit deum quatinus infirmari meretur, ut vel sic ad monachicum quem desiderabat ordinem susciperetur.

The following passage from the *Vita Gundulfi* records a similar stage in Gundulf's career, his entry into the monastic life:⁴

Differente autem archidiacono reddere votum, quod tamen Cadomi postmodum soluit, Gundulfus Becci religionis veste induitur, monachilis vitae rudimentis sub Herluino abbate et Lanfranco priore imbutur, et inter perfectos iam ab ipso initio monachos computatur. Erat enim vir oboedientiae multae, abstinentiae magnae, orationis assiduae, compunctionis praecipuae, ut si eius attenderes oculos lacrimis diffluentes, duos esse diceres fontes rivulis effluentes.

In the latter the use of rhyme and assonance, often repeated, carries its own momentum. The author was striving for literary effect. Whether he was successful or not depends on the taste of the reader but certainly, the Latin is not as contrived as some other contemporary authors. The extract from the *Vita Anselmi* does not contain rhyme or assonance but is carefully phrased by means of punctuation. In their own way, the sensitivity to Latin vocabulary in the *Vita Gundulfi* and the awareness of the importance of punctuation shown in the *Vita Anselmi* both represent improvements in the handling of Latin.

The most important difference between the *Vita Gundulfi* and the *Vita Anselmi* is the fact that the miraculous element looms larger in the latter than in the former. Through-

1. *V.A.*, pp. xxv-xxxiv

2. *B.L.*, Cotton Nero A.viii.

3. *V.A.*, p. xxx

4. Cotton Nero A.viii, f.45^v *V.G.*, 7.

out the Vita Anselmi, the subject is portrayed as above mortal man. He is marked out, even in his youth, by his desire for the monastic life, as expressed in his visions.¹ As abbot and archbishop, Anselm was the agent of many miracles including the cure of sick monks through touching them, giving sight to the blind and pacifying the demented.² He performs other feats of long hagiographical tradition, such as extinguishing a fire³ and helping a fisherman to catch a large fish.⁴

Such miracles were totally excluded from the Vita Gundulfi, although the author evidently believed in them, for he recounts one which occurred at the translation of the relics of St. Paulinus.⁵ Gundulf's healing of the possessed man at Christ Church, however, is presented as a praeternatural event resulting from Gundulf's assiduous prayer and devotion.⁶ Indeed, although the Rochester writer has much to say about Gundulf's spirituality, especially his tears, he places more emphasis on the practical and human aspects of Gundulf's character than does Eadmer in the case of Anselm. Gundulf is a combination of the attributes of Martha and Mary, the active, as well as the contemplative:⁷ active in distributing alms to the poor as well as praying for the world, efficient in administration as well as being a devotee of the Virgin.

In these ways, the Vita Gundulfi less closely resembles the Vita Anselmi than might be expected. Each author writes from the same position, starting from his own memories of a personal friend. As a result, the two works share certain themes, notably an intense spirituality and the role of friendship. Beyond this, however, the style of the works and the presentation of the subjects are rather different. Eadmer portrays Anselm as a saint with a human face whereas the Rochester monk presents Gundulf as a human being of outstanding faith. This comparison raises interesting questions about other possible models for the Vita Gundulfi and the genre to which it belongs.

The Vita Anselmi was not the only model available to the Rochester author. The Rochester library included several saints' lives and examples of Desert Literature to which the

1. V.A., p.4

2. Ibid., pp.23,57,131,120,137.

3. Ibid., pp.65 and 125 and pp.26-28) c.f. Vita Wulfstani, ed. R.R. Darlington, Camden

4. Ibid., pp.117-118)

3rd ser., vol. xl, 1928, Bk. II, ch. 21.

5. V.G., 18

6. V.G., 11

7. V.G., 17,29

author could have referred. In addition to lives of local Canterbury saints, there was a copy of the miracles of St. Martin,¹ whose life was one of the most frequently read in the Middle Ages, and Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, the standby of all monastic writers, as well as his life of St. Cuthbert.² Examples of Desert Literature include Jerome's lives of St. Paul, St. Hilary and St. Anthony and Cassian's Collationes.³ The priory also possessed a secular life, the Liber Karoli, probably Einhard's life of Charlemagne.⁴

It is very difficult to trace with certainty, the influence of ancient models on later vitae. It has been suggested that lively conversation is a sign of the influence of the Desert tradition and that because the Vita Anselmi contains such conversation, it was inspired by that tradition.⁵ The dialogue in the Vita Gundulfi, however, although quite frequent, is rather different from that in the Vita Anselmi, as has been indicated. There is, moreover, a difference in the quality of the conversation in the two works. Anselm speaks often about his own motives and recounts parables,⁶ which has something in common with the Desert tradition. In the Vita Gundulfi, on the other hand, the direct speech is brief and although it is occasionally revealing of character, the sayings are not particularly introspective or full of spiritual insight, which can be seen from the example of the direct speech of the Vita Gundulfi concerning Gundulf's desire to help the poor:⁷

Deo gratias ago quia michi facultas suppeditat tanta quae pauperum
indigentiam relevare et successori meo secum homines etiam habenti
triginta novos ad usque redditus terrae copiam posse praestare.

It also seems unlikely that the Vita Gundulfi was based on St. Martin's life. This was a model of heroic Christian biography, an account of a saint complete with miracles, a man about whom little information was given but who was an agent of God's supernatural powers. Since the Vita Gundulfi hardly refers to miracles, a life of St. Martin can be dismissed as a potential model for the Rochester author. Instead, possible models for the Vita should be sought in another genre, the commemorative biography, 'in which the display of supernatural powers is subordinated to the display of activity directed towards a practical end'.⁸ An

1. Catalogue I, p.126.

2. Ibid., p.126.

3. Ibid., pp.124 and 127.

4. Ibid., p.126.

5. Southern, R.W., St. Anselm and his Biographer, 1963, p.327.

6. V.A., pp.8-10,37,74,89-91.

7. V.G., 39.

8. Southern, R.W., St. Anselm and his Biographer, 1962, p.323.

example of this genre, with which the Rochester author may have been familiar, even though the work is not listed in Catalogue I, is Gilbert Crispin's Vita Herluini.¹

This was written at the same time as the Vita Anselmi, between 1109-1112, shortly before the Vita Gundulfi. Gilbert Crispin makes it clear that his aims in writing are different from those of ancient hagiographers:²

Referimus miracula, sed eis unde vulgus fert sententiam multum pauciora,
potiora quanquam non defuerunt et ipsa quid enim gloriosus quam quod victus
ab eo ubique hostis, Deo vincente, succubuit? robor constantiae illius
duris hactenus adversitatum ictibus perfringere conabatur; sed conamen eius
omne frustrabatur, nunc malis pravorum exemplis suffodere molitur.

Herluin, like Gundulf, is portrayed as a man of intense spirituality in whom the active and contemplative were united. He was an uneducated man who had been a knight before becoming a monk. When he first retired from the world, he lived off the fruits of his labour in the fields, prepared as he was for manual work.³ When joined by others he accepted his responsibility for their material needs and spent much time acquiring estates, as did Gundulf. To some extent, of course, the resemblance of the two lives reflects circumstances. Of necessity, both men were practical for they were both founding fathers facing the same problems.

On the spiritual aspect of his subject, Gilbert Crispin portrays an emotional man but does not give prominence to the miraculous. Herluin received the gift of compunction, and many tears were shed at the consecration of the church at Bec, the occasion of the last meeting of Herluin and Lanfranc, just prior to Herluin's death, a fitting climax to the vita.⁴ Yet Gilbert is reticent on miracles. Several are recorded but they are not examples of the supernatural, but rather of the praeternatural. He reports that Herluin had prior knowledge of the death of a local man who had a reputation for wickedness and in another incident Herluin recognised the devil who came to the abbey in the guise of a clerk.⁵ These are examples of miraculous insight, not miraculous cures. Again, mention is made of the way the wind changed direction when Herluin wished to cross the Channel, a result of Herluin's constant prayer.⁶

1. Edited by J.A. Robinson, Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster, 1911, pp.87-110. Recently described by C. Harper-Bill, "Herluin, Abbot of Bec and his Biographer", Studies in Church History, vol. 15, 1978, pp.15-25. On the date, see Gibson, M.T. Lanfranc of Bec, 1978, pp.23 and 195.

2. p.92

3. *ibid.*, p.91

4. *ibid.*, pp.106-8

5. *ibid.*, p.95

6. *ibid.*, p.101

In these respects, the Vita Gundulfi is similar to the Vita Herluini. Yet the written styles of the works are different. Gilbert's account too is based on personal knowledge of his subject yet he records nothing of Herluin's conversation. The only examples of direct speech are banal exchanges with Lanfranc at the end of the work and they are not at all revealing, unlike the comments in the Vita Gundulfi. A second difference is that Gilbert's work is permeated with quotations from the Bible, like Eadmer's writings, but unlike the Vita Gundulfi. Finally, as a piece of Latin prose, the Vita Herluini is less artistic than the Vita Gundulfi. Gilbert writes in long sentences without any attempt to employ rhyme or word play. He rarely breaks up his narrative with dialogue or analogies, of which, in fact, there is only one, albeit a famous one, of the tree of Bec, with spreads its branches throughout England and Normandy.

The Vita Gundulfi thus has more in common with the Vita Herluini and other eleventh century Continental biographies than with traditional hagiography. The author was not writing about Gundulf in support of his canonisation, as was Eadmer, but was writing in honour of the first head of a monastic community. He did not model his Vita on heroic biography or draw inspiration from classical or Desert Literature. Instead, the work should be seen as a particularly well written example of the genre of commemorative biography.

The Vita Gundulfi and the Textus Roffensis represent the peak of academic achievement among the second generation of monks at Rochester. To judge from these works the Rochester monks applied their minds to the practical necessity of record-keeping and the writing of biography for edificatory purposes, both traditional interests of religious communities. For neither of these activities, however, did the monks have frequent recourse to the library. Even when they did refer to the library, they did not employ the scholarly texts of the Fathers. These books, which had stimulated the Norman leaders of the priory, Ralph and Ernulf, were not studied in depth by the second generation of monks at Rochester. These Norman superiors had supplied Rochester priory with a library of patristic texts, which was the envy of any cathedral school engaged in advanced scholarship, but before those leaders had passed away, the new generation of monks had turned their attention to other less academic subjects.

Nevertheless, even if the monks themselves lost interest in their books, the library was there to be used by greater minds. Among these was Robert Pullen, the master of theology, who taught in England and France in the middle of the twelfth century and was eventually appointed papal chancellor in 1144, the first Englishman to be given office in the Roman curia.¹ Before this appointment, however, he had been archdeacon of Rochester, although when he took up this office is unclear because the records of Rochester archdeacons at the beginning of the twelfth century are scanty. It is thought, however, that he was teaching theology either in Exeter or Oxford, probably the latter, from 1133 for five years and is thus unlikely to have been made archdeacon at Rochester until 1138.² The circumstances of his appointment are rather abnormal because it is at the time after the fire of 1137 when the community was dispersed and the see was in the charge of a caretaker bishop, John II of Seez. By 1142, Robert was in Paris where John of Salisbury listened to his teaching.³ Meanwhile, the new bishop of Rochester, Ascelin, was trying to force Robert to return to residence at Rochester.⁴ Thus, Robert's stay at Rochester was brief but even so he may well have had time to browse in the library and write. His main work, the Liber Sententiarum is a theological piece solidly based on patristic thought⁵ and, undoubtedly, the Rochester library would have furnished Robert with the main reference books he required.

The fact that the Rochester library was built up at a period when Benedictine monasticism boasted outstanding scholars, meant that the priory acquired the patristic texts which were the basis of scholarship at that time and, as it happened, throughout the Middle Ages. As a result, although the Benedictine cathedrals were overtaken by other centres of scholarship, Rochester cathedral was able to sustain learned bishops and encourage students. After Robert Pullen, came — in the thirteenth century — a series of scholar-bishops,

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1. Courtney, F., Cardinal Robert Pullen, Analecta Gregoriana, vol. lxiv, 1954, pp.1-19.
 2. Poole, R.L., "The Early Lives of Robert Pullen and Nicholas Breakspear", Essays presented to T.F. Tout, ed. A.G. Little and F.M. Powicke, Manchester, 1925, pp.61-70.
 3. John of Salisbury, Metalogicon, ed. C.C.I. Webb, 1929, Bk. 1, ch. 5.
 4. The Letters of St. Bernard, transl. B.S. James, 1953, nos. 271 and 316 and Reg. Roff., pp.8-9.
 5. ed. Migne, J.P., P.L., vol. 186, cols. 625-1010.

including Gilbert Glanville, learned in both laws, Henry Sandford and Benedict Sansetun, who were both associated with Stephen Langton,¹ and finally, Walter of Merton, founder of Merton College. In the fourteenth century, the priory school was sending pupils to Oxford. Henry of Renham, a monk, is credited in a fourteenth century Rochester manuscript (Royal 12 G.iii) with copying the works of Aristotle after hearing lectures there, while John of Sheppey gained a reputation at Oxford for his sermons and on his return to Rochester, became prior and then bishop.² Even at the Reformation, the library was considered sufficiently valuable to be spared destruction and to be removed to the Royal Library. There the books have survived until the twentieth century to be studied and treasured by present-day scholars.

1. Gibbs, M., and Lang, J., Bishops and Reform 1215-72, Oxford, 1934, pp.27-8.

2. See above, p.65.

APPENDICES

Appendix IChronological List of Rochester Manuscripts in an identifiable House-style

Group A : Pre-1100

London

B.L., Royal 2 C.iii
 Royal 5 D.i
 Royal 5 E.x
 Royal 6 C.x

Omeliae
 Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos, LI-C
 Prosper, de vita contemplativa et activa
 Gregory, Registrum

Group B : c.1107-1122/23

Cambridge

C.C.C. 184
 C.C.C. 332
 Trinity College 0.2.24

 Trinity College 0.4.7
 University Library Ff.4.32

Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica
 Augustine, de praesentia Dei, etc.
 P. Damianus, Dominus vobisum, Augustine,
 de agone christiano
 Jerome, de Hebraicis Questionibus
 Augustine, de pastoribus, de ovibus etc.

Eton College 80

Jerome, contra Jovinianum

London

B.L., Harley 3680
 Royal 3 B.i
 Royal 3 C.iv
 Royal 4 B.i
 Royal 5 A.vii
 Royal 5 A.xv
 Royal 5 B.iv

Bede, Historia Anglorum
 Isidore, de genesi etc.
 Gregory, Moralia, 1-16
 Gregory, Omeliae in Ezechielem
 Paschasius Radbertus etc.
 Augustine, Encheridion, etc.
 Augustine, de Trinitate

Royal 5 B.vii
 Royal 5 B.x
 Royal 5 B.xii
 Royal 5 B.xiii
 Royal 5 B.xvi
 Royal 5 D.ii
 Royal 5 D.iii
 Royal 5 D.ix
 Royal 6 A.i

Augustine, contra V hereses
 Augustine, contra Faustum
 Augustine, de doctrina Christiana
 Augustine, exceptiones
 Augustine, Confessiones
 Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos, CI-CL
 Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos, I-L
 Augustine, de Civitate Dei
 Ambrose, Hexameron

London (cont'd)

B.L., Royal 6 A. iv
 Royal 6 A. xii
 Royal 6 B. vi
 Royal 6 C. iv
 Royal 6 C. vi
 Royal 6 D. ii
 Royal 8 D. xvi
 Royal 12 C. i
 Royal 15 A. xxii

Lambeth Palace, 76

Manchester, J. Rylands, Lat. 109

Oxford

Bodleian, Bodley 134
 Bodley 387

Rochester, Cathedral

Group C : 1122/23-c.1137

London

B.L., Royal 1 C. vii
 Royal 4 A. xii
 Royal 4 C. iv
 Royal 5 C. i
 Royal 5 C. viii
 Royal 6 D. v

Ambrose, de Officiis
 J. Chrysostomus, etc.
 Ambrose, de Mysteriis
 Ambrose, de Fide
 Gregory, Moralia, 17-35
 Jerome, Epistolae
 J. Cassianus, de Institutis
 Rodulfus, de ratione et peccatore, etc.
 Solinus, de mirabilibus mundi, etc.

Augustine, Retractiones; Cassiodorus,
 Institutiones

Epp. Pauli

Augustine, de nuptiis, contra Julianum, etc.
 Augustine, de adulterinis coniugiis, etc.

Augustine, de consensu evangelistarum
 Textus Roffensis

The Rochester Bible
 Mattheus glo. et Epp. Pauli glo.
 Florus diaconus
 Augustine, de Genesi ad litteram
 Augustine, de verbis domini
 Prosper, etc.

Appendix II : Descriptions of Manuscripts

Principles Observed

1. If the manuscript is preceded by a contemporary table of contents this has been noted because it is evidence of Rochester provenance.
2. The number of folios indicates the number of medieval parchment folios.
3. In the collation, the Roman numerals at the beginning or end of the series, indicate medieval fly-leaves. A double bar line between two quires shows that the change in the pattern in the number of leaves in the quire coincides with the end or beginning of a new text in the manuscript. A figure in brackets represents medieval leaves which have been lost from a quire but which must have once existed to judge from pieces of parchment, the quiring pattern or the text.
4. Signatures often occur irregularly because they were cut off by the binder. One surviving signature has been interpreted as the method used for the whole book. Only the original series of signatures has been recorded, later series being ignored.
5. The length of the written area is the distance from the base of the minim on the last line to the top of the minim on the first line. The width of the written area is the distance between the left-hand inner vertical bounding line to the right hand inner vertical bounding line. Measurements are in millimetres.
6. The space between the rulings is the whole of the space between each horizontal ruled line.
7. The description of the ruling has been codified for the sake of brevity. The first group of figures and letters, usually four, refers to horizontal lines; the second group, in Roman numerals, refers to vertical lines. The first group indicates which horizontal lines were drawn right across the page, extending into the margins beyond the vertical lines, which act as a boundary of the written space. These 'through-lines', as they may be termed, were normally two of the first, second or third lines which are represented by Arabic numerals, and two of the ante-penultimate, penultimate or ultimate lines, which are represented by the respective initial, A, P, U.
The second group of figures, consisting of Roman numerals, indicates the number of

vertical lines at the edge of the written area. Two figures denote that the text was written in one column with vertical lines in both margins. Three figures denote that the text was written in two columns with vertical lines in the central space between the two columns of writing as well as in each margin. The middle numeral represents the number of lines in the central space.

8. The quires are arranged so that a hair-side always faces a hair-side and a flesh side always faces a flesh side. A quire always begins and ends with a hair-side. The pattern of leaves within a quire of 8 will therefore be:- HFFHFFHFFHFFHFFH.
9. The quality of the parchment of the books is good unless otherwise stated. Pricking is in the outer margin only unless otherwise stated.
10. The binding is described only if it is possibly the original one.
11. The number of scribes in each manuscript is given at the head of the section on script. Each hand which occurs in that manuscript, over several folios, is described unless it has already been discussed in the description of another manuscript in which the same hand occurs. Punctuation, marginalia and abbreviation are usually described for the whole of the manuscript unless a particular scribe's hand has an unusual feature in his script different from the other scribes in the manuscript. In this case, the feature will be mentioned under the description of the individual hand.
12. All scribes employ the following letter forms and ligatures, unless otherwise stated: a round 's', a round 'r' after 'o', an 'st' ligature, an ampersand, diphthongs. On the other hand, where the 'ct' ligature or round 'ð' occur, this is stated specifically.
13. Punctuation consists of a low point which occurs at both the end of a sentence and within it, unless otherwise stated. Where it is at the end of a sentence, it is followed by a majuscule letter at the beginning of the next word. The median point, punctus elevatus and punctus circumflexus are mentioned in any manuscript in which they occur and it should be noted that they only occur within a sentence. The punctus versus does not occur unless specifically stated.
14. The extent of abbreviation is described and suprascripts, where they occur, are noted.
15. Decorated initials have been described in simple terms in so far as they are an aid to dating and linking manuscripts. Rubrics are also described and where the ink capitals have been filled in with a colour, usually red, this is noted as highlighting.

Royal 2. C. iii. Group A s.xi.ex.

Number of folios: 169 2nd fo.: /Āno/vissimo autem
Collation: i⁸-iii⁸/iv¹⁰-v¹⁰/vi⁸/vii¹⁰/viii⁸/ix¹²-xii¹²/xii⁸-xviii⁸/xix⁷
Signatures: Numbers at the foot of the last verso in the centre.
Size of the Page: 330+241 mm Written Space: 242+163 mm
Number of lines: 34 Space between rulings: 7-8 mm
Ruling: 1,2; P,U II,IV,II Dry point

Script

Several scribes but one main English one, folios 1-105^v, and one main Norman one, folios 106—

First Scribe

Minim: 2.5 mm

Ascender: 4 mm

A medium size script, rounded, in medium stroke and black ink. Minims and ascenders clubbed. Descenders also quite long and end in flat serif, or occasionally angular one, always to the right. A serif, too, on tail of minuscule 'g'. Distinctive minuscule 'a' with a large head. There is no 'ct' ligature, no round 's', nor a sign for '-orum'. The round 'r' is used but the half uncial 'd' is only used to save space. Punctuation consists of a point at median level within and at the end of a sentence, and a punctus elevatus. Capitals are projected into margins. There is no annotation but much correction but this is not contemporary with the script. Abbreviation by suspension and contraction is moderate. Suprascripts 'a' and 'i' are both known.

Rubrics: The opening title is in mixed capitals. The first five lines of the text are in red capitals of descending size. The sixth line is in brown capitals highlighted in red. Other rubrics in red round and angular capitals of normal size. The first two words of the text are in capitals of descending size highlighted in red.

Second Scribe

Minim: 2 mm

Ascender: 4 mm

A more angular and less even script in brown ink. The letters, particularly the ascenders, are not always firm and upright and the ascenders and descenders are not regularly the same height. Minims and ascenders are clubbed. Descenders do not regularly have feet. Punctuation consists of a low point, median point and a punctus elevatus. Capitals are projected into margins.

There is no annotation but some correction for which the most common signe de renvoi is the Greek letter theta.

Abbreviation is limited to standard words. The 'ct' ligature sometimes occurs but not always. No suprascripts.

Rubrics: Headings are in mixed red capitals the same size as the text. The first letter of each Homily is enlarged and in red. Sometimes the whole of the first line is in enlarged mixed capitals in brown ink which are highlighted in red.

Initials: Folio 5: Decorated initial 'I'. Black ink outline only. Cable design.

Royal 5 D.i. Group A s.xi.ex.

Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos LI-C

Number of folios: 250 2nd fo.: Caeleste
Collation: 1⁸-XXX⁸/XXXI¹⁰
Signatures: Numbered at the foot of the last verso in the centre.
Size of Page: 358 x 228 mm Written Space: 272 x 160 mm
Number of lines: 45 Space between rulings: 6 mm
Ruling: 1,2; P,U II,IV,II Dry point, some ruling over in plummet.

Script One scribe only.

Minim: 2 mm

Ascender: 3.5 mm

A cramped script in thin stroke and brown ink. Minuscule letters narrow, ascenders and descenders short. Clubbed minims and ascenders, latter to forked serif. Descenders are of different lengths and usually, but not always, have an angular serif at the end. Round 'r' and round 's' rarely occur.

Punctuation consists of points at two levels, low and median, and a punctus elevatus.

Occasionally, punctus versus at end of section. Capitals at the beginning of a sentence are projected into margins.

Annotations include the majuscule 'A' as well as the minuscule 'a' and the nota sign. There are a variety of correction symbols including theta and the less usual sign of an 'h' in the margin combined with a 'd' in the text.

Few abbreviations apart from the standard ones.

Rubrics: The opening title is in large multi-coloured mixed capitals. Other headings are in red minuscule of same size as the text or in green minuscule or in a combination of the two types. The first line of the text is in capitals of normal size highlighted in red or occasionally in green.

Initials: A decorated initial at the beginning of each psalm. Several complex initials - f.1,45,129^v, 175^v, 196^v, 226^v.

f.1 A rough initial in bright colours. The 'Rochester' lion forms the stem of the letter.

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Kaufmann, C.M., Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190, London 1975, no. 16, pl.38.

Ker, N.R., English MSS, 1960, p.42,n.2.

Royal 5.E.x. Group A s.xi.ex.Prosper, de vita contemplativa et activa (al. Julianus Pomerius)

<u>Number of folios:</u>	73	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	iniuncti
<u>Collation:</u>	ii + I ⁸ -VIII ⁸ /IX ⁷		
<u>Signatures:</u>	No quire signatures visible.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	225 x 138 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	167 x 85 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	29	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	5-6 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U II,II	<u>Dry point</u>	

Script

As in Royal 5.D.i. 1 scribe only.

Minim: 1.5-2 mm

Ascender: 2.5-3 mm

A slightly cramped script in light stroke and brown ink. Minims not clubbed but ascenders are. Ascenders and descenders are short but majuscule letters are elongated. Descenders are unsteady and do not always have serifs but when they do, the serifs are flat. Distinctive minuscule 'g' with a serif at the end of the tail.

Punctuation consists of a low point and a punctus elevatus. Capitals project into the margin.

No annotation and little correction.

Standard abbreviations only and these do not occur very frequently.

Rubrics: Angular, or occasionally round, capitals of normal size in red.

Group 17
Royal 6 C.x / s.xi.ex

Gregory, Registrum

<u>Number of folios:</u>	201	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	-nei arident
<u>Collation:</u>	ii+I ⁸ -XIII ⁸ /XIV ⁸ /XV ⁸ -XXIV ⁸ /XXIII ⁵		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbers at foot of last verso in centre.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	348 x 230 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	256 x 162 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	42	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	6 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,3;P,U most common but very irregular. II,IV,II Dry point but some ruling over in plummet.		
<u>Script</u>	One scribe only		
	Minim: 2 mm	Ascender:	3 mm

A cramped script in brown ink, light stroke. Ascenders and descenders short and sometimes backward sloping. Minims and ascenders clubbed, the latter with a forked serif. Descenders are of an even length and end in very small, sharply angled serifs. A few hair-lines appear. Round 'r' and round 's' rarely occur. Punctuation consists of a low point at the end of a sentence and a median point and punctus elevatus within the sentence. Capitals letters at the beginning of a line are projected into the margins. Only the usual symbols in the margin, viz. '4' as an annotation and '⊕' as a signe de renvoi. Standard abbreviations only.

Rubrics At the beginning of each book within the work is a heading in enlarged round and angular capitals in red, blue, or green. Each letter has a heading in red or green minuscule or round and angular capitals of normal size.

Initials These occur at the beginning of most, but not all, of the books within the work at f.2, f.32^v, f.48, f.58^v, f.118^v, f.156, f.175^v, f.189^v.

f.2 Distinctive decorated initials with crude foliage decoration in bottle green touched with orange. Each initial is on a bright blue ground.

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 Ker, N.R., English MSS, 1960, p.15.

Corpus Christi 184 Group B s.xii.¼Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica (trans. Rufinus)

<u>Number of folios:</u>	182	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	successiones
<u>Collation:</u>	iv + I ⁸ -XXII ⁸ + ii		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbers at the foot of the last verso in the centre.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	288 x 198 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	202 x 137 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	28	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	7.5 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U	1,1	Dry point and plummet.

Script One scribe only — Scribe 7.

Minim: 2+ mm Ascender: 4+ mm

A well spaced, well proportioned script in black ink. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter sometimes having a forked serif. There are clear serifs on descenders which are at an acute angle to the stem. There are some hair-lines on final 'e' and 't'. The scribe does not distinguish between diphthongs 'oe' and 'ae'. Distinctive miniscule 'g'. Punctuation consists of a low point and punctus elevatus. A chapter is frequently ended with a punctus versus. Capitals are placed in margins. Annotation is quite rare, minuscule 'r' occurring occasionally in the second half of the book. Correction is by varied signes de renvoi. Abbreviation is frequent and includes suprascripts. The scribe distinguishes between a closed suprascript 'a' and an open 'a' to indicate '-rae' after 'p'.

Rubrics Headings are in red capitals of normal size. At the opening of the work, the first line is in enlarged black capitals highlighted in red and green, and the second line is in ink capitals of normal size highlighted in red. At the beginning of each book within the text, the first line is usually in ink capitals of normal size highlighted in red.

Initials A decorated initial at the beginning of the preface and a historiated initial at the opening of the main text.

f.1. 'P' A red initial decorated with a green geometric design and filled in with yellow. Similar initials on fos. 106 and 163.

f.2. 'S' A red outline initial on a yellow ground and filled in with green. A dragon chases a man up the stem of the letter.

Corpus Christi College, 332 Group B s.xii.¼

Augustine, de praesentia Dei; Rathramnus, de eo quod
Christus ex virgine natus est; and Jerome, opuscula

Number of folios: 125 2nd fo.: carnem
Collation: i + I⁸-II⁸/III⁴//IV⁸-V⁸/VI¹⁰ (lost 1)//VII⁸-XIII⁸ (lost 1)//XIV⁸-XVI⁸
(lost 1) + i

Signatures:

Size of Page: 222 x 148 mm Written Space: 160 x 95 mm (Item 1 has smaller written space)

Number of lines: 30 Space between rulings: 5.5 mm

Ruling: 1,2; P,U II,II Not always well done. Some ruling in plummet but mainly dry point.

Script At least nine scribes of whom three, the last two and another, who made insertions on spare folios, are later twelfth century hands.

a. pp. 1-34 (except fos. 30-32)

Minim: 2-2.5 mm Ascender: 4-4.5 mm

A small to medium sized script in black ink. Minims have serifs as do descenders, which end in a serif at an acute angle to the stem of the letter. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Hair-lines are prominent on 'e' and 't'. The scribe does not distinguish 'oe' from 'ae' and avoids the sign for '-rum'.

b. pp. 35-40

Minim: less than 2 mm Ascender: less than 4 mm

A small, sometimes backward sloping script in medium stroke and brown ink. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders are long and end in a serif at an acute angle to the stem. Punctuation is careless but hair-lines are avoided. The scribe does not distinguish 'oe' from 'ae'.

c. pp.41-90 Scribe 4 See Royal 15.A.xxii

Minim: 2 mm Ascender: 3.5 mm

d. pp.91-112

Minim: 2 mm Ascender: 4 mm

A small neat script in medium stroke and brown ink. Ascenders and descenders are short so the script does not take up all the written space. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter occasionally having a forked serif. Minims have serifs, as do descenders, at an acute angle to the right of the stem of the letter. No distinction between 'oe' and 'ae' and round 'r' avoided. A few hair-lines on 'e' and 't'. This scribe employs suprascript abbreviation but does not distinguish between open and closed 'a'.

e. pp.112-200

Minim: 2 mm Ascender: 3.5 mm

A small script in brown ink, less tidy than the most formal Rochester script. Minims and ascenders clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Minims have serifs as do descenders, which are at an acute angle to the right of the stem. Hair-lines are noticeable, particularly the downward turn on 't'. The scribe avoids round 'r' and does not distinguish between 'oe' and 'ae'. He employs suprascript abbreviation, using an open 'a' after 'p' to indicate '-rae'.

Punctuation is based on the low point and punctus elevatus. Two scribes (d and c) punctuate one or two items with the circumflexus. One (b) occasionally places a punctus versus at the end of a sentence.

All place capitals in the margin.

Annotation is not very frequent but includes majuscule '4'

Correction is by varied signes de renvoi.

The frequency of abbreviation varies but it is never very extensive. The individual scribes' preferences have been noted above. Suprascripts are unusual.

Rubrics Some scribes use red minuscule for titles but others use red round and angular capitals of normal size. Most scribes write the first word of the text in ink black capitals and sometimes this is highlighted in red.

Bibliography

Bishop, T.A.M., "Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts," 1, 1949-53, p.433.

Trinity College 0.2.24 1128 Group B s.xi.in

Various Theological Works by Bede, Peter Damian and others

Number of folios: 176 2nd fo.:

Collation: iii + I⁸-III⁸/IV¹⁰/V⁸-VII⁸/VIII⁹ (1 leaf added)//IX⁸-XII⁸/XIII⁴/XIV⁸-XIX⁸/
XX⁸-XXI⁸/XXII

Signatures: Lettered at the foot of the last verso in the centre. Last two quires
numbered at the foot of the last verso.

Size of Page: 213 x 142 mm Written Space: 140 x 75 mm (f.133— 150 x
75 mm)

Number of lines: 27 Space between rulings: 5.5 mm

Ruling: 1,2; P,U II,II Dry point. Rather crooked. Holes in
parchment.

Script Three scribes

- a. fos. 1-111 Scribe 1 See under Royal 12.C.i.
Minim: 2 mm Ascender: 3.5 mm
- b. fos. 112-133
Minim: 2.5 mm Ascender: 4 mm

This hand is slightly larger and less tidy than the other scribes in the manuscript. The script seems cramped as a result of the way ascenders and descenders overlap. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. There are feet on descenders whose serifs are at an acute angle always to the right of the stem. There are no hair-lines. Distinctive letters are the minuscule 'a' with a large head and minuscule 'g' with a short, angular tail. He is easily separated from the first scribe because he does not use the 'ct' ligature or round 'ð'.

- c. fos. 133^v-173 Scribe 4 See under Royal 15.A.xxii.
Minim: 2.5 mm Ascender: 3.5-4 mm

Punctuation consists of a low point and a punctus elevatus but the first scribe ends his texts with a punctus versus. Capitals are in margins.

The only annotation is majuscule '4'. Signes de renvoi for corrections are varied but an unusual one is the Saxon letter 'þ'.

Abbreviation is moderately frequent but this scribe does not use suprascripts on the same scale as the other two who employ suprascript 'a' and 'i' regularly and differentiate between an omitted '-ra' and an omitted '-ua'. All three scribes distinguish between 'oe' and 'ae'.

Rubrics The first scribe wrote headings in red minuscule and the first words of the text in similar ink capitals highlighted in red. The other two scribes wrote headings in mixed red capitals of the same size as the text and the first line of the text either in similar ink capitals or enlarged ink capitals.

Bibliography

Augustine, *de agone christiano*, ed. J. Zycha, *C.S.E.L.*, vol. xxxi, Vienna, 1900.
 Bishop, T.A.M., "Notes on Cambridge MSS", *Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, vol. 1, 1953, pp. 433-440

Trinity College 0.4.7. [1238] Group B s.xii.¼

Jerome, de hebraicis questionibus etc.

f.1^v Contemporary table of contents in hand of scribe of text.

<u>Number of folios:</u>	171	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	volentibus
<u>Collation:</u>	i + 1 ⁸ -XXI 8 /XXII ⁴ (wants 2)		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Lettered at the foot of the last verso in the centre except the last quire which was lettered at the foot of the first recto in centre.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	330 x 228 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	234 x 152 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	32	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	7-7.5 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U	II,III,II	Dry point
<u>Binding:</u>	Certainly medieval but probably not the original binding since the ridges on the spine suggest a late medieval date. White vellum on boards.		
<u>Script</u>	One scribe only — Scribe 3.		
	Minim:	3+ mm	Ascender: 5+ mm

A large bold script in black ink. One of the finest products of this scribe. Punctuation consists of a low point situated just above the ruled line, a punctus elevatus and a punctus circumflexus. The punctus versus occurs only at the end of each text within the manuscript. Capitals projected into margins. Annotation is frequent and includes both majuscule and minuscule 'a', minuscule 'r' and the nota sign. Correction is by means of a variety of individualistic signes de renvoi which are highlighted in red. Abbreviation is only moderately frequent but it does include suprascripts on complex words. The scribe distinguishes between suprascripts closed and open 'a' and between diphthongs 'oe' and 'ae'.

Rubrics Rubrics are all in red minuscule. The first lines of the text, however, are in enlarged round and angular capitals in red, green and purple followed by a fourth line in black capitals of normal size. This is the system used at the beginning of a text wherever there is a historiated initial. Where a new text does not begin with a historiated initial, it is introduced with a few words in ink capitals of normal size highlighted in red.

Initials A series of historiated initials in ink outline — f.1, f.2, f.32^v, f.74, f.75, f.112 f.132.

In addition some decorated initials in red and green or, alternatively in purple, brown and green.

Bibliography

- Bishop, T.A.M., "Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts", Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, vol. 1, 1953, p.440.
- Boase, T.S.R., English Art, Oxford 1955, p.45, pl.7.c.
- Dodwell, C.R., Canterbury School, 1954, pp.74, 119.
- Jerome, Liber quaestionum hebraicarum in Genesim, ed. P. de Lagarde, C.C., vol.lxxii, 1959.
- Kauffmann, C.M., Romanesque MSS, 1975, no. 23.
- Ker, N.R., English MSS, 1960, pp.15, 31.

Cambridge, University Library Ff.4.32 Group B s.xii.¼

Augustine, opuscula

Contemporary table of contents — in same hand as text. First two and last two items missing.

Number of folios: 133

Collation: (lost 1) i + I⁸(lost 2)/II⁸ - XV⁸, XVII⁸(lost 2)

Signatures: Minuscule letters at the foot of the last verso in the centre.

Size of Page: 286 x 208 mm

Written Space: 208 x 120 mm

Number of lines: 35

Space between rulings: 6 mm

Ruling: 1,2; P,U II,II

Dry point

Script One scribe only — Scribe 3. See Royal 8.D.xvi.

Minim: 2+ mm

Ascender: 3.5-4 mm

A very fine medium size script in dark brown ink. A smaller script than usual and slightly backward sloping.

Punctuation consists of a low point on or slightly above the ruled line, and a punctus elevatus. The punctus versus occurs at the end of an item. Capitals in margins.

Annotation is quite frequent and includes both majuscule and minuscule 'a' and the nota sign.

Correction is by means of varied signes de renvoi, highlighted in red.

Abbreviation is frequent but suprascripts are not employed. The scribe distinguishes between 'oe' and 'ae'.

Rubrics and display script Headings are in red minuscule. The first line at the beginning of each item is in round and angular capitals of normal size on a yellow ground.

Bibliography

Augustine, De baptismo, ed. O. Petschenig, CSEL, vol. lii, Vienna, 1918.

Augustine, De unico baptismo, ed. O. Petschenig, CSEL, vol. liii, Vienna, 1910.

Dodwell, C.R., Canterbury School, 1954, p.119.

Ker, N.R., English MSS, pp.14,31.

Eton College 80. Group B s.xii.¼

Jerome, Contra Jovinianum

Number of folios: 145 2nd fo.: vano. Obsero agrum ...

Collation: v + I⁸-XVI⁸/XVII¹⁴ (wants 4) + ii

Signatures: Minuscule letters at the foot of the last verso in centre.

Size of Page: 226 x 145 mm

Written Space: 162 x 88 mm

Number of lines: 23

Space between rulings: 7 mm

Ruling: 1,3; A,U II,II

Dry point

Script One scribe only — Scribe 3. See Royal 8.D.xvi.

Minim: 2.5 mm

Ascender: 5 mm

A firm, well spaced script in black ink. The scribe distinguishes 'oe' from 'ae'.

Punctuation consists of a low point and punctus elevatus.

There are some unusual red annotations, taking the form of minuscule 'r' or the nota sign.

Correction is by signe de renvoi.

Abbreviation is moderately frequent but there are no suprascripts.

Rubrics Headings are in red minuscule. The first two words of each book are in ink round and angular capitals of normal size.

Bibliography

Birley, R., "The History of Eton College Library", The Library 5th series, vol. xi (1956) pp.231-61.

Ker, N.R., "Robert Elyot's Books and Annotations", The Library 5th series, vol. xxx (1975) pp.233-37.

Harley 3680 Group B s.xii.¼

Bede, Historia Anglorum

<u>Number of folios:</u>	178	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	[manda] ta declaravit
<u>Collation:</u>	ii + i ⁸ -XXII ⁸		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Original signatures were numbers at the foot of the last verso in the centre but another series was later added at the foot of the first recto.		
<u>Size of page:</u>	305 x 210 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	223 x 125 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	30	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	7-8 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U	II,II	Dry point usually but plummet sometimes used by second scribe.
<u>Script</u>	Three scribes.	a. fos. 1-105 ^v b. fos. 106-175 ^v c. fos. 176-177 ^v	Scribe 9. See Royal 4.B.i.

a. fos. 1-105^v

Minim: 3 mm Ascender: 5 mm

A medium size script in medium stroke and black ink. Minims and ascenders clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders are of regular length and end in a hair-line serif at an acute angle to the stem of the letter. There are many hair-lines. Different from the second scribe in the manuscript because the tail of 'g' ends in a serif. Punctuation consists of a low point and punctus elevatus. There is little annotation or correction. Abbreviation is not extensive but suprascripts 'i', 'e' and open 'a' are employed. There is no distinction between 'oe' and 'ae'.

Rubrics The opening title is in red round and angular capitals of normal size and the first word is in similar purple capitals. The other rubrics of the first scribe are all round and angular capitals of normal size in red, green and purple. The first line is usually in similar coloured capitals or in similar capitals but in ink. The rubrics of the second scribe are in enlarged capitals as in Royal 4.B.i.

Initials A decorated initial at the beginning of each book within the history, viz. f.1, f.4, f.31^v, f.36^v, f.63, f.100, f.137^v.
Plain colour with geometric design in the spaces between the letters.

Bibliography

Colgrave, B. and Mynors, R.A.B., ed., Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum,
Oxford, 1969.
Laistner, M.W., A Handlist of Bede MSS, New York 1943, p.98.

Royal 3.B.i. Group B s.xii.1Isidore on Genesis and Jerome on the Epistle to Titus

<u>Number of folios:</u>	126	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	[Vo] latilia
<u>Collation:</u>	ii + I ⁸ -XIV ⁸ /XV ¹⁰ + ii		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbered at the foot of the last verso in centre.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	278 x 186 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	196 x 134 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	29	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	7 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U 1,1	<u>Dry point</u>	

Script One scribe only — Scribe 6. See under Royal 5.D.ii.

Minim: 2 mm

Ascender: 4 mm

A smaller script, and a more angular one, in medium stroke in dark brown ink. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, latter having a forked serif. Descenders are of uneven length and do not always have serifs, but if they do they are at an acute angle to the stem. Hair-lines are unusual and discreetly used. There is no head on minuscule Majuscule letters are elongated.

Punctuation consists of a low point situated just above the ruled line and a punctus elevatus. The punctus versus usually, but not always, occurs at the end of a chapter. Capitals are projected into margins.

Annotation is not frequent and is restricted to 'r'.

Correction is frequent and is done by means of signe de renvoi.

Abbreviation is extensive, and includes suprascripts, the scribe distinguishing between open 'a' for '-ra' and closed 'a' for '-ua'. There is no distinction between diphthong 'oe' and diphthong 'ae'.

Rubrics All headings are in red round and angular capitals of normal size. The first line of the text in the manuscript is in ink round and angular capitals of normal size highlighted in red. The first line of the text of other items is in enlarged ink capitals highlighted in red.

Royal 3. C. iv. Group B s.xii. in

Gregory, Moralia in Job, i-xvi

<u>Number of folios:</u>	232	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	turbatus es
<u>Collation:</u>	I ⁸ -XXIV ⁸		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbered at foot of last verso, usually slightly left of centre.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	364 x 242 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	257 x 165 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	42	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	6 mm +
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P.U	II,III,II	Dry point usually but a few quires in plummet.
<u>Script</u>	One scribe only - Scribe 10.		
	Minim:	2.5 mm	Ascender: 4.5 mm

A dark script formed with a medium stroke. Minims and ascenders clubbed, latter with a forked serif. Descenders are not regularly of the same length but they normally end in a serif at a sharp angle to the main stem of the letter. Some hair-lines, especially on 'e', 't' and 'r'. Round 's' used occasionally.

Punctuation consists of a low point and a punctus elevatus. Sometimes the punctus versus is used at the end of sentences. Capitals projected into margins.

There is no annotation but frequent correction for which a variety of symbols are used.

Abbreviation is common and suprascripts 'i', closed 'a' and open 'a' are used in words of several syllables.

Rubrics The opening title is in enlarged red round and angular capitals but less important titles are in mixed red capitals of normal size. First two lines of text are also in round and angular capitals, usually of normal size but sometimes enlarged. Usually highlighted in red.

Initials Decorated initials at the beginning of each of the three parts of the text in this manuscript plus one at the beginning of the prologue, viz. f.1, f.14, f.83, f.161.

Bibliography

Ker, N.R., 'English Manuscripts of the Moralia of Gregory' the Great in Kunst-historische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu Ehren, ed. A. Rosenauer and G. Weber, Salzburg, 1973,

pp.77-89.

Royal 4.B.i. Group B s.xii.¼

Gregory, Omeliae in Ezechielem, part II

Number of folios: 155 2nd fo.: cubitorum
Collation: $\sqrt{2}$ lost + 1⁸-XIX⁸/XX³
Signatures: Numbered at the foot of the last verso in the centre.
Size of Page: 288 x 218 mm Written Space: 198 x 127 mm
Number of lines: 23 Space between rulings: 9 mm
Ruling: 1; U II,II Plummet

Script One scribe only — Scribe 8.

Minim: 4 mm

Ascender: 6 mm

An enlarged, slightly backward sloping script in a broad stroke in black ink. Minims and ascenders clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders are of even length and end in a hair-line serif at an acute angle to the stem. Round 's' is common but round 'r' is rare.

Punctuation includes the circumflexus as well as the low point and the punctus elevatus. Punctus versus occurs at the end of a section. Capitals are projected into margins. No annotation and little correction.

Abbreviation is not very common and the use of suprascripts is restricted although the scribe does distinguish between 'oe' and 'ae' and uses a suprascript open 'a' to indicate an omitted '-ra' and a suprascript closed 'a' for '-ua'.

Rubrics The opening title is in red, yellow and green round and angular enlarged capitals. The first line of the text is in similar capitals. Similar rubrics throughout the manuscript.

Initials A decorated initial at the beginning of each homily, fos. 20, 30^v, 46, 59, 74, 89, 105^v, 121, 139^v.

Two historiated initials —

f.1 I Pencil outline. Dragon on stem, lion head at top of letter.
4^v Q Ink outline. A saint writing.

Bibliography

Adraien, M., ed., C.C., vol. cxlii, 1971.

Ker, N.R., English MSS, p.15.

Royal 5.A.vii. Group B s.xii.¼Paschasius Radbertus, de corpore et sanguine domini,Julian, Liber Prognosticorumf.1.^v Contemporary table of contents.

<u>Number of folios:</u>	164	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	de qua per
<u>Collation:</u>	i + I ⁸ -IX ⁸ // X ⁸ -XX ⁸ + iii		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbered at foot of last verso in centre.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	228 x 160 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	160-163 x 110 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	26	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	6 + mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1, 2; P, U 1, 1	<u>Dry point</u>	

<u>Script</u>	Three scribes	a. fos. 1-84 ^v	Scribe 1	Description under Royal 12.C.i.
		b. fos. 85-160	Scribe 2	
		c. fos. 161-164		

b. Minim: 2.5 mm

Ascender: 3.5 mm

An untidy script in medium stroke and brown ink. The strokes of letters do not appear to be properly joined. Minims and ascenders clubbed, latter usually having a forked serif. Descenders end in hair-line serifs at an acute angle to the stem. Many hair-lines on minuscule and majuscule letters. Scribe uses the 'ct' ligature and a round 'ð' regularly. He has a distinctive sign, a wavy line resembling an 's' to abbreviate '-bus'. Punctuation consists of a point at different levels, low and median, and a punctus elevatus. Both the low point and median point occur within and at the end of a sentence. A punctus versus is placed at the end of a section of text. Capitals are projected into margins. Annotation is frequent and includes minuscule 'a' and minuscule 'r'. Correction is frequent and the symbols varied. Abbreviation is extensive, many syllables being contracted, and suprascripts 'a' and 'i' are used occasionally on complex words. Scribe distinguishes between 'ae' and 'oe'.

Rubrics: All in red minuscule except one which is in red round and angular capitals of

normal size. The first word of the text is in round and angular capitals of normal size in ink, highlighted in red and green.

Bibliography

Paschasius Radbertus, De Corpore et Sanguine Domini, ed. B. Paul, C.C., vol xvi, 1969.
Vita S. Fursei, ed. B. Krusch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Ser. mer., IV, 1902.

Royal 5.A.xv. Group B s.xii.½

Augustine, Encheridion; Ambrose, de bono mortis; Lanfranc, contra
Berengarium

Number of folios: 91 2nd fo.: qua in alterus/summa felicitas

Collation: iv + 1⁸-X⁸/XI⁸ (lost 1) First two quires in wrong order.

Signatures: Quires numbered at the foot of the last verso in centre except the last quire which is numbered at the foot of the first recto.

Size of Page: 255 x 160 mm Written Space: 184 x 114 mm

Number of lines: 29 Space between rulings: 6.5 mm

Ruling: 1,2; P,U 1,1 Dry point

Script One scribe only — Scribe 6. See Royal 5.D.ii.

Minim: 2.5 mm Ascender: 4 mm

A medium size script written in a broad stroke in black ink. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders are even and end in a hair-line serif at an acute angle to the stem.

Punctuation consists of a low point and a punctus elevatus. Capitals are projected into margins.

Annotation consists of the majuscule '4' and the nota sign but both are rare.

Correction is mainly done by signe de renvoi but odd words are erased.

Abbreviation is quite extensive and includes suprascripts 'i' and open 'a'. The scribe distinguishes between 'ae' and 'oe'.

Rubrics These are all in red round and angular capitals of normal size. The first line of the text is in similar capitals highlighted in red and green.

Initials f.12 One decorated initial at the beginning of the text.

Bibliography

- Ambrose, de bono mortis, ed. H. Schenkl, C.S.E.L., vol. xxxii, Vienna, 1897.
Augustine, Encheridion, ed. M.P.J. van den Hout, C.C., vol. xlvi, Turnolt, 1969.
Ker, N.R., English MSS, p.14.

Royal 5.B.iv. Group B s.xii.1

Augustine, de Trinitate

Number of folios: 183 2nd fo.: sine proemiis
Collation: ii + I⁸-XXII⁸/XXIII⁶ (lost 2)
Signatures: Numbered at foot of the last verso in the centre.
Size of Page: 290 x 200 mm Written Space: 196 x 124 mm
Number of lines: 31 Space between rulings: 6 mm
Ruling: 1,2 P,U II,II Dry point

Script One scribe only. Scribe 4

Minim: 2.5 mm

Ascender: 4 mm

A careful, neat script in medium stroke and dark brown ink. Minims and ascenders clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders are of even length and end in a serif at an acute angle to the stem. Minims sometimes have serifs. Hair-lines on final 'e', 't', 'r'.

Punctuation consists of a low point just above the ruled line and a punctus elevatus. The punctus versus marks the end of each book of the text. Capitals are projected into margins.

Annotation is not frequent; only majuscule '4' appears. There are several marginal notes.

Correction symbols are varied.

Abbreviation is quite frequent and suprascripts occur. The scribe distinguishes between open and closed suprascript 'a'.

Rubrics: Red (oxidised) round and angular capitals of normal size. First words of text in similar ink capitals highlighted in red.

Bibliography

- Hunt, R.W., "The Chapter Headings of Augustine's De Trinitate ascribed to Adam Marsh," Bodleian Library Record V, 1954, 63-9.
- Ker, N.R., English MSS, pp.14,31.
- Mountain, W.J. and Gloria, F., ed. C.C., vol. L, Turnholt, 1968.
- Warner, G.F. and Gilson, J.P., Catalogue of Royal MSS, 1921, pl.40.c.
- Wilmart, A., La Tradition des grands ouvrages de S. Augustin, Miscellanea Augustina, vol. II, Rome, 1931, p.274.

Royal 5.B.vii. Group B s.xii.¼Augustine, contra V hereses + Bede, opuscula

f.1 Late twelfth century contents table.

<u>Number of folios:</u>	167	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	puer dei
<u>Collation:</u>	ii + i ⁸ -viii ⁸ /ix ⁷ //x ⁸ -xix ⁸ /xx ⁶ /xxi ⁸		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbers at the foot of the last verso in the centre.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	292 x 200 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	207 x 128 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	29	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	7-7.5 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U	ll,ll	Dry point

Script Two scribes.

a. fos. 1-71 and 91-166 Minim: 2.5 mm Ascender: 4 mm

A firm, confident script in medium stroke and black ink. The minims and ascenders are clubbed but not forked. The descenders are even and straight and end in a serif at a sharp angle to the stem. Few hair-lines. The scribe uses round 'r' but not round 's', round 'd' or the 'ct' ligature. No distinction between diphthongs 'oe' and 'ae'. Punctuation consists of a low point placed just above the ruled line and a punctus elevatus. Capitals projected into margins.

Annotation is frequent but this is in a different hand.

Correction by signes de renvoi and occasionally by erasure.

Abbreviation moderately frequent but there are few suprascripts.

Rubrics Red round and angular capitals of normal size and the first line of the text is in similar ink capitals. Once these are highlighted in purple.

b. fos. 73-90^v Minim: 2 mm Ascender: 4 mm

A small prickly script in light stroke and brown ink. It is similar to Royal 5.B.xiii, but the formation of some letters is different. Minuscule 'd' has a sloping back and minuscule

'g' has a straight tail. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter usually having a forked serif. Both ascenders and descenders are short, 'p' ending in a hair-line serif at an acute angle to the stem while 'q' is plain. Hair-lines on final 'e', 'r', 't'. Punctuation consists of a low point, a punctus elevatus and a punctus circumflexus. There is little annotation but correction by signe de renvoi is quite common, and correction by erasure occurs. Abbreviation is moderately frequent but there are no suprascripts. No distinction between diphthongs 'œ' and 'æ'.

Rubrics Red mixed capitals of the same size as the text.

Bibliography

Hurst, D., ed., Opuscula Bedae, C.C., vol. cxix, Turnholt, 1962 and 1969.

Ker, N.R., English MSS, p.14.

Laistner, M.W.L., A Handlist of Bede Manuscripts, New York, 1943, pp.43,63,76.

Royal 5.B.x. Group B s.xii.¹/₄

Augustine, contra Faustum

<u>Number of folios:</u>	214	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	evangelium quidem
<u>Collation:</u>	1 ⁸ -XXVI ⁸ /XXVII ⁶		
<u>Signatures:</u>	These are in different hands. One series at the foot of the last verso in the centre and another at the foot of the first recto in the centre.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	293 x 198 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	196 x 125 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	31	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	6.5 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U	II,II	Dry point

Script Three scribes

- a. fos. 1-61^V Scribe 5 — see under Royal 6.A.xii
- b. fos. 62-71 and 82-214
- c. fos. 71^V-81^V

Minim: 2.5 mm Ascender: 4 mm

A firm script consisting of medium strokes in brown ink. Minims and ascenders clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders are of even length and end in a hair-line serif at an acute angle to the stem. The scribe uses round 'r', round 's', round 's', but does not distinguish between diphthong 'ae' and diphthong 'oe'.

Punctuation consists of a low point slightly above the ruled line and a punctus elevatus. Capitals are projected into margins.

Annotation is quite frequent, majuscule 'A' occurring most often.

Abbreviation is extensive and suprascript forms are common. The scribe distinguishes between a suprascript closed 'a' to indicate an omitted '-ua' and a suprascript open 'a' to indicate an omitted '-ra'.

Rubrics The opening title is in red round and angular capitals of the same size as the text, and the first line of the text is in similar ink capitals. Other rubrics are red mixed capitals of normal size and beneath these the first word is in similar ink capitals.

Bibliography

Zycha, J., ed., CSEL, vol. xxv, Vienna, 1900.

Royal 5.B.xii. Group B s.xii.½Augustine, de doctrina Christiana, de vera religione

<u>Number of folios:</u>	167	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	divino munere
<u>Collation:</u>	iv + 1 ⁸ -XI ⁸ /XII ¹⁰ //XIII ⁸ -XX ⁸ + i		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbered at the foot of the last verso.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	272 x 175 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	187 x 110 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	26	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	7+ mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,3; A.U. II,II	<u>Dry point.</u>	Holes in parchment.

Script One scribe only — Scribe 3. See Royal 6.C.iv.

Minim: 2.5-3 mm Ascender: 4.5-5 mm

A fine script in black ink.

Punctuation consists of a low point situated just above the ruled line, and a punctus elevatus. The punctus versus occurs at the end of chapters.

Annotation is common, the symbols 'r' and 's' and the nota sign occurring often.

Correction is by varied signes de renvoi, including the Insular sign of an χ in the margin and a δ against the error in the text.

Abbreviation is extensive and includes suprascripts 'i' and 'a' above words of several syllables. The scribe distinguishes between 'oe' and 'ae', and suprascript closed and open 'a'.

Rubrics The opening title is headed by red minuscule and the first line of the text is in capitals of descending size highlighted in red and green. Other rubrics are in red minuscule.

Initials

- f.5 'S' Blue with a red line down the stem. There is a delicate red and green geometric foliage design within each loop. Yellow ground.
- f.8 'D' Green with a red line down the stem. Mauve geometric foliage within the loop. Yellow ground.

Bibliography

Martin, J., ed., C.C., vol. xxxii, 1962

Royal 5.B.xiii. Group B s.xii.in

Augustine, excerpts from various works

Contemporary table of contents.

<u>Number of folios:</u>	148	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	sanat. Quod autem.
<u>Collation:</u>	ii + I ⁸ -XIV ⁸ /XV ¹⁰ /XVI ⁸ -XVIII ⁸		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbered at foot of the last verso in the centre.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	286 x 195 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	203-10 x 142-7 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	33	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	6-7 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; A,P, <u>U</u> II,II	Dry point	Poor parchment.

Script One scribe only. Scribe 2
 Minim: 2-2.5 mm Ascender: 4 mm

A square prickly script in medium stroke and dark brown ink. Letters are not well formed because the strokes within each letter are not joined. The letters therefore have a broken appearance. The minims are clubbed or even have forked serifs, whereas the ascenders are clubbed but do not fork. Descenders are uneven and if they do have serifs, these are flat. Unusual letter forms are 'p', 's', 'n' and 'e', and the abbreviation for '-bus'. He does not use round 'r' after 'o'.

Punctuation consists of a low point, a median point, a punctus elevatus and punctus circumflexus. Capitals are projected into margins.

Annotation is rare although majuscule 'A' and minuscule 'r' do occur.

Corrections are frequent and signes de renvoi varied.

Abbreviation is limited in forms and in extent.

Rubrics: In red minuscule, usually in the hand of the scribe of the text, but one is in the hand of the Textus scribe. (f.81). The first word of the text is in round and angular capitals of normal size. The first letter is in red or green but there is no highlighting.

Bibliography

Wilmart, A., La Tradition des grands ouvrages de S. Augustin, Miscellanea Augustina, vol. II, Rome, 1931, p.286.

Royal 5.B.xvi. Group B s.xii.¹/₄

Augustine, Confessiones

Number of folios: 190 2nd fo.: Magnus es

Collation: I⁸-XXIII⁸ + vi

Signatures: Numbered at the foot of the last verso in the centre. The first quire has a catchword on the last verso. Quire nineteen does not have the usual pattern of leaves.

Size of Page: 280 x 172 mm Written Space: 180 x 95 mm Second scribe
178 x 93

Number of lines: 30 Space between rulings: 6 mm

Ruling: 1,2; P,U or I; U. II,II Plummet

Script Three scribes. a. f. 1-116
b. f. 117-128^v
c. f. 129—

a. f. 1-116

Minim: 2+ mm Ascender: 4+ mm

A medium-size backward sloping script written with a medium stroke in brown ink. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders end in a hair-line serif at an acute angle to the stem of the letter. Descenders and ascenders overlap. The scribe regularly uses the 'ct' ligature and the Tironian form of 'et', viz. **7** as well as the ampersand. Distinctive angular form of 's'.

c. f. 129—

Minim: 2 mm Ascender: 4 mm

A very neat, slightly angular medium size script in medium stroke and dark brown ink. Minims and ascenders have barely visible forked serifs. Descenders are short and end in a hair-line serif at an acute angle to the stem. Distinctive features of the script are the head on minuscule 'a' and a minuscule 'g' with a short angular tail which turns back on itself. The 'ct' ligature also occurs.

Throughout the manuscript:-

Punctuation consists of a low point and a punctus elevatus. There is no punctus versus. Minuscule 'a' does occur as an annotation and there are some marginal corrections to

individual words, but marginalia are rare. Abbreviation is only moderately frequent. Suprascripts are rare and there is no distinction between suprascript open and closed 'a' or between diphthong 'oe' and 'ae'.

Rubrics The opening title is in red round and angular capitals of normal size. The first line is in similar ink capitals of normal size. Other rubrics are in red minuscule or red round and angular capitals of the same size as the text. Neither scribe is consistent. The first words of each book are in ink capitals of normal size.

Initials f.1, f.2^v, f.3. An enlarged decorated initial at both the beginning of the prologue and of the work itself. The letter is in red or green and decorated in the opposite colour in arabesque fashion.

A similar decorated initial occurs at the beginning of each book within the text.

Bibliography

Ker, N.R., English MSS, p.14.

Knoll, P., ed., C.S.E.L., vol. xxiii, Vienna, 1891.

Wilmart, A., Miscellanea Augustina, vol. II, Rome, 1931, p.263.

does, a first line of the text in enlarged capitals followed by a line of capitals of normal size highlighted in red.

Initials Decorated initials at the beginning of several psalms f.1, f.43, f.52, f.70^v, f.90, f.103^v, f.150^v, f.171^v, f.183, f.197^v, f.208, f.213, f.227^v.

Bibliography

Boase, T.S.R., English Art, 1953, p.62.

Dekkers, D.E., and Fraipont, J., C.C., vol. xxxix, 1956.

Kauffman, C.M., Romanesque Manuscripts, 1975, no. 16, pl.39.

Warner, G.F., and Gilson, J.P., Catalogue of Royal Manuscripts, 1921, pl.41.a.b.

Wilmart, A., La Tradition des grands ouvrages de S. Augustin, Rome, 1931, p.303.

Royal 5.D.iii Group B s.xii.¼

Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos Ps. 1-L

<u>Number of folios:</u>	251	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	cilio iustorum
<u>Collation:</u>	1 ⁸ -XXX ⁸ /XXXI ¹⁰		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbered at the foot of the last verso in the centre but some quires numbered at the foot of the first recto as well.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	405 x 278 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	285 x 178 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	39	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	8 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U	II,IV,II	Plummet
<u>Script</u>	One scribe only — Scribe 8.		
	Minim:	3mm	Ascender: 4.5-5 mm

A confident, fairly large script formed in heavy strokes in black ink. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders are of regular length and end in carefully formed hair-line serifs at an acute angle to the stem. Minuscule 'a' has a trailing head. There are many hair-lines on minuscule letters, 'e', 't', 's' and 'r'. The scribe has a distinctive sign for '-ur'.

Punctuation consists of a low point and a punctus elevatus.

Annotation is quite common, majuscule and minuscule 'a' and minuscule 'r' being used most.

The manuscript contains few extended corrections by signe de renvoi and there is some correction by erasure, eg. f.62, f.88, f.94, f.122, f.140.

Abbreviation is very frequent and suprascripts are common. The scribe distinguishes between suprascript closed 'a' to indicate contracted '-ua' and suprascript open 'a' to indicate contracted '-ra'. He also distinguishes between diphthong 'oe' and diphthong 'ae'.

Rubrics The opening title is in enlarged round and angular capitals, the first line in red, the next in green and the next in blue. This pattern continues in the text, each successive line in slightly smaller capitals than the previous one until there is a line

of red capitals the same size as the text followed by a few words on the next line in ink capitals. All other headings are in red round and angular capitals of the same size as the text. The first line of the text is in black capitals of normal size.

Initials A decorated initial at the beginning of the tract on each psalm. A large plain letter with foliage decoration within the loop.

Bibliography

Boase, T.S.R., English Art, 1953, p.63.

Dekkers, D.E. and Fraipont, J., C.C., vol. xxxix, 1956.

Kauffman, C.M., Romanesque Manuscripts, 1975, p.81.

Warner, G.F. and Gilson, J.P., Catalogue of Royal MSS, 1921, pl.41.c.

Royal 5.D.ix. Group B s.xii.¼

Augustine, de Civitate Dei

<u>Number of folios:</u>	256	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	ei sacratiss
<u>Collation:</u>	i + 1 ⁸ -XXXI ⁸ /XXXII ⁷		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbered at foot of last verso in the centre.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	380 x 275 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	270 x 180 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	44	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	6-6.5 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U	II,III,II	Dry point and pencil

Script One scribe only — Scribe 4.

For description of letter forms, see under Royal 15.A.xxii.

Minim: 2-2.5 mm Ascender: 4 mm

Punctuation consists of a punctus and punctus elevatus.

Annotation is restricted to minuscule or majuscule 'a'.

Correction signs are numerous and varied and include majuscule 'A' and the Saxon 'þ'.
Occasionally, single words erased.

Abbreviation is frequent and includes many suprascripts on complex words. The scribe distinguishes between 'oe' and 'ae', and uses open suprascript 'a' for omitted '-ra'.

Rubrics The first title is in coloured capitals of descending size until they are the same size as majuscule in the text. Other headings are in coloured, most often red, round and angular capitals of normal size. The first line of the text is in similar capitals highlighted in red.

Initials Decorated initials fos. 6, 15^v, 24^v, 34, 43, 53^v, 60^v, 71, 81^v, 88^v, 102, 112^v, 121^v, 141^v, 155, 170, 199.

Historiated initials f.5

f.53^v, Q Boy blowing a horn to boar and sheep.

Bibliography

Dombard, B., and Kalb, A., C.C., vols. xvii and xviii, Turnholt, 1955.

Gibson, M.T., "Lanfranc's Notes on Patristic Texts", Journal of Theological Studies, vol. 22, 1971, pp.435-450, esp. 437.

Ker, N.R., English MSS, p.31.

Marrou, H.I., La division en chapitres des livres de la Cité de Dieu, in Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, 1951, pp.235-248.

Wilmart, A., Miscellanea Augustina, vol. II, La Tradition des grands ouvrages de Saint Augustin à Rome, 1931, p.286.

Royal 6.A.i. Group B s.xii.¼Ambrose, Hexameron

<u>Number of folios:</u>	135	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	In principio
<u>Collation:</u>	I ⁸ -VI ⁸ /VII ⁶ /VIII ⁸ -XVI ⁸ /XVII ⁹		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbered at foot of last verso in centre except quire XII, which is numbered at the foot of the first recto.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	266 x 182 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	198-200 x 120 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	24	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	8-9 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U	II,II	Plummet Some holes in parchment.

Script Three scribes

- a. fos. 1-84
- b. fos. 84-135
- c. Royal 7.A.xi f.19-24

a. fos. 1-84 Minim: 3 mm Ascender: 5 mm

A quite large upright script in medium stroke. Minims and ascenders are clubbed. Descenders are of regular length and end in a serif, for 'p' to the right at an acute angle, and on 'q' to the left at an oblique angle. Hair-lines on 'c' and 't', the latter sometimes having a cross-bar which turns upwards. Distinctive minuscule 'g' with a peculiar twist at the end of the tail. Scribe uses the 'ct' ligature. Punctuation consists of a low point and punctus elevatus. Capitals are projected into margins.

b. fos. 84-135 Minim: 2.5 mm Ascender: 4 mm

A large bold script in a medium stroke and black ink. The aspect of the script has a slight backward slope. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders are of regular length and end in hair-line serifs at an acute angle to the right on 'p', at an oblique angle to the left on 'q'. There are a number of hair-lines, e.g. on 'e', 't', 'r' and some even on majuscule letters. Unusual letter forms include the regular use of round 'ð' and minuscule 't' with a cross-bar which ends in a downward turn. The scribe does use suprascripts but does not always distinguish between suprascripts open and closed 'a' or diphthongs 'oe' and 'ae'. Both signs are used

indifferently to indicate either diphthong.

Punctuation consists of a low point and punctus elevatus and often a punctus versus at the end of a sentence. Capitals are projected into the margins.

c. Royal 7.A.xi. fos. 19-24

This quire was originally part of Royal 6.A.i., according to Dr. Ker. The page size, written area, the ruling pattern and spacing are all identical to that of Royal 6.A.i, which confirms the statement that it was part of the larger manuscript. The script has the same aspect as the hands of Royal 6.A.i, being a confident, fairly large script in black ink. The 'ct' ligature and the '-orum' sign distinguish this scribe from the others, as do his rubrics, which are in minuscule, not capitals.

Throughout the manuscripts:

Annotation does not occur. Correction is not common either and signes de renvoi are restricted to few forms.

Abbreviation is quite extensive and includes suprascripts. None of the scribes clearly distinguish between 'oe' and 'ae' or suprascripts open and closed 'a'.

Rubrics The headings are all in red round and angular capitals of the same size as the text except in Royal 7.A.xi. The opening lines of the book are in enlarged red and mauve capitals followed by a line in similar ink capitals of normal size. In the rest of the manuscript, the first line only is in ink capitals.

Initials f.1 'T' A rounded letter in purple.

Bibliography

Ker, N.R., English MSS, p.15.

Schenkl, A., ed., C.S.E.L., vol. 32, 1897-1902.

Royal 6.A.iv. Group B s.xii. $\frac{1}{4}$

Ambrose, de Officiis Ministrorum

Number of folios: 108 2nd fo.: Dominus dedit.
Collation: I⁸-XIII⁸/XIV⁴
Signatures: Minuscule letters at the foot of the last verso in the centre.
 The last quire is lettered at the foot of the first recto.
Size of Page: 260 x 164 mm Written Space: 180-185 x 95 mm
Number of lines: 29 Space between rulings: 6-6.5 mm
Ruling: 1,3; A,U II,II Dry point

Script One scribe only — Scribe 3. See Royal 6.C.iv.

Minim: 2.5 mm Ascender: 4.5 mm

Punctuation consists of a low point and punctus elevatus.

Annotation is not very common, the nota sign only being used.

Correction signs are varied and include majuscule 'A'.

Abbreviation is extensive but suprascripts are rare. The scribe distinguishes between diphthong 'oe' and diphthong 'ae'.

Rubrics Headings are in red minuscule. After the heading the first line of the text is in ink capitals highlighted in red.

Bibliography

Ker, N. R., English MSS, p.31.

Royal 6.A.xii. Group B s.xii.1John Chrysostomus, opuscula + Augustine, Fulbert and AlcuinNumber of folios: 181 2nd fo.: In profundumCollation: I⁸/II⁸-XVII⁸/XVIII¹⁰ (+ I)/XIX¹⁰/XX⁸-XXII⁸Signatures: The first series are numbers at the top of the first recto; the second series are letters in a similar position.Size of Page: 288 x 188 mm Written Space: 195-198 x 120 mm
(184 x 125 final scribe)Number of lines: 30 (24 : final scribe) Space between rulings: 6-7 mm
(8 mm final scribe)Ruling: 1,2; P,U II,II dry point
(1,3; A.U final scribe)Script Three scribes a. fos. 1-92; 122-46 Scribe 5
b. fos. 92-121 Scribe 4 See Royal 5.B.iv., 15.A.xxii
c. fos. 147—

a. fos. 1-92; 122-46. Minim: 2.5 mm Ascender: 5 mm

A bold, upright medium size script in medium stroke and dark brown ink. Minims and descenders clubbed, the latter to a forked serif. Descenders end in a short hair-line serif at an acute angle to the stem. Distinctive abbreviation for '-bus', in the form of a wavy line, 'b_s'. Also a distinctive symbol for '-orum' in which the right hand stroke is wavy

Punctuation consists of a low point, a punctus elevatus and occasionally a punctus circumflexus. The punctus versus marks the end of a text. Capitals projected into margins. Frequent annotation, the nota sign, majuscule 'Δ' or minuscule 'r' being common. Little correction.

Abbreviation is extensive and includes suprascripts on complex words but there is no distinction between open and closed 'a'.

He distinguishes between diphthong 'oe' and diphthong 'ae'.

Rubrics Red round and angular capitals the same size as the text. The first line of the text is in similar ink capitals.

c. fos. 147-180

Minim: 2.5 mm

Ascender: 4.5 mm

An untidy script, which has a rounded squat appearance, written in medium stroke and brown ink. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter, and sometimes the former, having forked serifs. Descenders are rarely straight but always end in a serif at an acute angle to the stem. Hair-lines occur on 'e', 'r', and 's'. The scribe uses a round final 's' and round 'd'.

Punctuation includes the punctus circumflexus as well as the low point and punctus elevatus. Capitals are projected into the margins.

Annotation is frequent and includes the majuscule 'A', as well as minuscule 'a' and 'r' and the nota sign.

Signes de renvoi are many and varied.

Abbreviation is frequent but suprascripts are rare although the scribe does distinguish between 'oe' and 'ae'.

Rubrics These are either in mixed red capitals of the same size as the text or in red minuscule. The first line of the text is in similar ink capitals.

Bibliography

Ker, N.R., English MSS, p.15.

Ambrose, de Mysteriis and Ivo of Chartes, Epistolae

f.1 Table of contents later than text.

<u>Number of folios:</u>	128	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	dimisit columbam
<u>Collation:</u>	i + I ⁸ - II ⁸ / III ⁵ / IV ¹⁰ / V ⁸ - XV ⁸ / XV ⁷ + ii (lost 1)		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbered at foot of last verso in centre.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	302 x 202 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	212 x 140-145 mm (less for first scribe)
<u>Number of lines:</u>	32	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	7 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U	II,II	Dry point and pencil
<u>Script</u>	Two scribes	a. fos. 1-22 b. fos. 23—	Scribe 4. See under Royal 15.A.xxii

a. fos. 1-22 Minim: 2 mm Ascender: 4 mm

A confident script written in a broad stroke in black ink. Minims and ascenders clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders are of even length and end in serifs at a sharp angle to the main stem of the letter. Few hair-lines. Scribe uses round 's' but not round 'r'.

Punctuation consists of a low point positioned above the ruled line, and a punctus elevatus. Capitals are projected into the margin. Punctus versus occurs at the end of a section occasionally.

No marginalia.

Abbreviation is limited in frequency and in scope although the scribe does distinguish between 'oe' and 'ae'.

b. f.23— Minim: 2 mm Ascender: 4 mm

A similar script but different because the scribe uses round 'r', and more hair-lines.

Punctuation includes the punctus circumflexus although this is a rare occurrence.

Some marginalia including the nota sign. Some correction by erasure as well as by signe de renvoi.

Rubrics The opening title is in red round and angular capitals of normal size, and these continue throughout the book although the second scribe also uses red minuscule. The first word of the text is in ink round and angular capitals of normal size.

Initials f.2 D Portrait of St. Ambrose) same artist as in Royal 5.C.i
f.23 Q Addorsed griffins) and Royal 5.D.iii.

Bibliography

Boase, T.S.R., English Art, O.U.P., 1953, p.64.

Courcelle, P., Recherches sur S. Ambroise, Etudes Augustiniens, Paris, 1973, p.162, pl.X

Dodwell, C.R., The Canterbury School of Illumination, Cambridge, 1954, p.77.

Faller, O., ed. C.C., vol. lxxiii, Vienna, 1955.

Kauffmann, C.M., Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190, London, 1975, p.81.

Ker, N.R., English MSS, p.31.

Warner, E.F. and Gilson, J.P., Catalogue of Royal Manuscripts, 1921, pl.45.d.

Royal 6. C. iv. Group B s. xii. $\frac{1}{4}$

Ambrose, de Fide, de Spiritu Sancto, De Incarnatione Domini

<u>Number of folios:</u>	152	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	Assertio
<u>Collation:</u>	I ⁸ -XIX ⁸		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbered at the foot of the last verso in the centre with enlarged numerals. Last quire numbered at the foot of the first recto.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	340 x 225 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	243 x 159 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	33	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	7-8 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U	II,III,II	Dry point
<u>Script</u>	One scribe only — Scribe 3.		
	Minim: 3.5 mm	Ascender:	5 mm

A rather large, confident script in medium stroke and black ink. The script is well spaced, the letters taking up the whole of the space between the ruled lines without the ascenders and descenders overlapping. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter usually, but not always, having a forked serif. Descenders are of even length and end in hair-line serifs at an acute angle to the stem. There are few hair-lines. The scribe regularly uses a 'ct' ligature and often writes a round 'r' and round 's'. Distinctive letter forms are the sign for '-orum' and the minuscule **g** with a swinging tail. The scribe also distinguishes between 'ae' and 'oe'.

Punctuation consists of a low point placed just above the ruled line and a punctus elevatus. At the end of the section is placed often a punctus verus. Capitals are projected into the margin.

There is no annotation but frequent correction. Odd words are corrected by erasure but correction is more frequently done by means of signe de renvoi in black and red.

Abbreviation is quite frequent and includes suprascript 'i' and a distinction between a closed suprascript 'a' for a contracted 'ua' and a suprascript open 'a' for a contracted '-rae' after 'p'.

Rubrics The opening title is in red and green angular capitals. The first line of the text is in capitals of descending size highlighted in red. Each book within the text has

a heading in red minuscule and the first line of the text is in capitals of same size as text highlighted in red.

Initials The opening initials on f.1 are very large and are decorated with a geometric design. There is an enlarged coloured initial at the beginning of each book but these are all plain.

Bibliography

Faller, O., C.S.E.L., vol. lxxviii, Vienna, 1958.

Ker, N.R., English MSS, p.31.

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Royal 6.C.vi. Group B s.xii.1

Gregory, Moralia in Job, xvii-xxxv

Number of folios: 261 2nd fo.: predicator
Collation: ii + I⁸-XXXII⁸/XXXIII⁵
Signatures: The few that are visible are numbered at the foot of the last verso in the centre.
Size of Page: 335 x 235 mm Written Space: 260-270 x 165-175 mm
Number of lines: 39 (variable: 38-41) Space between rulings: 6-7 mm
Ruling: 1,2; P,U II,IV,II Plummet and dry point

Script One main scribe — Scribe 11.

Minim: 2.5

Ascender: 3.5 mm

A medium size script formed by a medium stroke in brown ink. Ascenders and descenders are short but minuscule letters are fairly rounded so the script does not appear cramped. Minims and ascenders are clubbed. Descenders are even and straight and do not necessarily have serifs. Carefully formed punctuation. No 'ct' ligature, rarely round 's'.

Punctuation consists of a low point, a punctus elevatus and a punctus circumflexus. The punctus versus appears occasionally. Capitals are projected into margins.

Annotation is rare although minuscule 'r' and majuscule 'A' do occur.

There is little correction but sometimes odd words are erased.

Abbreviation is extensive and includes suprascripts 'i' and closed and open 'a' on words of more than one syllable.

Rubrics Major titles are in slightly enlarged round and angular capitals in red and blue. Less important titles are in similar capitals but of normal size. The first words of the

text are in round and angular capitals of normal size, usually highlighted in red or blue.

Initials A decorated initial at the beginning of each book. fos. 6, 15, 33^v, 45^v, 68^v, 79^v, 91, 128, 142^v, 152^v, 167^v, 206, 218^v, 236. Some of these are historiated, fos. 6, 79^v, 142^v.

Bibliography

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- Dodwell, C.R., "Un manuscrit inluminé de Jumièges au B.M.", Jumièges, Congrès scientifique du XIII centenaire, 1955, p.741.
- Gibson, M.T., "Lanfranc's Notes on Patristic Texts", Journal of Theological Studies, vol. 22, 1971, pp.442f.
- Kauffmann, C.M., Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190, 1975, No. 15, pl.37.
- Ker, N.R., "English Manuscripts of the Moralia of Gregory the Great", in Kunst-historische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu Ehren, ed. A. Rosenauer and G. Weber, Salzburg, 1973, pp.77-89.
- Tselos, D., "Unique Portraits of the Evangelists in an English Gospel Book", Art Bulletin no. 34, 1952, p.263.

Royal 6.D.ii. Group B. s.xii.¼Jerome, Epistolae

Number of folios: 190 2nd fo.: 'non pauca'
Collation: i + I⁸-XXIII⁸/XXIV⁴ + i
Signatures: Numbered at foot of last verso in centre.
Size of Page: 374 x 292 mm Written Space: 273 x 203 mm
Number of lines: 42 Space between rulings: 6.5-7 mm
Ruling: 1,2; P,U I,III,I Dry point and pencil.

Script One scribe only — Scribe 4. For description see under Royal 15.A.xxii and Royal 5.B.iv.

Minim: 2 mm

Ascender: 4 mm

Punctuation consists of a low point and a punctus elevatus. The punctus versus is used at the end of each letter. Capitals are projected into margins. Annotation is restricted to majuscule 'A' and 'r'. Correction signs are numerous and varied, including \ominus , \times , β , Δ . Abbreviation is frequent and includes suprascripts on complex words. The scribe distinguishes between suprascript closed 'a' to indicate contracted '-ua' and open 'a' to indicate contracted '-ra' or '-rae'. He also distinguishes between 'oe' and 'ae'.

Rubrics Red round and angular capitals of normal size. First words or line of each letter is in similar ink capitals highlighted in red.

Bibliography

Hilberg, I., ed., CSEL, vol. liv-lvi, 1918.

Ker, N.R., English MSS, pp.15,31.

Mynors, R.A.B., Durham Cathedral Manuscripts, Oxford, 1939, p.37.

Royal 8.D.xvi. Group B s.xii.1

Cassian, De Institutis Coenoborium

Number of folios: 144 2nd fo.: stilo non
Collation: I⁸-XVIII⁸
Signatures: Numbered at foot of last verso in the centre except for the last quire which is numbered at the foot of the first recto.
Size of Page: 270 x 173 mm Written Space: 183 x 102 mm
Number of lines: 27 Space between rulings: 7-8 mm
Ruling: 1,3; A,U II,II Dry point except for one quire in plummet.

Script One scribe only. Scribe 3.
 Minim: 3 mm Ascender: 4.5 mm

A firm bold script in medium stroke and black ink. The script is well spaced and not at all cramped. Minims and ascenders are clubbed but forked serifs are unusual. Descenders are of even length and usually, but not necessarily, end in hair-line serifs at an acute angle to the stem. There are few hair-lines.

The punctuation consists of a point at two levels, low and median, a punctus elevatus and, at the end of a chapter, the punctus versus. Capitals are projected into margins.

Annotation is rare, minuscule 'r' occurring occasionally.

Correction is by means of signe de renvoi but that is rare too.

Abbreviation is quite extensive and includes suprascript 'i' and 'a' on complex words. The scribe distinguishes between diphthong 'ae' and diphthong 'oe'.

Rubrics The opening title is in red minuscule and the first line of the text is in enlarged round and angular capitals highlighted in red and green. Other rubrics are in red minuscule. The first word of the text is in round and angular capitals descending in size until the size of the majuscule in the text is reached.

Bibliography

- cf Bishop, T.A.M., English Caroline Minuscule, Oxford, 1971, pl.7.
 Ker, N.R., English MSS, p.31.
 Petschenig, O., ed., C.S.E.L., vol. xvii, Vienna, 1888.

Royal 12.C.i. Group B s.xii.in

Rodulfus, de ratione et peccatore

f.1^v Table of contents in contemporary hand.

<u>Number of folios:</u>	198	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	[ad] versum te iniusticias
<u>Collation:</u>	ii + 1 ⁸ -XIII ⁸ /XIV ⁸ //XV ⁸ -XXI ⁸ /XXII ⁶ /XXIII ⁸ /XXIV ⁷ /XXV ⁸ + ii (1 lost) (2 lost)		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbered at foot of last verso of quire in centre.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	215 x 145 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	148 x 76 mm [f.113-32 148 x 85 mm]
<u>Number of lines:</u>	27	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	5-6 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U	II,II	Dry point
<u>Script</u>	Three scribes	a. fos. 1-2	Scribe 3 See under Royal 8.D.xvi.
		b. fos. 3-112 and 132-198	Scribe 1
		c. fos. 113-132	
	b. fos. 3-112 and 132-198	Minim: 2 mm	Ascender: 3.5 mm

A small neat script in medium stroke and black ink. The script is well spaced horizontally and vertically but has a slightly squat appearance. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. There are serifs on both minims and descenders at an acute angle to the stem but these are barely visible. Minuscule 'a' has no head. Round 'd' and the 'ct' ligature are regularly used. Punctuation consists of a punctus slightly above the ruled line and a punctus elevatus. Capitals are projected into margins. Punctus versus occurs at the end of a work.

Bibliography

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- Hunt, R.W., "The collections of a monk of Bardney: a dismembered Rawlinson manuscript", Medieval and Renaissance Studies, vol. 5, 1961, p.31.
- Ker, N.R., English MSS, p.31, f.n. 5.
- Leclerq, J., "The works of an abbot of Battle", Analecta Monastica, vol. III, 1955, pp.158-165.
- Leonadi, C., "I codici di Marziano Capella", Aevum, xxiv, 1960, pp.79-80.

Royal 15.A.xxii. Group B s.xii.¼Solinus, de mirabilibus mundi

f.1^v Late 12th century table of contents which is accurate.

<u>Number of folios:</u>	122	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	devenisse
<u>Collation:</u>	i + I ⁸ -XIII ⁸ /XIV ⁸ (lost 2) /XV ⁸ + iii		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbered at foot of last verso in centre and some also marked at top of first recto in the centre.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	222 x 148 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	158 x 96 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	30	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	5+ mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U	II,II	Dry point
<u>Script</u>	Two scribes	a. fos. 2-109	Scribe 4
		b. fos. 110-117	Scribe 3 See under Royal 8.D.xvi

a. fos. 2-109 Minim: 2+ mm Ascender: 3-3.5 mm

A small neat script in medium stroke and dark brown ink. Well-proportioned script which takes up all the space between the ruled lines. Minims and ascenders clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders end in a hair-line serif at an acute angle to the stem. Minuscule 'g' changes and can be distinctive, having a serif or hair-line at the end of the tail.

Punctuation consists of a low point and a punctus elevatus. Punctus versus occurs at the end of sections. Capitals projected into margins.

Annotation consists of the nota sign and minuscule 'r'. There are frequent marginal notes summarising the text.

Some signes de renvoi which are varied, *y* being the most common.

Abbreviation is extensive and includes suprascripts. Suprascript open 'u' is only used after 'p' to indicate the omission of '-ra'. Otherwise, closed 'a' is used. He distinguishes between 'oe' and 'ae'.

Rubrics The opening title is in enlarged red round and angular capitals with the first line of the text in similar ink capitals highlighted in red and green. The second line of the text is in mixed capitals of normal size, also highlighted. Other rubrics are in red minuscule or mixed red capitals and the first line of the text of each work is in similar ink capitals highlighted in red.

Cotton Vespasian D.xxi. fos. 17-24

Nennius, Historia Britannorum

This quire was possibly part of Royal 15.A.xxii. Catalogue I does record a volume containing Solinus' work which included Nennius, *Historia Britannorum*, now missing from Royal 15.A.xxii. The script of the quire, Cotton Vespasian D.xxi does fall into the Rochester pattern although it is a different hand from the scribes in the main part of Royal 15.A.xxii. Yet this manuscript was a composite manuscript containing individual items, each written by a separate scribe, and the written area, the number of lines on each page and the ruling pattern of Cotton Vespasian D.xxi do match Royal 15.A.xxii. On the other hand, there are some details of the script which do not match the other script in the manuscript. The punctus is not low but situated at a high level above the ruled line. The punctus versus does not occur, nor are capitals projected into margins.

Abbreviation is not extensive, suprascripts are not used and no distinction is made between 'oe' and 'ae'. It seems likely that this quire was part of Royal 15.A.xxii but may not have been written by a Rochester scribe. Alternatively, it was written by a Rochester scribe but at an earlier date than the rest of the manuscript.

Bibliography

Ker, N.R., English MSS, pp.12, 15, 31.

Lot, F., 'Nennius et l'*Historia Brittonum*', Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes fasc. 263, Paris 1934, pl.3-6.

Lambeth Palace 76. Group B s.xii.¼

Augustine, Retractiones and Cassiodorus, Institutiones

Contemporary table of contents.

<u>Number of folios:</u>	147	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	
<u>Collation:</u>	I ⁸ - XIII ⁸ / XIV ⁸ (wants 2) / XV - XVIII ⁸ / XIX ⁸ (wants 2)		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Large minuscule letters at the foot of the last verso in the centre except the last quire which is signed at the foot of the first recto.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	330 x 220 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	228 x 152 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	33	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	7 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U II,III,II	<u>Dry point</u>	
<u>Script</u>	One scribe only — Scribe 3.	See Royal 8.D.xvi.	
	Minim: 3 mm	Ascender: 5.5 mm	

A fine script in medium stroke and black ink.

Punctuation consists of a low point, a punctus elevatus and punctus circumflexus.

The sole annotation is minuscule 'r'.

Correction is by the individualistic signes de renvoi characteristic of this scribe.

Abbreviation is frequent and suprascripts are common. The scribe distinguishes between suprascript closed and open 'a'.

Rubrics and Display Script Headings are in red minuscule or red round and angular capitals of normal size. The first word of the text is in ink capitals highlighted in red.

Bibliography

Augustine, Retractiones, ed. Knoll, P., CSEL, vol. xxxvi, 1902.

Cassiodorus, Institutiones, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, 1937.

Bodley 134. Group B s.xii.¼Augustine, 'de nuptiis et concupiscentia'
and 'contra Julianum', and other opuscula

<u>Number of folios:</u>	203	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	esse sub diabolo
<u>Collation:</u>	i + I ⁸ -VIII ⁸ /IX ¹⁰ /X ⁸ -XIII ⁸ /XIV ¹⁰ /XV ⁸ -XXIV ⁸ /XXV ⁶		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbers at the foot of the last verso in the centre except for the last quire which has a number on the first recto.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	308 x 208 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	210 x 120 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	33	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	6-6.5 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U	II,II	Dry point
<u>Script</u>	Scribe 3	See Royal 8.D.xvi.	
	Minim: 3 mm	Ascender: 5 mm	

Punctuation consists of a point just above the ruled line, a punctus elevatus and a punctus circumflexus. A punctus versus is used at the end of a work. Capitals are projected into margins.

There is much correction by signe de renvoi, a variety of signs being employed.

Annotation is frequent too and includes majuscule Δ and minuscule 'r'.

Abbreviation is moderate and suprascripts are rare. The scribe distinguishes between diphthong 'oe' and diphthong 'ae'.

Rubrics/Initials All rubrics are in red minuscule. First word of the text is in black capitals of normal size highlighted in red and green.

Binding White vellum on boards, possibly original.

Bibliography

Augustine, Contra Julianum, ed. M. Zelzer, C.C., vol. lxxxvi, 1974.

Augustine, de nuptiis et concupiscentia, ed. C. Urba and J. Zycha, CSEL, vol. xxxii, 1902.

Ker, N.R., English Manuscripts in the Century after the Conquest, Oxford, 1960, pp. 14, 54-7 and pl. 12.

Pächt, O. and Alexander, J.J.G., Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Thomson, R.M., The Library of Bury St. Edmund's, Speculum, 1972. 196

Bodley 387 Group B s.xii.½

Jerome in Josue Nave — a commentary by Origen translated into Latin by Rufinus — and Augustine, de adulterinis coniugiis etc.

Late twelfth century table of contents.

Number of folios: 248 2nd fo. fortes et egredere
Collation: ii + I⁸-VII⁸/VIII¹²/IX⁸-XXX⁸ + ii
Signatures: Numbers at the foot of the last verso in the centre.
Size of Page: 300 x 207 mm Written Space: 218 x 132 mm
Number of lines: 30 Space between rulings: 7.5 mm
Ruling: 1,2; P,U 1,1 Dry point

Script Scribe 4 See Royal 15.A.xxii
 Minim: 3 mm Ascender: 5 mm

Punctuation consists of the low point, the punctus elevatus and the punctus circumflexus. Capitals are projected into margins.

Annotation is frequent and includes the majuscule Δ and the nota sign.

Correction by signe de renvoi is also frequent, the favourite symbol there being majuscule Δ too, and ſ .

Abbreviation is frequent and includes suprascripts, the scribe using an open suprascript 'a' after 'p' when 'rae' is contracted and a closed 'a' to indicate other contractions. This scribe distinguishes between diphthong 'oe' and 'ae'.

Rubrics The first rubric is in red round and angular capitals of normal size and the first line of the text is in black capitals of the same type and size highlighted in red. Other titles are sometimes in capitals but sometimes in minuscule.

Bibliography

- Augustine, de adulterinis coniugiis, ed. J. Zycha, C.S.E.L., vol. xxxi, Vienna, 1900.
 Bishop, T.A.M., "Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts", I, 1949-53, p.433.
 Ker, N.R., English MSS, pl.12.b.
 Pächt, O., and Alexander, J.J.G., Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1966.

Augustine, de consensu evangelistarum

<u>Number of folios:</u>	196 (1 at each end pasted down)	<u>2nd fo.:</u>	
<u>Collation:</u>	ii + I ⁸ - XXIV ⁸ + ii		
<u>Signatures:</u>	Numbered at foot of last verso in centre except first quire which is a letter.		
<u>Size of Page:</u>	295 x 205 mm	<u>Written Space:</u>	197 x 126 mm
<u>Number of lines:</u>	31	<u>Space between rulings:</u>	6.5 mm
<u>Ruling:</u>	1,2; P,U	II,II	Dry point
<u>Script</u>	One scribe only — Scribe 7		
	Minim: 2+ mm	Ascender:	4+ mm

A confident, upright well-proportioned script in dark ink. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter each having a forked serif. Descenders regularly end in a serif at an acute angle to the stem and sometimes descenders seem extra long. Scribe uses round 'r' and round 's' but not the 'ct' ligature. Occasional hair-line on 'e', 't'. Punctuation consists of a low point and punctus elevatus. The punctus versus occurs at the end of a particular work. Capitals are projected into margins. The original annotation consists of an occasional majuscule 'Δ'. Correction is quite frequent and done by signes de renvoi, which are varied. Abbreviation is extensive but restricted to standard forms. Superscripts are rare but a distinction is made between the meaning of superscript open 'a' and superscript closed 'a'. No distinction between diphthong 'œ' and 'ae' but both symbols are used indiscriminately.

Rubrics Red round and angular capitals of the same size as the text. First line of text in similar ink capitals but no highlighting.

Initials Decorated initials at beginning of each work within the MS, f.1, f.123, f.177^v, f.189^r. Red with geometric design in green or purple with geometric design in red.

Binding A mid-twelfth century binding on spine in white vellum. The sewing, the boards and the tabs are original. An original book-marker with four thongs.

Bibliography

ed. Wehrich, F., C.S.E.L., vol. 43, 1904.

Textus Roffensis Group B s.xii.inA collection of Anglo-Saxon charters and other miscellaneous recordsNumber of folios: 240Collation: iv + I⁸-III⁸/IV¹² V⁸/VI¹⁰/VII⁸-VIII⁸/X-XIII⁸/XIV²
I⁸-XII⁸/XIII¹²Size of Page: 225 x 162 mm (approx.) Written Space: 162 x 98 (approx.)Number of lines: Irregular Space between rulings: 7 mmRuling: 1,2; P,U II,II or, sometimes, 1,3; A,UScript One principal scribe, Scribe 3, but a few insertions made by other scribes, e.g. fos. 203-8, 213, 217 etc.

Minim: 3 mm Ascender: 5 mm

For the Latin script of this scribe, see under Royal 6. C. iv.

Old English is distinguished from Latin by the use of special letter forms. 'f' is written as *f*, and 's' as *s* and both extend below the ruled line although they are positioned higher than is usual in uncial manuscripts. The letter 'r' is extended below the line and the right hand limb is not always fully developed. 'l' is rounded, rather than angular, and 'd' is regularly rounded, instead of sometimes being rounded, sometimes upright, as in Latin. Minuscule 'g' follows the usual uncial form and thus there is no rounded body for the letter. Naturally, the OE script contains several forms not known in Latin, notably the thorn *þ* which is distinguished from the Latin 'p', not only by its forked serif but also by the tail which turns to the left instead of to the right. At the beginning of the manuscript there are some archaic forms, including the 'f'-shaped 'y' and uncial 'R'.

Rubrics Red minuscule.Initials f.119 An outline initial in ink.BibliographyHearne, T., ed., Textus Roffensis, Oxford, 1720.Ker, N.R., Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon, Oxford, 1957, p.373.Liebermann, F., "Notes on the Textus Roffensis", Archaeologia Cantiana, vol. xxiii, 1898, pp.94-112.Sawyer, P.H., ed., Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vols. VII and XI, 1957 and 1962.

Royal 4 A.xii Group C s.xii.½Mattheus glosatus et Epistolae Pauli glosataeNumber of folios: 146 2nd fo.: ut triumphans eaCollation: i + I⁸ - X⁸/XI⁴//XII⁸ = XVIII⁸/XIX⁴ + iSignatures: There are no signatures visible.Size of Page: 266 x 188 mm Written Space: 170 x 79 mm (varies)Number of lines: 13 (varies) Space between rulings: 15 mmRuling: Irregular, according to amount of gloss. PlummetScript One scribe only of main text.

Minim: 3 mm

Ascender: 5 mm

A fairly large script in medium stroke and brown ink. Slight backward slope. Minims and ascenders clubbed, latter having a forked serif. Both minims and descenders end in hair-line serifs at an acute angle to the right of the stem. Other hair-lines are rare. Minuscule 'a' has a trailing head.

Punctuation consists of a low point and a punctus elevatus. Capitals are set into margins. Abbreviation is frequent and the scribe uses suprascripts, distinguishing between open and closed 'a'. He also distinguishes between diphthong 'œ' and 'æ'.

Rubrics and display script: There are no rubrics but the beginning of the text is indicated with a word in round and angular ink capitals of normal size.

Initials: A decorated initial occurs at the beginning of each of the epistles on f. 86^v, 99, 113, 122, 135^v, 137, 138^v.

The letters are painted on a yellow wash and have dark coloured backgrounds. The initial on f. 122 contains addorsed griffins as on f. 23 of Royal 6 B.vi, a Group B manuscript.

Abbreviation is not very frequent but suprascripts are used and the scribes distinguish between suprascripts open and closed 'a' and between diphthongs 'ae' and 'oe'. The first scribe uses a Tironian 'et'.

Rubrics and display script: There are no rubrics because sections are indicated by an enlarged coloured capital as the first letter. The opening title is in very large round and angular capitals, the first line in red, the next in blue, and the third in green. The opening lines of the text are similar until the sixth line which is in black capitals of normal size.

Illumination: The text opens with a very large historiated P: this is a framed initial coloured in blue, purple, red and yellow. Dragons and birds climb up the stem. The letter is painted on a yellow ground.

Florus diaconus : extracts from Augustine on the Pauline epistlesNumber of folios: 1842nd fo.: torquentiumCollation: I⁸ - XXIII⁸Signatures: Those of the first scribe are numbers at the foot of the last verso in the centre. Those of the second scribe are numbers at the foot of the first recto in the centre.Size of Page: 373 x 255 mmWritten Space: 273 x 168 mmNumber of lines: 36Space between rulings: 8 mmRuling: 1,2; P,U II,III,II Hard point and plummet.Script Two scribesa. fos. 1-92 and fos. 174^V-182^V

Minim: 3 + mm

Ascender: 5.5 mm

A large, bold well-spaced script in black ink. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. The descenders end in hair-line serifs at an acute angle to the right of the stem. Hair-lines are common and are particularly noticeable on minuscule 't' and 'r'. The script has a slight backward slope. Minuscule 'g' has a distinctive tail which turns back on itself. Minuscule 'a' has a large head. The scribe does not use round 'r' after 'p'.

b. fos. 92-174

Minim: 3 + mm

Ascender: 5.5 mm

A bold upright script in brown ink. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders end in a serif at an acute angle to the right of the stem. Majuscule letters are elongated. Hair-lines are quite common; minuscule 't' has a bar at the end of the cross-stroke. The first stroke on the tail of minuscule 'g' is unusually straight. Minuscule 'a' has a large head.

Punctuation consists of a low point and punctus elevatus and the punctus circumflexus sometimes occurs. Capitals are set in margins.

Annotation includes majuscule and minuscule 'r' and majuscule 'A'.

Correction is by signes de renvoi which are varied.

Royal 5 C.i Group C s.xii.½Augustine, de Genesi ad LitteramNumber of folios: 176 2nd fo.: si autemCollation: i + I⁸ - III⁸/IV¹⁰/V⁸ - XXI⁸/XXII⁵Signatures: Numbers at the foot of the last verso in the centre.Size of page: 335 x 230 mmWritten space: 238 x 155 mmNumber of lines: 32Space between rulings: 7 mmRuling: 1,2; P,U II,III,II Dry point.Script One scribe only — Scribe 3. See Royal 8 D.xvi.

Minim: 3.5 mm

Ascender: 4.5 - 5 mm

One of this scribe's finest works. Slightly larger script than usual.

He distinguishes between 'oe' and 'ae'.

Punctuation consists of a low point just above the line, a punctus elevatus and a punctus circumflexus; punctus versus at end of line. Capitals are set in margins.

Annotation is frequent, majuscule 'A' and minuscule 'r' being particularly common.

Correction is by ostentatious signes de renvoi, characteristic of this scribe.

Abbreviation is quite frequent and includes suprascripts, the scribe distinguishing between suprascripts open and closed 'a'.

Rubrics and display script: Headings are most frequently in red minuscule but some are in red capitals. The opening of the book is in enlarged round and angular capitals, one line red and one line green, followed by two lines of capitals of normal size in the same colours. Within the manuscript, each book begins with capitals, either in red or black, or black highlighted with red.Initials: Decorated initials occur at the beginning of each book on f. 1, 6^v, 25, 36^v, 54, 66, 78^v, 89^v, 116. A few were not painted. The initials are painted on top of a yellow wash. The body of the letters are in red and green and are filled in with a purple ground as in Group B manuscripts Royal 5 D.iii and 6 B.vi.BibliographyZycha, J., ed., C.S.E.L., vol. xxviii, Vienna, 1894.

Royal 5 C.viii Group C s.xii. $\frac{1}{2}$ Augustine, de verbis dominiNumber of folios: 2512nd fo.: Valde erant hominesCollation: i + I⁸ - XXX⁸ /XXXI¹⁰Signatures: Numbers at the foot of the last verso in the centre.Size of Page: 340 x 255 mmWritten Space: 270 /~~265~~ x 170 mmNumber of lines: 35 /~~34~~Space between rulings: 7.5-8 mmRuling: 1,2; P,U II,III,II PlummetScript One scribe only.

Minim: 3.5-4 mm

Ascender: 5 mm

A large script in a medium stroke in dark brown/black ink. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders end in hair-line feet at an acute angle to the stem, always to the right. There are frequent hair-lines on minuscule letters, even at the base of minims. Minuscule 'g' has an angular tail which turns back on itself. Minuscule 'a' has a large head. Round 'r' is rare.

Punctuation consists of a low point on or just above the line, a punctus elevatus and a punctus circumflexus. The punctus versus is sometimes used in titles and at the end of sections. Capitals are in margins.

Annotation includes minuscule and majuscule 'r' and minuscule and majuscule 'a'.

Correction is done both by signe de renvoi and by erasure.

Abbreviation is not very frequent but the scribe does use suprascripts and distinguishes between open and closed suprascripts 'a'. He also distinguishes between diphthong 'œ' and 'ae'.

Rubrics and display script: Rubrics are in red minuscule.

The opening title is in enlarged mixed capitals, one line yellow, one line in red and one line in green and the first line of the text is in similar ink capitals of normal size.

Other sections of the text have a first word or first line of the text in round and angular ink capitals of normal size.

Initials: Historiated initials in green, red and ochre on f. 3, 65, 160^v.

Royal 6 D.v Group C s.xii.½

Prosper, de vita contemplativa et activa; Defensor alias Alcuin, Liber scintillarum, Odo alias Julianus Pomerius, de virtutibus et viciis

Number of folios: 188

2nd fo.: et enim vita.

Collation: I⁸-VI⁸/VII⁷/VIII⁸-XIV⁸/XV⁴//XVI⁸-XXIII⁸/XXIV⁷ + ii

Signatures: Numbered at the foot of the last verso in the centre.

Size of Page: 345 x 235 mm

Written Space: 243 x 175 mm

Number of lines: 35

Space between rulings: 7-8 mm

Ruling: 1,2; P,U 1,III,I or II,III,II. Plummet

Script: Two scribes

a. fos. 1-45^v; 116-186

Minim: 3.5 mm

Ascender: 5+ mm

A large bold script in medium stroke and brown ink. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders end in a hair-line serif at an acute angle to the right on 'p', at an oblique angle to the left on 'q'. There are few hair-lines. Minuscule 'g' has an obvious finishing stroke on the tail, and minuscule 'n' has a dent in the right minim. The scribe uses a round 'd'. He distinguishes between diphthong 'oe' and 'ae'.

b. fos. 46-115

Minim: 3.5 mm

Ascender: 5+ mm

A more angular, but equally bold script. Minims and ascenders are clubbed, the latter having a forked serif. Descenders end in a hair-line serif at an acute angle to the right of the stem of the letter, although the serif on 'q' is sometimes to the left. Majuscule letters are elongated. There is a distinctive, angular minuscule 'g' and an unusual sign for '-rum'.

Punctuation consists of a low point and a punctus elevatus. The punctus versus occurs at the end of a section sometimes. Capitals are in margins. There is no annotation but correction is by a variety of signes de renvoi.

Abbreviation is not frequent but both scribes distinguish between suprascripts closed and open 'a'.

Rubrics and display script: Most headings are in red minuscule but a few are in red round and angular capitals of normal size. The opening title is in round and angular capitals of normal size and the first line of the text is in similar ink capitals highlighted in red followed by another line of ink capitals of normal size. The other items begin with one line of ink capitals highlighted in red.

Initials: There are three decorated initials in the last item of the manuscript, f. 116, 116^v, 134. These are in bright colours, red and purple, and are set against a yellow wash. The characteristic foliage motif occurs in them.

Bibliography

Rochais, H.M., ed. C.C., vol. cxvi, Turnholt, 1957.

III The Provenance of the Trinity Lucan and the Vita Gundulfi

There are two notable manuscripts for which an attribution to Rochester has been doubted. The first is a text of Lucan's poetry, Trinity MS. R.3.30, and the other is the one extant manuscript of the Vita Gundulfi. Applying the observations in this thesis to these two manuscripts, what conclusion should be drawn about the provenance of each?

The Lucan manuscript is a finely illuminated and beautifully written book. The script is small and neat, the letters being well-proportioned and closer to the sturdy Rochester variant than the original Christ Church script. The punctuation and abbreviation are careful. The use of the punctus versus at the end of each line of poetry does not prohibit an attribution to Rochester because this mark was normally employed to punctuate verse. Two other features of the book confirm the impression that it was produced at Rochester. Some of the quire signatures are numbers but others are letters, a form retained by some Rochester scribes but not Christ Church ones. The last feature which suggests a Rochester provenance is that the rubrics have suffered from oxidation, although this fact is not as firm a pointer towards Rochester provenance as the other features. This book was produced with especial care as if for a rich patron, possibly the bishop, and escaped inclusion in the catalogue. The fact that the illuminations resemble those of Christ Church manuscripts does not necessarily mean that the book was written at Christ Church for other manuscripts which were certainly written at Rochester, notably Trinity College 0.4.7, contain illuminations resembling Christ Church work. It is conceivable that the Rochester scriptorium relied on a Christ Church artist for manuscripts they had copied themselves.

In contrast to the Lucan text, the Vita Gundulfi, Cotton Nero A.viii, contains few signs of Rochester provenance. It is written in an untidy, uneven script with a backward slope, an example of the Christ Church type of script past its best. It must therefore be a mid-century product from Rochester or Canterbury, which means that it cannot be the original copy of the Vita which was first written in the time of Bishop Ernulf, 1114-24. The date and the untidiness of the manuscript render it unlikely that it was written at Rochester since the priory would surely have prepared a fine copy of the text whose subject was their first bishop. Close examination of the manuscript does not reveal any positive sign of

Rochester provenance. The script is difficult to classify because it is untidy, but the rarity of suprascripts and absence of refinement in abbreviation is untypical of Rochester manuscripts. There are no signatures, so that is no guide. The ruling is of the standard pattern but ruled in plummet with a force which has not been noticed in any other Rochester manuscript. The rubrics are of two kinds, red minuscule and red mixed capitals and it is thought that the latter died out at Rochester by the middle of the century. Thus, there is no firm evidence for a Rochester provenance and what distinct features there are, the ruling and rubrication, point, if anything, to a Christ Church or St. Augustine's provenance.

IV An Example of the Writings of Ralph

Apparatus

- R = B.L. Royal 12.C.i from Rochester
- L = Oxford, Bodleian Laud misc. 363 from St. Alban's.
- R₁ = Corrections in Royal 12.C.i made after the text had been copied at St. Alban's.
- R₂ = Later corrections in Royal 12.C.i by a different scribe from that responsible for most of the text.

Passages in square brackets indicate alterations written over an erasure in R.

Passages in round brackets indicate passages in L which have been erased from R.

Such passages are also noted at the foot of the page.

- CDH = Anselm, Cur Deus Homo, ed. F.S. Schmitt, Anselmi Opera Omnia, Vol. II, Edinburgh, 1946.

DE PECCATORE QUI DESPERAT ET DE RATIONE

Incipit primus libellus de Peccatore qui desperat, et de Ratione quae Peccatorem ne desperet confortat.

In hac meditatione Peccator de misericordia Dei propter multitudinem peccatorum suorum desperans loquitur, cui sic male sapienti respondet Ratio, eumque potius ut de peccatis suis poenitentiam agat hortatur. Itaque Peccator primum quare sic desperet patefacit, postea Ratio quia pro nullo peccato desperare debeat Peccatorem instruit.

Peccator: Haec sunt quae me desperare faciunt, quia plusquam dici possit horribilia sunt. Foetorem enim eorum ego ipse qui haec eadem operatus sum vix ferre possum.

Ratio: Si molestiam tibi non faceret, vellem ut michi tuam salutem omnino desiderantem fidei confessione patefaceres, quae sint ista unde sic times. Si de peccatis enim agis, ego nullum peccatum scio quod tantum sit detestabile, si tantummodo poenitentia non contemnatur, quod non possit si ei credatur ineffabilis misericordia conditoris abolere. Unum tantummodo peccatum dicitur quod, sicut a redemptore asseritur, non in hoc vel in futuro seculo remittitur, scilicet blasphemia spiritus sanctus. Est autem blasphemia spiritus sicut quidam dicunt in poenitentia, quo peccato quamdiu quis fuerit involutus, nullam sine dubio a deo misericordiam consequetur. Sicut enim qui graviter vulneratus, dum spiculum quo percussus est habet in carne facile non potest recipere pristinam sospitatem, sic et qui peccat quamdiu impenitens est, nec peccatum suum curat dimittere, de peccato suo ullam potest remissionem consequi. Hoc peccatum ne unquam incurras cave, et certus sis quia pro nullo alio peccato quod sic tibi videatur horribile, si tantummodo velis poenitere, poteris remissionem peccatorum quae veraciter poenitentibus promittitur perdere.

Sic enim filius dei qui pro peccatoribus de caelo descendit, ipsis peccatoribus de caelo descendit, ipsis peccatoribus ait: Agite poenitentiam, appropinquavit enim regnum

15 sanctus om. L.

16 sicut enim quis L

19 peccatum L supp.

ullam L supp.

14-15 non in hoc ... sanctus: Matth. 12. 31-32

24- Agite ... caelorum: Matth. 3. 2

caelorum, aperte videlicet indicans, quia his qui pro peccatis suis poenitentiam agere curant, appropinquat propter poenitentiam regnum caelorum. Dicit enim psalmista, 'Pronuntiabo adversum me iniusticias meas domino, et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei.' Propter hoc enim deus peccatori impietatem peccati sui quae est gravissimum peccatum dimisit, quia peccator adversum se iniusticias suas pronuntiavit. Pronuntia ergo et tu adversum te iniusticias quas fecisti, et certus sis per hanc pronunciationem iniusticiarum tuarum adversum te, tibi remitti impietatem peccati tui. Benigna est enim erga peccatores misericordia dei, et ideo secundum multitudinem miserationum suarum respicit in eos quos delectatur liberare a peccatis.

10 Sed diligenter considera, quomodo adversum te iniusticias tuas domino pronuntiare debeas, ut per hanc pronunciationem iniusticiarum tuarum adversum te, possis impetrare impietatis cordis tui remissionem, et non solum impietatis cordis tui sed etiam omnium peccatorum tuorum veram purgationem. Sunt enim multi qui peccata sua pronuntiant, fatentes se esse peccatores, et de malis quae faciunt non parum se coram hominibus accusantes, 15 sed non recte adversum se iniusticias suas pronuntiant, et ideo non remittitur eis impietas peccati sui, quia non recte adversum se iniusticias suas pronuntiant. Adversum se vero iniusticias suas recte pronuntiare est; diligenter inspicere quam iniustum sit et quam abominabile, ut homo qui intelligit se a deo creatum esse, ullo modo audeat facere quod creatori suo intelligat displicere.

20 Cum itaque peccator diligenter inspicit se deum offendisse qui illum de nichilo creavit, et quia creatorem suum offendere non timuit, pro tanta temeritate perpetuis subiacere debeat tormentis; pronuntiat recte iniusticias suas adversum se, et ita quasi iustus index constituens se contra se; iudicat toto cordis affectu se esse dignum omni poenarum genere, si non creator suus propter ineffabilem pietatem suam ei velit parcere. Qui ergo sic adversum 25 se iniusticias suas pronuntiat domino, sine dubio remissionem suae impietatis impetrat a domino, cui magis placet vera contriti cordis compunctio, quam inanis et sine contritione cordis peccatorum pronuntiatio. Tu ergo diligenter intende ad te, et ex his vel huiusmodi pluribus quae frequenter in sancta scriptura invenies, si diligenter intendis, confortare et

2 Dicit etiam L. 12 cordis tui: cordis tui remissionem add. R₂
17 sic et quam abominabile L.

noli desperare, quia dulcissimus creator tuus qui adhuc propter magnam misericordiam suam patitur te vivere, /-non te desiderat perdere cum iam sis dignus perditione/, sed te poenitentiam agere, et hoc modo ad se redire.

Peccator: Valde sunt delectabilia quae dicis, et magnam confortationem possunt conferre peccatori, sed sicut in principio colloctionis nostrae quando loqui ad te cepi volui colloctionis nostrae quando loqui ad te cepi volui dicere, tibi que ipsa peccata et iniquitates meas revelare, si praeuerecundia id potuissem facere, et iniquitates meas revelare; si praeuerecundia id potuissem facere, et tu foetorem maliciarum mearum potuisses audiendo sufferre; libenter tibi eas aperirem, sed timeo si tibi eas manifeste aperio; ne ullo modo amplius ad me velis appropinquare, meque rectis oculis inspicere, quia sicut superius tetigi, vix ego qui haec operatus sum foetorem putredinis ipsorum possum sufferre. Sed tamen sicut me mones, temptabo tibi ut cunque mala et peccata quibus sic affligor revelare. Scio enim et certus sum quia ideo mala mea scire desideras quia magis salutem animae meae quam perditionem amas, et ideo nullo modo michi molestiam debet facere, si tibi patefacio sicut scire desideras putredines vitiorum quibus corrumpuntur interiora mentis meae. Quo enim apertius tibi erit manifesta inflatio morborum meorum, eo clarius scire poteris quomodo exinde possis exprimere qui me gravat humorem noxium.

Primum itaque tibi intimo quia iniquitates meae sicut onus grave gravatae sunt super me et putrefactae sunt et corruptae cicatrices meae a facie insipientiae meae. Miser enim factus sum et assiduis iniquitatibus incurvatus usque in finem. quoniam lumbi mei impleti sunt illusionibus, et non est sanitas in carne mea a facie irae dei, neque pax ossibus meis a facie peccatorum meorum. Totus itaque corruptus atque confusus. ab infantia mea usque ad hanc horam in qua iam prope est finis vitae meae; cum diligenter inquirero quomodo vixi toto isto tempore, non invenio me nisi mala opera fecisse, malisque operibus semper intentum esse. Omnia mala, omnia vitia, quae miserum hominem semper trahunt ad mortem super me irruerunt, et tanquam insanum facientes nullam vel memoriam clamandi aliquando ad deum altissimum me habere permiserunt. Ex una vero parte infelicem animam meam vulneravit superbia et quasi ipsa sola non sufficeret ad inferenda mortifera vulnera, veluti ad auxilium

suum affuit invidia, et cum illa inimica deo et omnibus bonis odiosa discordia. Ira, indignatio, voracitas gulae, rancor mentis, et omnis illae infernales mortes quae miseram animam trahunt ad damnationem, usque ad interiora ipsius mentis meae irrumpentes et ex omni parte suis sordibus commaculantes, vix respirare permiserunt.

5 Si vero aliquando aliquid facio in quo sit aliqua boni similitudo, statim me invadit inanis gloria, quae quicquid tangit totum corrumpit et foedat, et miserum cor meum ita sua vanitate inflat, veluti vesciam quae sufflata vento est plena. Deinde ne anima adverti facile possit quod ipsa sit, quasi coram ostendit quod ipsa non curat de ullo appetitu humanae gloriationis, sed dum hoc ingenio quasi non curat gloriari, eo magis seductrix pessima laudem et gloriam appetit quia hoc totum propterea operatur, ut sic magis religiosa credatur, ac per
10 hoc magis ab omnibus laudetur et glorificetur, et ita miro modum laudem vitat, laudem quaerit, dum gloriam fugit, gloriam appetit.

Ad ultimum ne aliquo modo evadere possim luxuria et omnis illius nefanda societas ab ipsis infernalibus claustris erumpentes super me irruunt, et nullo modo michi parcentes,
15 iam de salute amplius recuperanda omnino desperare faciunt. Per diem, per noctem, per omnes fere horas michi insidias ponunt, castitatem nunc ^{mentis} nunc ^{carnis} meae sepius per nefandas operationes, incessanter per sordidas cogitationes, sine ullo intervalle confundunt atque corrumpunt. Et licet aliorum vitiorum diabolica societas aliquando quasi pacem me habere permittat, ista infernalis mors animam meam sine respiratione commaculat, et se
20 quandoque ad mala opera aperte me impellere non valet, non tamen ut dixi, a sordidis cogitationibus et inhonestis me foedare cessat. Ecce partim aperui tibi quibus malis crucior, quos foetores vitiorum assidue patior. Si ergo aliquod consilium michi dare disponis quod me adiuvari possit, fortassis non respuo, sed certissime scire te volo, quia quanto amplius de his cogito, et quam graviter me vulnerent sentio, tanto amplius ne iam evadere possim timeo.

25 Credo tamen deum omnipotentem esse, et ideo omnipotentem quia quaecumque vult sicut vult potest facere, et quia omnes homines vult salvos fieri, et venire ad agnitionem sui nominis, qui etiam si vult potest de anima mea misericordiam habere, sed timeo ne propter multitudinem maliciarum mearum ad me amplius nolit respicere, cuius mente aspicit tanta

25 vult: vult et R₂

28 mentem corr. L

26 omnes ... fieri: 1 Tim. 2. 4.

26 et venire ... nominis cf. Phil. 2. 9-10.

malicia, tantisque iniquitatibus repletam esse. Tibi vero immensas gratias refero, quia sicut intelligo tibi que testimonium ipse perhibeo; libenter me adiuvabis si potes, et quia magnam compassionem de meis doloribus habes. Quod vero superius ne desperem me admonuisti gratanter accipio, quia omnia sicut michi videtur rationabiliter loqueris, et si
 5 quis deviat a recto tramite, si tuis admonitionibus adquiescit, qualiter ad rectitudinem redeat rationabiliter instruis, et propterea quicquid affirmaveris, nemo recte quantum estimo infirmare poterit.

Ratio: Deo gratias quia etsi peccatorem et miserum te inspicias, tamen omnipotentem deum esse credis, et sicut in tuis verbis intelligo, non adhuc ex toto in baratrum desperationis
 10 cecidisti, dum te quia deus omnipotens sit credere confiteris. Si ergo quia deus omnipotens sit vere credis; tunc sine dubio credere debes quia quaecunque vult facit, alioquin omnipotens credendus non est, si quaecunque vult facere non possit. Potest ergo si vult omnes infirmitates tuas ad integrum sanare, et festinanter de omnibus languoribus tuis quibus tam fortiter gravaris si ei placet liberare. Et ne forsitan dicas, quia tantis iniquitatibus meis
 15 exasperatus omnipotens deus iam amplius ad me respicere noluerit, ut sanet animam meam a doloribus suis; audi quid ipse dicat, vel potius quid ipse iuret dum loquitur in propheta, videlicet 'quia non vult mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat.' Ecce considera et te ipsum conforta, et confortans eius misericordiam exora, qui non vult mortem peccatoris sed ut convertatur et vivat. Omnes enim homines vult salvos facere, et quantum ad se nullum
 20 vult perire, sed omnes ad viam veritatis qui errant et deviant redire. Tu vero quando peccasti; insipienter a semita iusticiae deviasti. Si ergo ad semitam iusticiae quam stulte et quasi insanus reliquisti redire disponis, relinque quam citius viam iniquitatis, et ex toto corde clama ad eum qui te creavit, ut secundum omnipotentiam suam propicius sit iniquitatibus tuis. Si igitur deum credis esse omnipotentem, id est omnia quaecunque vult
 25 facientem, — aliter enim omnipotens non esset, si quaecunque vellet facere non posset, — crede quia non vult mortem peccatoris, (sicut etiam in propheta loqueris iurat se nolle mortem peccatoris, sed conversionem eius et vitam. Quia vero ut confessus es deum omnipotentem esse credis,) crede etiam quia omnipotens est tua peccata si vult delere

8 etsi: si L 26-28 sicut ... credis L sola potest om..L.

17 videlicet ... vivat: Ezech. 18.23. 26-27 iurat ... vitam Ezech. 18.23.

potest et tibi suam gratiam quam propter peccata tua amiseras reddere, et quia ⁷fe non vult damnare sed a damnatione liberare, et (etiam tuam salvationem non perditionem velit, sicut aperte ostendit cum iurat se sicut dixi nolle mortem peccatoris,) in aeternum vivere. ⁷

5 Securus ergo ad eum accede, eique securus tuas infirmitates ostende, quia vult te secundum potentiam suam salvare, et si times de infirmitatibus tuis quia ultra modum magne sunt et insanabiles; recale potentiam eius qua omnes quos vult potest sanare, et quia nullum vult a pietate sua excludere. Dicit etiam ipse dominus in evangelio, 'quia cui plus dimittitur, plus eum diligit qui sibi plus dimittit.' Quia vero nimis te peccatorem et ultra modum peccatorem esse asseris, secundum piissimam eius sententiam quanto plus tibi
10 dimiserit, tanto plus eum diligis si recte facis. Vide itaque et redi ad te, et tantam dilectionem quam creator tuus adhuc habet erga te noli despiciere, et fideliter crede, quia nullum peccatum tam grave est quod ei grave sit peccatori dimittere. si peccator malicias sors curat dimittere. Dimitte ergo et dimittetur tibi, id est malicias quas solebas facere, noli amplius facere, et si ita facis, certum teneas, quia secundum fidem tuam remissionem
15 peccatorum tuorum impetrabis.

Peccator: Omnia quae hortaris quia scio utilia sunt si ea possem facere, sed dum ad iniquitates meas quas tam diu operatus sum respicio, et deo quem offensum habeo non sine congrua satisfactione me reconciliandum esse intelligo, nec me ad satisfaciendum pro tantis iniquitatibus quas operatus sum potentem video, non mirum si de impetranda venia
20 peccatorum despero. Scio certe sicut superius confessus sum deum esse omnipotentem, et etiam erga peccatores esse clementem, sed sicut clementem esse credo, ita etiam et iustum esse non denego. Si ergo aequalence de peccatis meis satisfactionem deus inquit, scio quia omnis virtus mea ad unum vel minimum peccatum de innumerabilibus quae feci per solvendum succumbit. Si itaque de uno sicut verissimum est non possum congruam
25 satisfactionem persolvere, quid de innumerabilibus debeo estimare? Itaque dum respicio ad misericordiam dei, aliquantulum respiro, qui propter hoc sicut michi videtur dicitur esse misericors, quia misericordiam habet de peccatore et misero, et non tantum ei reddit quantum meretur pro peccato suo; dum vero et hoc quod iustissimus est intueor fateor de impetranda

2-3 etiam ... peccatoris L. sol.

28 fate...r R

7 quia ... dimittit: Lc. 7. 47

16-19 sed dum ... video cf. CDH, Lib. I, xi

venia peccatorum, et si ore dicere non audeo quia despero, in corde meo ubi mea pessima conscientia me accusat omnino despero. Ecce aperui tibi unum de illis quod me plus ad desperationem impingit. De qua re consilium tuum audire desidero, quia in omnibus his de quibus timeo, nichil est quod michi plus noceat quam ista desperatio. Ista me destruit, ista me confundit, et fere usque ad interitum mergit.

Ratio: Hoc in principio sensi quando loqui ad te cepi, quia desperatio non parvum malum tibi faciebat, qua imbutus et quasi extra rationem positus male de misericordia dei desperabas, et propter hoc velut mente perditus sicut michi videbatur in peccatorum sordibus securius iacebas. Sed de hoc peccato iam tibi superius respondi, teque ut hoc peccatum sicut interitum vitares admonui ut melius potui, quia hoc peccatum, quod sicut a doctoribus sanctae ecclesiae exponitur, intelligitur 'blasphemia spiritus', non remittetur neque in hoc seculo neque in futuro. Quia vero sicut superius confessus es omnipotentem deum esse credis, propterea quia quacunq̄ vult facit, et quia misericors est et omnes homines vult salvos fieri et venire ad agnitionem suae veritatis, miror multumque obstupesco quia ista omnia de deo esse credis, unde ista diabolica desperati tibi subripere potuit. Vides autem et bene intelligis, quod deus quia omnipotens est quicquid vult facit, et quod omnes homines vult salvos fieri, et desperas de remissione peccatorum tuorum, quasi te salvum facere non possit aut non velit. Sed hoc falsum est; quia ipse hoc efficaciter sicut omnipotens facere valet, et libenter vult, quia non solum te sed 'omnes', sicut etiam Apostolus dicit, vult salvos fieri homines. Cum 'omnes' dicit, nullum excipit, quia fons pietatis nullum a pietate sua excludit, sed omnes quacunq̄ macula peccati sint fedati, tinctos in fonte suae pietatis ab omnibus omnino maliciis et peccatorum sordibus abluit. Videns ergo quia immensa dei pietas te potest et vult salvare, noli desperare de tua deliberatione.

Si vero te nollet salvum facere licet potens sit, tunc forsitan posses dubitare. Sed tu ipse non vis ut deus te salvum faciat, quia adhuc fortassis in peccatorum tuorum fetibus iacere desideras. Quod si verum est, frustra tibi de salute tua loquimur; frustra tibi quia deus misericors est cuius misericordiam spernendo non vis annuntiamus. Non enim potes salvari si non vis, sed si vis sine omni dubitatione potes salvus fieri quia ante te currit fons pietatis

1 tamen add. R. 1 4-5 nichil plus est quod michi noceat L ista desperatio om. L.
21 homines: omnes corr. L. 23 de tua liberatione L. 25 fetibus: fecibus R, L.

11 blasphemia spiritus: Matth. 12. 31-32 16-17 omnes ... fieri: 1 Tim. 2. 4.
20 fons pietatis

qui omnes suscipit, omnes abluit, nullum sicut dictum est excludit. Tu vero si propterea non potes salvari quia non vis currere ad fontem pietatis, scias te proculdubio in hoc similem diabolo fieri, qui propterea perditus est, quia in veritate stare noluit. Unde sicut dici solet, 'diabolicum est in peccato perseverare licet humanus sit peccare', quia qui non vult a peccato recedere, convincitur esse imitator diaboli, qui in peccato elegit perseverare. De hoc itaque si adhuc eligis in tua malicia perseverare, volo sicut in tua conscientia est veritatem cognoscere, quia si vis, sicut in his quae superius dicta sunt patuit, potes salvari.

Nullum vero tam grave est vel tam horribile peccatum, quod possit misericordiam dei superare, tantummodo si peccator voluerit poenitere, quia deus si hoc non posset omnino omnipotens non esset. Quia vero omnipotens est, superius abundanter ostensum est, nec de potentia eius et voluntate qua omnes homines et vult et potest salvare, opus est amplius repetere, quia si sepius repetitur, poterit fastidium fortassis generare: sed hoc tantum in fine huius sententiae tibi intimare volo, ut certissime verum esse scias quod dico, quia etiam unus homo si omnia peccata facta haberet quaecunque homines fecerunt vel faciunt vel etiam adhuc facturi sunt in seculo, non plus esset impossibile omnipotentiae dei ad salvandum illum hominem qui sic peccator esset, si tantummodo poenitentiam ageret, quam si unam levissimam culpam habuisset. Sed hoc quod inquiri volo a te audire, quia si vis salvari, nichil est impossibile omnipotentiae dei; si vero non vis, non propter te deus omnipotentiam suam perdit, sed tu ipse te perdis, qui omnipotentiae eius celsitudinem probare non vis.

20 Peccator: Sicut superius fatus sum omnipotentem deum esse scio, et quod omnes homines velit salvare credo, sed hoc me turbat quia sicut eum omnipotentem esse scio, ita et iustum esse intelligo; et propter hoc quia iustus est, si secundum iusticiam suam meam iniusticiam iudicat, de perditione mea non parum formido, sed iam verbis tuis non parum animatus, non parum etiam quia misericordiam dei adhuc possim [consequi sum] securus.

25 Sed tamen vellem ut michi exponeres, verbisque apertis michi ostenderes, quomodo michi deus tantas malicias quas operatus sum dimittat, cum ipse unicuique, sicut credimus, secundum opera sua reddat, nec etiam unum vel minimum peccatum sicut iterum credimus inultum relinquat. Cum itaque videam me tanta mala tamque gravia quae operatus sum sicut mea

4 diabolicum ... peccare:
cf. CDH, Lib. I, xxiv and Lib. II, xiv.
Rom. 2. 6.; Ps. 61. 13.

13-17 quia etiam unus homo ... habuisset
26-27 cum ipse ... sua reddat: Matth. 16. 17;

conscientia me accusat ad expiandum non posse sufficere, etiam si per mille annos possem vivere, et ex alia parte respicio quod deus unum vel minimum peccatum non patitur sine vindicta remanere, fateor licet sciam eius potentiae nichil esse impossibile, per me ipsum nequeo intelligere quomodo de his angustiis sicut credo non parum implicitis me possum eruere. De potentia vero eius et voluntate qua potest et vult, sicut iam multotiens dictum est, peccatores salvos facere non dubito, quia quicquid vult facit, nichilque eius voluntati resistit, sed quomodo michi certum sit quod ipse me velit salvare, cuius peccata tam districte vult examinare, qui nullum de peccatis meis sine vindicta patitur remanere, de quibus certus sum quod nullo modo vel de uno etiam parvissimo possim satisfacere; hoc precor multumque precor tuam gratiam ut me velis docere.

Praeter hoc timeo etiam ne dum quasi peccatis nostris favemus, eum aliquid velle credamus quod ipse non velit, veluti hoc ipsum est fortassis cum dicimus, quia vult omnes homines salvos fieri, cum istos peccatores salvare nolit, qui tantas malicias, sicuti ego, sunt operati. Et si hos excipit, non videtur quod omnes homines, quandoquidem est isti homines sunt, velit salvari, sed secundum impietatem quam operati sunt puniri. Quia et hoc iudicium aequitatis eius videtur exostulare secundum quod creditur esse iustus iudex, ut qui male operatur, malum etiam suis peccatis congruum patiatur, sicut etiam qui bene operatur, bonorum operum iusta mercede remuneretur. Non derogo eius potentiae qui de nichilo potuit omnia sicut voluit creare, sed quaero et a te audire desidero, quomodo peccatores possint salvari, de quorum peccatis deus tantam emendationem requirit, ut quantum peccaverunt, tantum emendationis de peccatis eorum habere velit, cum et hoc impossibile sit ut ullus peccator pro ullo vel minimo peccato deo satisfacere possit. Cum ergo ista considero, quod et sine congrua satisfactione non salvatur peccator, et congruam satisfactionem non potest facere peccator, et iterum inspicio quia deus omnes homines vult salvos fieri, et quia nichil impossibile est eius voluntati, quomodo ista ad invicem congruere possint, fateor non intelligo. Nam et hoc verum esse nulli dubium est; quod peccator non potest salvari sine congrua satisfactione, nec peccator congruam satisfactionem pro peccatis suis potest facere, et quod deus omnes homines vult salvos fieri, et quod nichil sit impossibile eius voluntati, et quicquid vult

18 remuneratur corr. R₁.

28-3 Cum itaque ... remanere cf. CDH, Lib. I, xxi. 7-9 sed quomodo ...
satisfacere cf. CDH, Lib. I, xxi. 15-18 hoc iudicium ... remuneretur cf. CDH,
Lib. I, xiii.

impossibile sit non fieri. Fortassis id quod dicitur quia deus omnes homines vult salvos facere, ita intelligendum est: quod omnes illos tantum salvat qui congruam satisfactionem pro peccatis suis possunt facere, sed si nullum salvat nisi qui congrue pro peccatis suis satisfaciat; tunc procul dubio pro peccatis suis nullum salvat, quia nullus est qui congruam sicut iam dictum est pro suis poenitentiam agere valeat.

Precor itaque ut de his omnibus me instruas, vel potius de his angustiis me eruas, quia dum haec in animo meo congero, qua ratione hinc exire possim non video, nichilque aliud michi tam cito occurrit quam desperatio, quia dum impossibile esse video me satisfactionem facere pro uno vel minimo peccato, nec sine satisfactione me absolutionem de peccatis meis impetrare certus existo, quamvis illa michi videantur multum execrabilia, non aliud michi talia cogitanti occurrit, sicut dixi, nisi desperatio. Possum fortasse quasi in corde meo pingere, et quasi consolando animae meae dicere, 'Noli anima mea desperare, noli cor tuum tantis tumultibus cogitationum onerare, quia deus pius est et misericors, placatusque tibi erit qui te creavit, qui tibi vitam usque ad hanc diem donavit. Absit, absit ut te velit perdere, qui tam diu expectat te, nec adhuc de iniuria quam peccando ei facis vindicat se.' Sed si hoc dicerem, sine dubio me ipsum deciperem, quia licet credam deum esse misericordem, non minus tamen credo eum esse de malefactis hominum iustissimum ultorem, ac per hoc etiam cum me accusavero quantum plus potero, ne adhuc cum ante deum venero reprobis inveniar multum pertimesco, de cuius iudicio nondum certus existo.

Ratio: Sicut video in magnis tribulationibus iaces quibus assidue fatigaris, sed in hoc de salute tua magnam spem habeo, quia aperte illa quae te tribulant profiteris. Quia ergo rationabiliter ista quae ad salutem tuam pertinent requiris, congrua tibi ratio de his quae te nescire asseris, a ratione reddenda est cum qua loqueris. Esto igitur totus intentus quia si ista quae movisti tibi absolvere potero, sicut puto nulla tibi remanebit dubitatio quae te amplius ultra modum fatiget cogitando. Sed a te hoc primum inquiri, quare non tibi videatur esse possibile quod peccator de peccatis suis non possit deo satisfacere, quia si hoc peccatori impossibile est, iniuste videtur deus hoc ab illo exigere quod facere non potest. Item sicut modo supra confessus es, credis quia omnia deus potest, et quia vult

4 proculdubio nullum salvat: proculdubio pro peccatis suis nullum salvat add. R₁.
24 movisti: monuisti corr. R₁.

3-5 sed si nullum ... valeat cf. CDH, Lib. I, xi, xiii, xix.

13 Deus pius ... misericors: Eccli. 2. 13.

salvare omnes homines, et sicut vult omnes salvare potest. Si ergo aliquem non salvat, sicut non solum de uno aliquo sed etiam de multis videmus qui non salvantur, quomodo omnes vult salvare cum multi non salventur, presertim cum nichil ei sit impossibile sicut sepius iam supra dicitur? Volo autem ut similiter michi exponas quid de hoc intelligas.

5 Peccator: Hoc totum a te volo audire, et istud ultimum, et illud quod a me primum inquisisti, quia forsitan si de hoc aliquid dicero voluero, sufficienter non potero, et ideo convenientius ut tu potius hoc disseras quam ego, quia, sicut iam confessa es, tu es ipsa ratio, et propterea et de his et de horum similibus de quibus multi ignorant, tua melior et serenior erit explanatio. Tu itaque dic quia te libentius audio.

10 Ratio: Postquam super me istud onus imponis, sicut supra te admonui totus intentus audi. Hoc quod prius a te quaesivi quare tibi videatur esse impossibile, quod peccator non possit deo satisfacere, quia si id non potest, videtur sine culpa esse, nec iuste videtur deus hoc ab illo expetere, quod impossibile est peccatori facere, sic a quibusdam exponitur, quorum non spernendus esse intellectus videtur; qui prius ostendunt quam grave et quam onerosum sit omne peccatum, etiam vel minimum, deinde quam impossibile sit illi
15 qui peccat deo plenam rectitudinem posse facere, sed tamen quod per se non potest, per deum possit, qui potest omnia quaecumque illi placent facere. Peccator, inquiunt, quando peccat, deum et quicquid a deo creatum est adversum se ad iram provocat, quia et hoc iustum esse videtur, ut cui deus irat [us est] et omnis creatura eius irascatur. Cui itaque deus iratus
20 est, et omnis creatura eius irata est. Quam ergo satisfactionem potest peccator cui deus iratus est et cum eo omnis creatura eius facere; ut possit eum congrua satisfactione placare, quem sic habet iratum adversum se? Omne vero peccatum, etiam vel minimum, exhonorat deum. Exhonorare vero deum est suum honorem ei tollere. Qui itaque peccat deum exhonorat, et quantum ad se et ad hoc quod factum habet, deum de caelis precipitat quem
25 iuxta exemplum quod ostendit, iam nulla creatura honorare debeat.

Si igitur deus suum honorem quem peccator ei abstuli vult amplius sibi restituere, oportet ut talem iusticiam sibi faciat de peccatore, quatinus omnes qui hanc viderint, tale quid amplius timeant contra deum facere. Vides ergo quam graviter offendit qui peccat?

9 Tu ... audio om. L.

23 Exhonorare vero deum: Exhonorare deum L.

11-13 Hoc quod ... facere cf. CDH, Lib. I, xi. 14-17 qui prius ... placent facere: cf. CDH, Lib. I, xxi. 17-18 Peccator ... provocat cf. CDH, Lib. I, xv. 22-23 Omne vero peccatum ... tollere cf. CDH, Lib. I, xi.

Similiter autem inspicere quantis tormentis dignus sit, qui deum quantum ad se et ad hoc quod operatus est sic exhonora-
 vit. Nonne ergo tibi iustum videtur ut deus secundum iusticiam
 suam et potentiam peccatorem puniat, qui eum gratis et sine causa exhonora-
 5 autem et sine causa peccator deum exhonora-
 vit quando peccat, quia nulla necessitas ad
 peccandum eum impellit, nisi sua mala voluntas. Sua vero mala voluntate, id est propria
 voluntate, facit malum; qui cum poss[et] facere bonum per quod sibi poss[et] acquirere bonum
 aeternum, sponte sua dimittit bonum et facit malum, quod operando meretur malum perpetuum.
 Dignus igitur esse videtur poenis aeternis qui peccat, quia quantum ad se ad peccatum quod
 fecit, deum in aeternum exhonora-
 10 vit. In aeternum propterea dico, quia quaecumque res fit
 postquam facta est, hoc postea in aeternum verum est, quia res illa facta est. Si vero ad
 honorem facta est, in aeternum eum honorat cui facta est; si autem ad contumeliam, in aeternum
 illi est ad contumeliam cui facta est, nec quo usque emendatio sit facta de illa re quae facta
 contumeliam intulit, aliud quam contumeliam facit. Quando vero peccator male operando
 deo contumeliam patitur quae ei fit a peccatore, donec ei plenam rectitudinem faciat de
 15 contumelia quam ei facit. Sed hanc rectitudinem impossibile est peccatori deo persolvere,
 quem in aeternum quantum ad se probatus exhonora-
 vit.

Si ergo aliquando peccator a peccatis resipiscens deo quem sic exhonora-
 vit plenam
 rectitudinem curat offerre de iniuria et contumeliam quam ei fecit, nonne tibi rectum videtur
 ut perpetuis subiciatur tormentis pro tanta temeritate et iniuria qua sic eum exhonora-
 20 vit?
 Secundum autem iusticiam dei iustum est ut peccator in aeternum puniatur, quia in aeternum
 quantum ad se et ad hoc quod operatus est deus est exhonora-
 vit. Quis itaque peccator hanc
 rectitudinem deo potest reddere? Si verum vis respondere, respondebis pro certo nullum
 peccatorem hanc rectitudinem deo posse persolvere. Quid ergo peccator faciet, quia hoc
 non potest? Similiter inspicere debes, quia deus eo quod iustus est et aequitatem diligit,
 25 plenam iusticiam et plenam rectitudinem a peccatore requirit de iniusticia et contumelia
 quam ei fecit cum peccavit, sed hoc si deus ad rectam lineam suae iustissimae aequitatis
 respicit, impossibile est peccatori facere. Sicut enim cuilibet qui hominem interfecit

2-3 Nonne ergo ... exhonora-
 vit cf. CDH, Lib. I, xiii, xiv. .14 contumeliam patitur :
 contumeliam facit, tam diu deus illam contumeliam patitur add. L.

impossibile est ut eum possit resuscitare, nec tamen alio modo potest plenam rectitudinem parentibus occisi facere, nisi eum quem occisum habet curet resuscitare, ut ita sit vivus sicut ante fuit priusquam fuisset interfectus; sic qui peccat impossibile est illi deo plenam rectitudinem facere, quam rectitudinem deus si ad suam iusticiam respicit exigit a peccatore, nec tamen aliter deus peccatori iuste potest placatus esse, nisi peccator ei plenam iusticiam de iniusticia quam ei fecit curet persolvere.

Itaque et hanc rectitudinem deus iuste a peccatore requirit, et tamen sicut sepius dictum est impossibile est hanc persolvere peccatori. Quod ergo peccator per se non potest facere, si hoc quod illi impossibile est curat ut possit facere, veniat et proiciat se ante eum qui omnipotens est et omnia quaecumque vult potest facere, fateatur impossibilitatem suam, dimittat superbiam suam, et sic curat ad poenitentiam veram, et certus sit quia hoc quod per se non potest, si credit poterit per illum qui omnia potest. Sicut superius dixi impossibile est homini hominem quem occidit resuscitare, sed deus cui possibile est occidere et vivificare, et cui nichil est impossibile, potest sine dubio sicut vult mortificata resuscitare. Ergo peccator qui se potuit peccando occidere non se potuit vivificando resuscitare, sed quod in se non potest, ut possit veniat ad eum qui potest, et plenam rectitudinem quam (peccator) pro peccato suo per se deo solvere non potest, per solvat ipse deus sibi pro peccatore qui omnia potest.

Hoc itaque quasi quodammodo peccator deo satisfactionem facit de contumelia quam ei fecit, cum se ante illum proicit qui eum de nichilo creavit, eique dicit, 'Domine non sum dignus ego miser et peccator ad te in caelum oculos meos levare quia peccatis et malis operibus incurvatus sum usque quaque. Propicius esto, domine, propicius esto michi peccatori, et fac mecum secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, quia tibi soli peccavi, et malum coram te feci. Tu ergo domine qui me cum non essem pro bonitate tua creasti, mundare me potes si vis. Ideo dico si vis quia potest me mundare quia omnipotens es, et propterea quia omnipotens es, quicquid vis facere potes. Scio domine et certus sum quoniam si ad mala opera quae operatus sum respicis, dignus sum aeternis suppliciis. Sed tamen domine si ad iniquitates meas respicis, easque secundum regulam tuae aequitatis observaveris, quis sustinebit? Agnosco, domine, agnosco culpam meam, et ideo sana animam meam quam a te

13 vivi₊ficare R 17 sibi om. L.

29-4 Sicut enim ... rectitudinem facere cf. CDH, Lib. I.

19-20 Domine ... levare : Lc. 18.13. 20-21 quia ... quaque cf. Ps. 56.7.

21 Propicius ... peccatori : Lc. 18.14. 24 Si vis ... mundare : Mc. 1.40.

recognoscis esse creatam, tuisque beneficiis usque ad hanc horam sustentam. Si vis, domine, potes me mundare, et qui me potuisti cum non essem facere, facilius si vis potes me de morte peccati ad vitam revocare. Scio, domine, scio quia potes et vis me mundare, quia omnes vis salvare nullum perire, et ideo propter ineffabilem pietatem tuam quia potes et vis, munda me.

5

Cum ergo peccator sic recognoscens infirmitatem suam se ante deum proicit [ei] que dicit, 'Domine, si vis, potes me mundare', ei protinus dominus respondet, 'Volo, mundare'. In eadem vero hora cum volo mundare dominus peccatori dicit, mundatur peccator ab omnibus peccatis suis, quoniam omnipotens dominus hoc (vult), cuius nichil est impossibile voluntati.

10

Monstravit autem in hoc domini pietas quia preces peccatoris et infirmi exaudivit, cum leprosum sicut evangelium loquitur sanavit, eum vero sanavit quia voluit, qui omnes homines vult salvos facere et ad agnitionem suae veritatis venire. Ostensum est itaque quia deus satisfactionem peccatoris suscepit, cum peccatorem et infirmum sanavit, quam tamen satisfactionem peccator facere non posset, nisi eum dominus secundum magnam misericordiam suam adiuvisset.

15

Quia ergo dominus peccatorem adiuvit, peccator pro peccato suo domino iustam rectitudinem facere potuit, et quod dominus facit, peccatori propter ineffabilem pietatem suam ad iusticiam reputavit. Itaque peccator quantum ad se, domino iustam rectitudinem pro peccato suo facere non potuit; quantum ad magnam pietatem domini, potuit, quia dominus ita voluit qui omnia quaecunque vult facit, et hoc modo quantum ad se nullus peccator d(omin)o plenam rectitudinem de peccato suo facere potest, in domino autem quia

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dominus ita vult facere potest. Itaque peccator potest et non potest, sed quod in se non potest, in domino potest, qui ut sepius dictum est omnia potest, et hoc modo illa de quibus sicut superius confessus es te scire non potuisse, quomodo ad invicem se possent concordare si diligenter attendisti evidenter potuisti intelligere. Intellexisti, supra si bene recolis me referente et verum intellexisti, quia cum peccator peccat deo magnam contumeliam facit, et haec contumelia tam onerosa est tamque gravis ut nullo modo secundum aequitatem iusticiae dei possit congrue expiari, nec tamen peccator sine congrua satisfactione potest deo reconciliari. Peccator enim, quantum ad se, non potest deo cui peccavit congruam emendationem de peccato suo facere; quantum vero ad deum, qui illum misericorditer adiuvat

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6 proicit eique dicit : proicit atque dicit L. 20 domino, suppl. L.

6-9 Cum ergo mundare : Mc. 1.40. 10 Monstravit ... voluit : Mc. 1.40.

efficaciter potest quia deus omnipotens est, et propterea quicquid vult potest.

Item quod deus omnes homines vult salvos fieri, de quibus tamen certum est non omnes salvos fieri: sic solet a quibusdam exponi, quod deus omnes illos salvos fieri velit quos ei certum est ita vivere ut mereantur salvari, et omnes quos vult salvari salvare potest
 5 quia omnipotens est, illos vero quos non vult salvare, non potest salvare, quod ideo non potest salvare quod ideo non potest quia non debet et quia non debet non potest. Si quis vero tam demens est ut dicat deum facere quod non debet, deum non potentem sed impotentem esse asserit, quia qui quod non debet facit, non hoc faciendo ad veram sed ad falsam
 10 potentiam exurgit, ad quam perviando quia non veritatem sed falsitatem assecutus est nichil invenit. Deus autem qui facere non potest, nisi quod debet, omnipotenter hoc non potest, quod ideo non potest quia deus est, et hanc impotentiam non impotenter sed potenter habet, ut non faciat nisi quod debet.

Qui enim facit quod non debet, non potens sed impotens a recte considerantibus iudicandus est, sicut tu ipse in te ipso aperte videre potes, quia cum peccasti non peccatum
 15 te ad potentiam sursum feliciter, sed deorsum ad impotentiam attraxit infeliciter. Ad tantam quippe impotentiam peccata tua te adduxerunt, quod sicut in primis cum ad me loqui incepisti confessus es, vix eorum fetorem ferre posses tu ipse qui haec eadem operatus fuisses, et quia te usque quaque gravassent, et quod te tota die contristatum incedere
 20 facerent. Antequam vero haec eadem peccata quae modo sic te deprimunt operatus fuisses, si recte attendere voluisses, non ea etiam tunc cum tibi dulcia videbantur suavem odorem, sed foetorem gravissimum emittere intelligere potuisses.

Sed his omissis; ad ea quae superius relinquimus redeamus, tibi que ostendere curemus sicut incepimus illa quae te turbabant, et sicut fatebaris desperare faciebant, qua ratione
 25 intelligi debeant, quamvis inde iam multa me dixisse recolam. Dixi tibi si bene recolis quia deus omnipotens est quod et tu veraciter credis, et propter hoc quia omnipotens est, si vult potest te salvare, et ideo non debes desperare, quod te non possit si vult salvare. Quod autem te velit salvare, ostenditur ibi ubi dicitur, quia vult omnes homines salvare, et

5 non vult salvare : non vult salvari corr. R₁.

2 omnes ... venire : 1. Tim. 2.4.

10 Deus autem ... nisi quod debeat : Anselm, Proslogion, cap. VII, ed. F.S. Schmitt, Anselmi Opera Omnia, I, 1946.

27 vult ... salvare : 1. Tim. 2.4.

maxime in propheta in quo iurat se mortem peccatoris nolle, sed eum converti et vivere. Ista si bene retines, iam amplius desperare non debes. Iterum intimasti, quia deus sicut credebatur quavis misericors esset, tamen et iustus etiam esset et quia aequitatem diligeret, et propter hoc nullomodo peccatum sine vindicta relinqueret, et quantam contumeliam ei peccator fecisset, tam magnam rectitudinem ei facere deberet, quae contumelia postquam ostensum est quanta est, ostensum est etiam quia de illa nullus peccator deo satisfactionem congruam per se facere potest. Quomodo vero peccatori impossibile sit deo rectitudinem facere, et tamen in deo possit quia deus omnipotens est et ideo quia omnipotens est omnia potest facere, iam dictum est, 'nec opus esse existimo id amplius iterare.'

10 Utrunque itaque tene, et quia deus misericors est, et quia iustus est. Quia vero misericors est, noli desperare; quia iustus iudex est et unicuique reddit secundum opera sua, time peccare, sed si peccaveris, ad eius misericordiam fuge, quam si humiliter requiris, et ad hoc iusticiam dei pertinet ut eam debeas invenire, quia publicanus ille evangelicus magis iustificatus a templo recessit quam phariseus, qui licet gratias deo agens, se super publicanum extulit, quia omnis qui se exultat humiliabitur, et qui se humiliat exaltabitur. Exaltatus est autem publicanus, qui ad terram prostratus (et humiliatus) dixit, 'Deus propicius esto michi peccatori;' prostratus est vero phariseus, qui dedignatus se ad terram prosternere, iactando merita sua stans oravit. Sic prostrata, exaltatur humilitas; sic exaltata, humiliatur superbia. Illud autem quod dixi quia deus vult omnes homines salvos facere, alio modo quam dixi solent quidam exponere. Similiter et illud quod tibi exposui, quomodo peccator deo possit de contumelia quam ei facit cum peccat rectitudinem facere; cum tamen hoc ei sit impossibile, aliter quam tibi dixi exponunt alii, quavis ut michi videtur fere ad idem veniant quod dixi. Sed quia iam diu locuta sum, hic facio finem verbis meis, et sicut credo si bene recolis quae diximus, nulla dubitatio tibi remanet sicut tibi promisi de his quae requisisti. De his vero quae dixi, alios aliter exposuisse quam nunc a me tibi exposita sunt, alio tempore si nobis licet et tu velis, fortassis respondebo tibi.

16 et humiliatus suppl. L.

1 in quo iurat ... vivere : Ezech. 18.23. 13-15 quia publicanus ... exaltabitur : Lc. 18. 10-14. 16-19 Deus propicius ... superbia : Lc. 18. 10-14.

Peccator: De his quae iam dixisti, non tibi parvas gratias reddo, quia sicut in me ipso sentio, nisi me dominus per te visitasset, totum me ad perditionem forsitan desperatio impulisset. De illis vero expositionibus de quibus loqueris, cum opportunum fuerit, et te videro ita affectam, ut michi de his et velis et possis respondere, non dubitabo
5 te requirere, et ut de his me instruas rogare

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I. Royal 2. C. iii. f. 105 v.

lezabel icarco usq; ter cia generatione
 ei memoratollitur. ne in scē nauitatis
 ordine ponerecur. Et post trans migra
 tionē babilonis iechomas genuit sala
 chiel. Si uoluerim iechomiā in fine pri
 me tescere scē decadis ponere. in sequent
 q̄. xiiii. sed tredecim. Sciam̄ q̄ iechomiā
 priorē ipsū esse quē & iachim. scdm̄ autē
 id est iachim filiū non patrē. Quorū pri
 or p. k. & c. & sequens p. x. & m. scri
 bitur. Qd̄ scriptorū uitas & longitudi
 ne tēporū. apud grecos latinosq; con
 fusū est. **I**acob autē ge
 nuuit ioseph. hoc loco obicit nob̄ uiliā
 augustus dissonantiā eūnglistarū.
 eū anglista matheus ioseph dixerit
 filiū iacob. & lucas filiū eū appellauerit
 heli. n̄ intelligent consuetudinē scriptu
 rarū qd̄ alter scdm̄ naturā. alter scdm̄ le
 gē ei pac̄ sit. Scim̄ enī hoc p̄ moysen dno
 iubente p̄ceptū. ut si fr̄ aut p̄pinquus
 absq; libis mortuus fuerit. alius ei acci
 piat uxorem. ad suscitandū semen fr̄is
 uel p̄pinqui sui. Sup̄ hoc african̄ tēpo
 rū scriptor. & eusebius cesariensis. in
 libris diaphomas euangliorū plenius
 disputarunt. Genitric ioseph uirū ma
 rie. Cū uirū audieris. suspicio t̄ non
 subeat nuptiarū. sed recordare cōsuetu
 dinis scripturarum. qd̄ sponsi uiri. &
 sponse uocent̄ uxores. Et a trans migra
 tione babilonis usq; ad xpm̄. generatio
 res. xiiii. Numerā a iechomia usq; ad
 ioseph. & inuenies generationes. xiiii

et uia uacua u generatio impium xpm̄
 reputabitur. Xpī autē generatio ficerat.
 Querat diligens lector. & dicat. Cū ioseph n̄ sit
 pat̄ dñi saluatoris. quid p̄met ad dñm̄ ge
 nerationis ordo deducatur usq; ad ioseph?
 Qui respondebim̄. primū non esse consue
 tudinis scripturarū. ut mulierū in gene
 rationib; ordo tēxatur. Deinde ex nati
 uitate ioseph & mariā unde ex lege eā
 accipe cogebatur ut p̄pinquā. Et qd̄ simul
 censentur in bethleem. uia uidelicet stir
 pe generati. **HERALTIATIONE SCĒE CRUCIS.**
Hilt̄ k. Dixit ih̄s sc̄d̄m̄ iohannem.
 turbis. Nunc iudiciū est mundi. **Ec. viii.**
Et r̄ qua. OMELIA EXCERPTA DE CŌŌTA
RIS BEATI AGOSTINI EPI.
MULTAS UNI iudicia di. Unde d̄r̄ in psal
 mo. Iudicia tua abyssus multa. Dicit
 etiā apl̄s. O altitudo diuinarū sapientie
 & scientie di. quā in scrutabili sunt iu
 dicia eius. Ex quib; iudiciis etiā hoc est
 qd̄ hic ait dñs. n̄c iudiciū est mundi. serua
 to illo iudicio in fine. ubi nouissime uiui
 & mortui iudicandi sunt. Possidebat q̄ dia
 bolus gen̄ humanū. & eos suppliciorū
 tenebat cyrographo peccatorū. Dñabat
 in cordib; infidelū. ad creaturā colendā
 deserto creatore deceptos captiuosq; p̄tra
 bebat. Per xpī autē fidē que morte eius
 & resurrectione firmata est. p̄ ei sanguine
 qui in remissionē fufus est peccatorum.
 milia credentiū ad dominatū diaboli libe
 rantur. xpī cor p̄poni copulant̄. & sub tan
 to capite uno q̄ spū fidelia mēbra uogē

currentes dies nos ultimus inuenerit. nusquam dominus meritis ad premium deerit remunerator. Qui coronam in persecutione purpuream pro passione donauit. et ipse in pace uincens pro iusticiae meritis dabit et candidam. Nam nec abraham nec isaac nec iacob occisi sunt. et tamen fidei et iusticiae meritis honorati. inter patriarchas primi esse meruerunt.

Ad quorum congregatur conuentum. quisque fidelis et iustus et laudabilis inuentur.

Memores esse debemus uoluntatem non nostram. sed dei nos facere debere. quia qui fecerit ei uoluntatem. manet in aeternum. quomodo et ille manet in aeternum. Quapropter carissimi. mente integra. fide firma. uirtute robusta. caritate perfecta. parati ad omniem uoluntatem dei sumus. conseruantes fortiter diuina mandata. in simplicitate innocentiam. in caritate concordiam. modestiam in humilitate. diligentiam in administratione. uigilantiam in adiuuandis laborantibus. misericordiam in fouendis pauperibus. in defendenda ^{CARITATE} paupertate constantiam. in disciplinae seueritate censuram. ne aliquid ad exemplum honorum factorum desit in nobis. Hec sunt ergo uestigia. que nobis sancti quisque reuertentes in patriam reliquerunt. ut illorum uestigia inherentes. sequeremur et gaudia Patriam quoque nostram. paradysum cum illis conputemus. Parentes patriarchas iam habere coepimus. Quid non properamus

et currimus. ut patriam nostram uidere. et parentes salutare possimus. Magnus illic carorum nos numerus expectat. parentum. fratrum. filiorum. frequens nos et copiosa turba desiderat. iam de sua incolumitate secunda. ad huc de nostra salute sollicita. Ad eorum complerum et conspectum uenire. quanta et illis et nobis in commune leticia est. Qualis illic ecclesiarum eorum uoluntas conseruorum societate expectantium. quam summa et perpetua felicitas. Illic apostolorum gloriosus chorus. illic prophetarum exultantium numerus insignis. illic martyrum populi innumerabilis. ob certaminum uictoria coronatus. Illic clarissima uirginum letatur turba. illic etiam confessorum fortitudo laudatur. Sed et illorum remuneratio censetur. qui precepta diuina seruantes. ad celestes thesauros terrena patrimonium transferunt. Ad hoc dilectissimi auida cupiditate properemus. ut cum his cito esse. cito ad christum uenire nos contingat. Eumque huius itineris ducem habeamus. salutis auctorem. lucis principem. leticiae largitorem. qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat deus pro omnia secula seculorum. amen.

IN VIOLIA S. ANDBEE APLI. S. C. IOHANNIS.

30 Nullo Re. Stabat iohannes. et ex discipulis eius duo. Et respiciens iesum ambulantem. dicit. Ecce agnus dei. & R. O. MELIA VENERABILIS BEDAE P. B. DE EADEM LECTIOHE.

TANTA ac talis est scripturae diuinae sublimitas. ut non solum uerba quae a sanctis uel ab ipso domino dicta referuntur. sed etiam circumstantia rerum que simpliciter

SALVUS BREVIS
EST DE QUO
LOQUENDUM
USQUE PIMUM
CARITATI
UESTRE

Sed oculum habet aliquantulum
negotiosum. Patienter ergo susti-
nere nos. donec illum enodemus ut
possimus. quantum adiuverit dñs.
Neque passim praeterenda sunt hęc.

quandoquidem placuit fratribus. non tantum aure & corde. sed & fide excipi-
enda quae dicimus. ut non auditorem tantum. sed & lectorem etiam cogitare
debeamus. Nata est quidem huic occasio psalmo ex re quadam gesta. qua nobis
etiam fecimus recitari de libro regum. Saul enim rex non ad permanendam
electus a dño. sed scdm cor populi durum & malum datus ad eorū correptionem
non ad utilitatem. scdm illam sententiam scripturarum quae ait de dō
qui regnare facit hominem hypocritam propt̄ pueritatem populi. cum ergo
talis esset hic saul p̄sequebatur dauid. in quo d̄s p̄figurabat regnum salu-
tis aeternae. & quem d̄s elegerat p̄mansurum in semine suo. quandoquidem fu-
turus erat rex noster. rex seculorū. cum quo regnaturi sumus in aeternum.
ex semine ipsius dauid scdm carnem. Cum ḡ dauid d̄s elegeret. & praedesti-
nasset ad regnum. noluit & ipsum dauid ante regnum tenere. quam primo
a p̄sequentib; laboraret. ut etiā in hoc ipso figuraret nos id est corpus eius. cuius
portus caput xp̄i. Porro enim si ipsum caput n̄m sine primo pacto labore in
terra. regnare in caelo noluit. neq; leuare sursum corpus quod deorsum acce-
pit nisi per tribulationis uiam. quid audent membra sperare capite suo
magis se posse esse felicia. Si patrem familias beelzebub uocauerunt. quan-
to magis domesticos eius. Non ḡ speremus molliorem uiam. Qua p̄cessit
camus. qua dixit sequamur. Si enim a uestigio eius aberrauerimus. peri-
mus. In hoc ḡ dauid quid p̄figurabatur uidetur. Ergo & in saul quid
p̄figurabatur uidetur. Regnum malum in saul. & regnum bonū in dauid.
Mors in saul. & uita in dauid. Et enim nos non p̄sequitur nisi mors. de qua
in fine triumphabimus dicentes. Vbi est mors contentio tua. Vbi est mors
aculeus tuus. Quid est quod dico. non nos p̄sequitur nisi mors. Quia nisi



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rit. michi modis omnib; innocet. Si aut
uident. quia cu patricio nichil facit ago
langobardoz reg. de nobis pmutate.
quia paraculsum in causam eul me im
pendere. si ipse aliquid ualuerit cu repu
blica uoluerit ordinar. **LAMEN SI.**

PREO CONSTANTINO EPO ARDIO
eruent ad nos. quod quidam epi
urae dioceseol ex quirentel occa
sionem potius qua inuenientel.
sele scindere a fraterunitat urae untra
te tempauer int. dicentel te apud ro
manam urbem in eruum captuloz dam
nationem cautionem fecisse. Quod uide
licet iccirco dicunt. quia quantu frat
nitati tug. etiam sine cautione crede
re soleam. nesciunt. Si eni hoc elset
necessarium fieri. uerbis uobis nudis ere
di potuisset. Ego tamen. nominati inter
nos. neq. uerbo neq. ser ipso. tria captula
recolo. Sed est si citius reuertuntur de
suo errore parcediu est. quia iuxta
Pauli apli uocem. non intelligunt neque
quae loquuntur. neq. de quib; affir mant.

Hos enim. auctore ueritate. teste conscien
tia. facemur nos fidem scq. calcedonenlis
synodi illibatum p omia custodire. ni
chil q. eius definitioe addere. nichil
subtrahere addere. Sed si quis contra
eam euadit; synodi fidem. siue plas. mu
tusq. ad lapidandum usurpare appetit.
deum omi dilacione postposita anathe
matizamus. atq. a sinu matris ecclse ali
enim esse decernimus. Quem q. ista mea
confessio non sanat. non ia calcedonen
sem synodum diligit. sed matris ecclse
sinum odit. Si q. ea ipsa quae audere
uolunt. zelo loqui anime prapre
runt. sup est ut hac satisfacione susce
pta. ad frateritatis tuae unitatem rede
ant. seq. axpi corpore quod est scilicet
antuer salis ecclae non diuidant.

GREGO THEOFLINVS REGINAE
uorundam ad nos relatione pue
nit. ab aliquib; epis glam urum
usq; ad hoc scandalum contra sciam geclae
fuisse pducam. ut sese a catholice una
nunitatis comunione suspenderet. Quod
quantu uos pure diligimus. tantu de
uobis fortius dolem. quia uos impet
stulitq; hominib; creditel. qui non solum
ea quae loquuntur nesciunt. sed ut ce
peperit quae audierint possunt. Dicit
enim. piae memorie iustiniani tempo
rib; aliqua contra calcedonensem syno
du fuisse constituta. Cui dum tuq. le
gunt. neq. legentib; credunt. in pso
rere manent. que sibi de nobis ipse
xerunt. Nos eni teste conscientia fare
mur. de fide eius de scilicet calcedonenlis
cili. nichil mortum. nichil esse uolucum.
sed quequid predicti iustiniani tempo
rib; actum est. ita actum est. ut fidelis cal
cedonenlis concili in nullo ueretur. Si
quis autem contra euadit synodi fidem.
aliquid loqui prapsumit. uel capere
nos ei sensum sub interpofitione anathe
matel decernamus. Cum q. integra
tatem uram de conscientia urae acce
ptacione cognoscetel. sup est ut uos un
quam a catholice ecclae comunione
separent. ne tot urae lacrimae. tanq.
bona opa perant. si a fide uera inueniunt
aliena. Decet q. glam uram. ad reue
rentissimu fratrem & coepm meum constanti
um. cuius & fidelis & uera olem michi bene
est approbata. sub omni celeritate transmi
tere. eiq. directis eplis indicare. ordina
tionem eius qua benigne suscipitis. &
quia ab ei ecclae comunione in nullo sepa
rentur. Quauis in hoc me uobis dicere
supflae ar bitroz. quia & siquid in uo
animo dubitatis fuit. ueniente filio meo
iohanne abbate atq; ypoleto noturto.

na fidei n[on] uoluerunt...
cellular[um] ab[er]rante[m]...
eadem scriptura...
r[ati]o[n]e...
summa[m]...
A laud[em]...
erudicio uerbor[um]...
putand[um]...
et demost[ra]t[ur]...
alio de...
testimonia...
Quid g[er]o...
d[omi]ni q[ui]d...
q[ui]d nesciebant...
resurrexerunt...
et[er]n[um] audita...
melius...
desiderio...
fere ap[osto]los...
sententia...
d[omi]ni d[omi]no...
sententia...

12
VII^a Royal
12 C. i.

... de peccatis ...

Hac medicacione peccator demerita
... malitiam peccatorum suorum de
... cui sic male sapienter respon
... peccatis suis
... penitentiam agit ...
... peccatis suis
... de peccatis suis
... penitentiam agit ...

ec sunt que me de peccatis facit ...
... penitentiam agit ...
... de peccatis suis
... penitentiam agit ...
... de peccatis suis
... penitentiam agit ...

Vnu tantum peccatum dicitur quod sicut
... de peccatis suis
... penitentiam agit ...

liber de clausura ...

Est autem blasphemia sps

Trinity College,
ms. o. 2. 27.
VI b)

... pugn' astruet' & palma distenta. Illa
... breui oratione argumta concludit. ista
... facundie copios' copioso sermone discun
... rit. Illa uerba equalit' ista distendit.
Dialectica siquid' ad emendandas res a
... citor. rhetorica ad inducendas dicendas
... facundior. Illa raros & studiosos requirit
... hec frequent' incurbas peccit. ka. Qe
... sunt species dialectice. Al. Principa
... les. V. ylagoge. catogorie. syllogismo
... formule & distinctiones. copica. pier
... mone. ka. Qe sunt ylagoge. Al.
Ylagoga quippe latine introductio dicitur.
ka. Quid significat introductio. Al. In
... troductio dicitur que sensu nrm prauas
... diuisiones reru' comuniu' ad ppetuam
... cultib' rei introducte. ka. Que se
... partes est. Al. Gen' species. differentia.
... accidens. p'prietu' ka. Gen' qd est. Al.
Gen' p'prietu' qd species; differt. & qd sit ea
... substantia de qua querit' comutu' uoca
... bulo ostendit. ut animal. P' singlas eni
... species id' hominis. eq. bouis. leonis.
... & ceteru'. gen' animal. & equalit'. Id
... de omnib; p'dicat' ka. Qd' species. Al.
Species qd' de plurib; & differentib; in
... numero n' specie meo qd' qd' sit p'dicat'

Sermo beati augustini epi de scripto moysi q.
 181-182 hodie clemency suoz
 de nobis ipis sermo reddendus est.
 Quod enim ait ap[osto]l[us] expectaculi facti sumus iuris
 do & anglis & hominibus. qui nos amant.
 quoniam quod laudare in nob[is]. qui autem nos ode
 runt. deprecant nos. Nos autem nos o[mn]i
 dio confitua. adinuicem d[omi]no n[ost]ro ihu xpo.
 & in ca[usa] n[ost]ra. & fama n[ost]ra se custodire de
 bentur. ut n[on] tribentur deprecantibus lauda
 core. Quomodo autem inuere uelimus. quomodo de p[re]s
 entia tam inuadimus. quam de scriptura
 scilicet mala nouerit. tam ad commemorandos
 uos ip[s]a delibro accuti ap[osto]l[us] uob[is] leuato re
 zabatur. ut uideatis ubi descripta sit forma q[ua]m
 desideramus implere. Du[m]q[ue] recitabatur. uos in cen
 trinos uolo. ut post eius recitatione[m]. qd[m] in
 tu loquar d[omi]no donante in centioni u[ost]r[um]. (C[on]q[ue] lazarum
 diaconum legere. cu[m] orasset moasi est locut[us]
 in quo erant congregati. & implea s[er]u[er]e om[n]i
 sp[irit]u s[an]cto. & loquebantur uerbu[m] d[omi]ni cu[m] si d[omi]na
 omni uolenti. misericordiam autem credentiu[m] erit
 anima & cor unu[m]. & nemo eoz quicquid posside
 bat dicebat aliquid suu[m] esse. sed erant
 illi omnia comuna. & uixere magna
 reddebant q[ui]b[us] testimoniu[m] respiciationis

Deniq[ue] ad ueram beatitudinem p[er]uenire uolentib[us] primo omni
 fidei necessaria est. sicut ap[osto]lica docet auctoritas. dicens sine
 fide impossibile est placere d[omi]no. Constat q[uod] neminem ad uera posse
 p[er]uenire beatitudinem nisi d[omi]no placeat. & ideo neminem placere
 re posse nisi p[er] fidem. Fides namq[ue] bonoq[ue] omniu[m] est funda
 mentu[m]. fides est human[us] alius uniu[m]. Sine hac. nemo
 ad filiu[m] d[omi]ni potest consistere p[er]uenire. quia sine ip[s]a. nec
 in hoc seculo quicquam iustificationis consequetur gra[m].
 nec in futuro ueram possidebit aeternam. & si quis h[uius]
 non ambulauerit p[er] fidem. non p[er]ueniet ad sp[irit]um beator[um]
 uisionis d[omi]ni n[ost]ri ihu xpi. Proinde om[n]i anima rationali
 aetate congrua discat fidem catholicam. maxime popu
 l[us] predicatores xp[i]ani & accelerant d[omi]ni doctores. ut pos
 sint ueritatem contra dicentib[us] resistere. & catholicam a
 n[ost]ra[m] pacem p[er]d[er]e. Quomodo enim docet quis qd[m] n[on] dictu
 ce. ut qualiter p[er]d[er]it esse poterit. sicut uirgo grege sibi
 commissum pascere ignorat. nec tribescat nesciens discere
 qd[m] ignorat. nec sciens tardus sit docere qd[m] nouit. Sicut
 inu[er]i; se suo d[omi]no accepit pecuniam ratione redditarum.
 Tunc desiderabilem fidelis seruus audiet uocem d[omi]ni d[omi]ni
 centis. euge serue bone & fidelis. quia siq[ue] pauca sui
 si fidelis supra multa recomensuam. itera in gaudiu
 dni tui.

Omnis itaq[ue] scriptura uerit[atis] ac noui testam[en]ti diu
 nitatis inspirata & catholice intelligatur. hoc insinuat
 qd[m] pater & filius & sp[irit]us s[an]ctus unus sit d[omi]s. eiusdem sub
 stantia. uniusq[ue] essentia. atq[ue] inseparabilis indiuin
 itate unitatis. Ideoq[ue] non sit tres d[omi]ni sed unus d[omi]s. pater
 & filius & sp[irit]us s[an]ctus. quamuis pater filium genuerit. &
 ideo filius non sit qui pater est. filiusq[ue] a patre sit genitus

ASSERTIO AVT
 nre fidei. hec
 est: ut unum
 dnm esse dica
 mus. Neq;
 ut gentes.
 filiu sepa
 remus:

neq; ut iudei. natu ex patre
 ante tepora. & ex uirgine po
 stea editum denegem. Neq;
 ut sabellius. patrem confun
 dam & uerbu. ut eundem pa
 tre asseram & filiu: neq; ut
 fotinus. initiu filii ex uir
 gine disputem. Neq; ut ar
 rius plures credendo & dis
 similes potestates. plures
 deos gentili errore faciam:
 quia scriptu est. Audi isrl.
 dñs ds tuus. ds unus est.

Ds enim & dñs. nomen magni
 ficentis. nomen est potesta
 tis. sicut ipse dicit. Dñs no
 men^{est} michi. Et sicut alibi
 ppha asserit. Dñs omips no
 men est ei. Dñs g & ds: uel
 quod dominet omib;: uel qd
 spectet omnia & timeatur a
 cunctis. Si g unus ds. unu
 nomen: potestas una est tri

Ite baptizate gentes in nomi
 ne patris. & filii. & sps sci.
 In nomine utiq; non in nomi
 b;: Ipse etiam dicit. Ego & pat
 unu sumus. Vnu dixit. ne fi
 at discretio potestatis. Sum
 adhecit. ut patre filiuq; co
 gnoscas: quod pfectus pater.
 pfectu filium genuisse credat.
 & pater ac filius unum sint.
 non psonaru confusione sed
 unitate nature. Unum g dñm.
 non duos aut tres deos dicim:
 ut impia arrianæ heresis dñi
 criminat incurrit. Tres eni
 deos dicit. qui diuinitate se
 parat trinitatis. cu dñs dicen
 do. ite baptizate gentes in no
 mine patris. & filii. & sps sci:
 unius esse trinitate potesta
 tis ostenderit. Hos patre & fi
 liu & spm scim confitem: ita
 ut in trinitate pfecta. & ple
 nitudo sit diuinitatis. & uni
 tas potestatis. Omne regnum
 in se diuisu facile destruet.

Dñs hoc dicit. Non g diuisum
 est regnu trinitatis. Si g di
 uisum non est. unu est. Quod
 autem unu non est. diuisum est.
 Tale g regnu esse cupiunt tri
 nitatis: quod diuisione sui

Incipit prologus beati ieronimi
presbiteri in librum de he-
braicis questionibus in
genesis.



UI
IN
PA
ERIS
LIBRORUM DEBEBAO
secuturi opis argumenta
pponere. cogor prius respon-
dere maledictis. terentii
quippia sustinens. qui co-

11° 6 = 5

uiru claua herculi extor-
quere de manu. Sed et culli-
us qui in arte eloquentiae
romanae stetit. rex oratoru.
et latinae linguae illustrator.
repetundarum accusatur
a grecis. Non miru ergo si
contra me paru hominu-
lu immunde sues grummi-
ant. et pedib; margaritas e-
culcent. cu aduersus doctis-
simos uiros et qui gla inui-
dia supere debuerant luo-
re exarserint. Veru hoc il-
lis merito accidit. quoz in
theatris. curia. contione.
prostris eloquentia pona-
bat. Semp enim in ppatulo
fortitudo emulos habet. fe-
ruuntq; sumos fulgura mon-

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Fontes calidi & salubres
in sancta...

lectaneū deparere. ut sufficiat usui. ubi defecerint
securrigines. Fontes calidi & salubres aliq̄ locis
effluunt. q̄ medelas afferunt. aut solidant ossa fracta.
aut abolent a solifugis insertū uenenu. aut etiā
ocularia dissipant egritudines. S. q̄ oculis medent.
& coarguendis ualent furib. Hā q̄q̄ sacramento
ruptū negat. lumina aq̄s accreecat. Vbi piurū
non est. cernit clari. Si p̄fidia abnuit. deceptū
faciū cecitate. & capte oculis admissū faceret.

Sicilia. In ea memorabilia soli. & agrū. Itē de achate
reseruat ad ordinē tēporū lapide.
ut locoꝝ. p̄ sardinā trinacriā ponent̄ sici-
liā. p̄mo qd̄ utq̄ insula in romana potesta-
te redacta. hūde tēporib; facta p̄uincia est.
cū eodē anno sardinā. a. ualeri. alterū. s. flāmini
p̄tor sortiti sūt. Adde qd̄ ē fredo siculo: excipit̄ nom̄
sardi maris. Ergo sicilia qd̄ cū p̄mis assignandū ē.
diffusū p̄minentib; utriq; tēpore figurat̄. Pachin̄
aspect̄ in peloponēsiē & meridiana plaga dirigit̄.
pelorias adūsa uesp̄o: italia uidet̄. Lilibei in affri-
cā extendit̄. Inq̄ pelorias p̄stat̄ laudata egr̄o so-
li tēpore. qd̄ humido inlucū madefiat. neq; faci-
scat̄ in puluere siccitate. Vbi ea interuū recedit̄.
& in latitudine pandit̄. tres lac̄ obtinet̄: quoz̄ un̄
eo qd̄ piscū copiosus. ē. n̄ eisdē adinaculū d̄xerit̄.
s; qd̄ & p̄ximant̄ edentis arbutis. int̄ uirguloꝝ
opaca ferat̄ nutria. & admissis uenatib; p̄ t̄renos
tiamtoꝝ q̄b; pedestres accessus excipit̄. duplicē pi-
scandi. uenandiq; p̄beat uoluptate. Numenē int̄
eximia. Tercū am sacri ac plac̄. Que in medio

Sermo de sacramentis neophitorum habitus in synodo.



uoluntatis uocatur uisibilis sacra-
mentis instruendus est. ut p̄ exhibitionē uisibilū
p̄tingere possit ad intellectu uisibilū. nosse
oportet dñi sacerdotes q̄ hec sacramenta contine-
tant modū & ordinē sacramentoz̄. & ueritate
rerū significatarū. Alioquin dispensatores sūt
tantū misterioꝝ tanq̄m cec̄i duces cecoz̄. tantū
utilitatis inde habituri.

quantum ea
p̄uincit uimentia que portant panes ad usus alioꝝ. licet diuina gr̄a
non deserat sacramenti. qd̄ p̄ eos salute opatur poploꝝ. Attendant
& dñicoꝝ sacramentoz̄ dispensatores. quia eccl̄a xpi cotidie ex gentib;
opantib; eisdem sacramentis accipit̄

XI
C.C.C.C.
332
f.20

INCIPIT LIBER EIUSDEM RATHRAANI DE ANIANA.
VO EXAMINIS ANIANI PROPOSVITIS.
Dilectissimorum uobis auctoritate soluenda. scilicet
ne anima circūscripta siue localis. Non
facilis sane questio. et quicquid perscrutanda
doctis. tantum minus intelligentibus abscondenda. Quam
uis quod puerionibus: uita ministrat. lacte nutriendos ne
citat. Idem secundum uerbum decreti iustionis. super hac re quod sit
tenendum maiorum sententia nos instruat. Si postquam uenia
m ad causa. nominum significantias explicem. ne aliud
agentes. circa aliud euagem. Non ualeat enim secreti my
sterium penetrare. quod signorum differentias non curat dis
tinguere. Quod sit quod circūscribe. quod locale uideamus.
Circūscribitur politus terminus est. si nos de eo quod ad presens
respicit negotium dicimus. Circūscriptio est. res quada
uerborum circūscriptura comprehensa. Ne scipionis pruden
tia carthaginis opes fregit. Satis enim futurum dicitur. sermo
ne et cartagine. Ne uero in simplicitate. sed quod ad uerborum
circūscriptum quod uolunt indicant. Sicut autem hoc uerbum scri
pta uelut anima dicit. non quod obstat. Verum quod crea
tor spiritus dei in circūscripto. dum et ipse quod ad uerborum circū
scriptum potest indicari. superest ut alia suscipiat circūscri
ptio distinctione. Circūscripta res est que ubique est.
si aliquid siue excludit. Sub hac distinctione omnis creatura
comprehendit. creator uero separatur. Quod namque constat cre
aturam. propter ab unitate similitudine separatur. Aephoc. isto
modo in ab re dei anima circūscripta. Suis enim ab omni cre
aturae differentia distincta est. nec ubique est. Sua namque
substantia tenet. nec aliis committit. At uero quoniam finis
rebus. propter corporis assignat. siquidem dum spatium tendit

XI
Royal
6 B. vi.
f.2



INCIPIT LIBER BEATI AMBROSII MEDIOLANEN
SIS ARCHIEPISCOPI DE MYSTERIIS
SIVE IN TRINITATE DOMINI

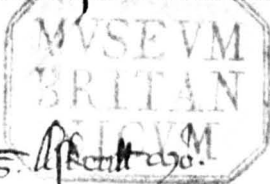
e moralibus cotidianum sermonem
habuimus. cum uel patriarcharum gesta.
uel puerbiorum legerentur precepta. ut
his informati atque instituti assuesceretis
maiorum ingredi uias. eorumque iter
carpere. ac diuinis obedire oraculis. quo
renouati per baptismum. et uite usum te
neretis. que ab uicis decoret. Hunc de myste
riis dicere tempus admonet. atque ipsam ratio
nem sacramentorum edere. Quam ante baptismum si putassemus nisi

Chry. y. m. i.

Incipit littera ubi dicitur constantinopolitana

quod est de damnatione lapsi.

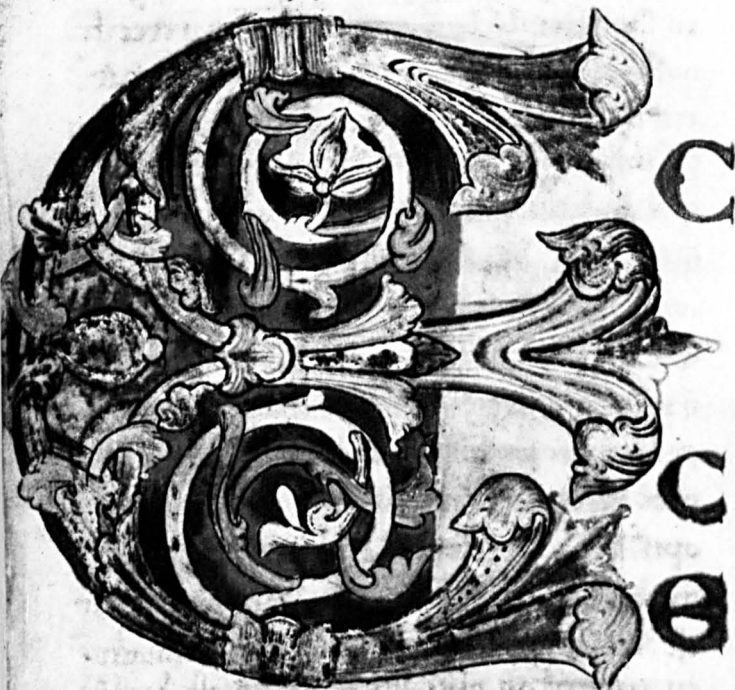
QVIS BASIT CAPTI OREO AQUAM. ET OCVLIS
 MEIS FONTE LACRIMARUM? OPPORTUNUS MUL-
 TO A ME NE. QUIA TUNE APPHA DI DR. LICET
 ENI NON URBS MULTA. NEC GENS INTEGRALA
 MENTANDA MIHI SIT. ANIMA TAMEN FLENDA E.
 MULTIS GENTIBUS NOBILIOR. MULTISQ; VRBIB; PRECIOSIOR.
 Nam si unus qui fecit voluntate di melior: quam
 multitudo iniquorum: melior est tu eras quondam quam
 multitudo iudeorum. Propter quod nemo miretur. si for-
 te plerisque ego ne utar lamentationibus. & amario-
 res profunda flet. quia te propheta perfudit. Non enim urbis
 ut dixi capti excidia defleo. nec vili vulgi captiuitate
 lamento. sed insignis anime lapsu. & templi in quo christus
 habitat excidii. Siquis enim ornamentum quondam ani-
 me tuus nouit. quia ne diabolica flamma consumpsit. si quis
 templi corporis tui contempletur est te cum castitatis splen-
 dore fulgeret: paruum profecto & ualde inferiorem
 illam prophetica lamentatione putabit. in qua barbarice
 manus sanctorum polluisse deflent. & sacras edes ignis
 populat hostilis. ubi circumstanta cherubin & archa
 testamenti. ac precipitatorum. tabuleque lapides. & urna
 aurea lamentant. Hec enim lamentatio quam ego defleo
 tanto illa durior & amarior. quanto uerum cuncta hec &
 euidentia in tua anima. quam in illi templi parietes erant.
 hoc sancti multo fuit quod in te templum erat. non enim auri
 & argenti metallis. sed uirtutibus animi. & domus sancti spiritus
 radiabat. habebat enim archam in se. & duo cherubin.
 id est fide patris & filii & spiritus sancti in se. Sed ne nichil horum



Libr. de simp. Rossens. 1870.



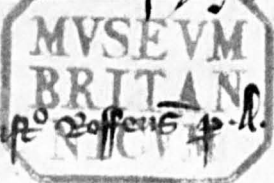
AV RELIACIOVS
TINI GREGORII
TORIS TRACTA
TVS INOR DEPSAL
MO CENTESIMO
PRIMO INCI
PIT:



UNUS PAUPER ORAT. SI NON ORAT IN
SILENTIO. Nec g̃ audire eū & videre
quis nā sit: ne forte ille sit de quo dicit ap̃s.
Qui pp̃t uos paup̃ fact' est eū diues esse. ut il
lius paup̃tate uos dicarentur. Si g̃ ip̃s est
quomodo paup̃? Nā quom̃ diues. q̃s n̄ uidet?
Vnde enī h̄m̄ dicit s̄ diuites: Puto auro. ar
gento. familia. terra. sed om̄ia p̃ ipsū facta
sunt. Quid g̃ illo dicitur p̃ que facte sunt
diuitie. etiā ille que n̄ s̄ uere diuitie: p̃
illū enī & ille diuitie. ingenū. memoria.
uita. ipsius corporis sanitas. sensus confor
matioq; membroy. & enī eū hec salua s̄.
& paupes diuites s̄ pillū: & ille maiores
diuitie. fides. pietas. iusticia. caritas. ca
stitas. mores boni. Nemo enī & has habet.
n̄ p̃ eū q̃ iustificat impiū. Ecce quā diues;
Quis enī diues. q̃ habet qd̃ uult alio faciente.

anq̃ facit qd̃ uult & alio habente. pu
to quā dicitur. ille q̃ fecit qd̃ habet. quā qd̃
ille habet. tu n̄ habes. Ecce quā diues;
In hoc tā diuitie. unde agnoscitur sumi h̄c
uerba. cinerē sicut panē manducaui. &
potū meū cū fletu miscēbā: Huc ne
ille tante diuitie. puenerit: Multum
illud excelsū. multum hoc abiectū. Quid
faciem? Quē admodū ista una illis sum
mis contēpabim̄: Nūquid ab inuitē lon
ge s̄. Non dū agnosco istū paup̃em;
Alius est fortasse. Sed adhuc quæramus;
Vnde enī nob̄ n̄ uidet ip̃s: mirū si inter
rogas. & n̄ ex paup̃tate diuitias. in p̃nci
pio erat uerbū & uerbū erat apud d̄m
& d̄s erat uerbū. hoc erat in principio
apud d̄m. om̄ia p̃ ipsū facta s̄ & sine
ip̃so factū est nichil. Qui ista dicebat
eū dicitur diues erat: quanto magis
ille deq̃ dicebat: In principio uerbū.
& n̄ qualecunq; uerbū sed uerbū deus.
& n̄ ubicunq; sed apud d̄m. & n̄ uacans s̄;
om̄ia p̃ ipsū facta s̄: cinerē sicut panē man
ducauit. & potū suū cū fletu miscuit: De
tendū est ne tantis diuitiis n̄m̄ paup̃tas
faciat iniuriā. Quæ adhuc tamē. ne ip̃s
sit paup̃ iste. qm̄ uerbū caro factū est &
habuit in nob̄. Respice & illā uocē. ego
seruus tuus & fili ancille tue. Accende an
cellā istā. castā & uirginē matrē. Ibi enī
accepit paup̃tate n̄m̄. ubi serui forma
indit' est. semet ipsū gemantem ne diuitias
eū ex paup̃tate. & ad eū eū tua mendici
tate accede n̄ auderes. Ibi accepit in quā
formā serui. ibi n̄m̄ induit' est paup̃tate.
ibi se paup̃tate. ibi nos dicant. Iam g̃ p̃
p̃inquam de illo h̄c intelligere. ueruntamē
adhuc n̄ est tā temere p̃nuntiandū. Pare
uirginalis est lapis sine manib' de monte
p̃situs. ubi nullus hominū op̃at' est nulla
transfusa concupiscentia. sed sola fides ac
centa. & uerbi caro concepta. Deinde p̃
cessit exire. Locuti s̄ celi. angli nun

HISTORIA SACRE LEGIS NON SINE ALIQUA
 pronuntiatione futurorum gesta atq; conscripta est. nec
 penitret ad prefigurationem mysteriorum. cum quidam plerumq; uerū uerū gesta
 rit: nisi docent apłi dicere. Lex figurā habet futurorum bonorum. non ipsā
 imaginem rerū. Proinde quedā que in ea figurati dicta uel facta
 sūt. & sūt plena mysticis sacramentis: adiuuante superna grā in hoc
 opusculo exequentes interuimus ueterum aecclasticorum sententias
 congregantes. ueluti ex diuersis praxi flores lectos ad manū ferri
 & pauca de multis breuiter pstringentes. pleniq; etiā adhaerentes. uel
 ex aliqua parte mutantes: non solū studiosis. sed etiā fastidiosis lec-
 toribus offerimus. quib; nimia longitudo sermonis abhorret. Breui
 enī expositione succincta. nō faciunt de plixitate fastidium. Prolixa
 enī & occulta cedit oratio. breuis & apta delectat. Et quia iā pridē
 uisā litterā a nobis sermo totus congregatus est: necesse est ut prece-
 dentis historie fundamentum allegoricus sensus sequat. Nā figurati
 quedā ex his intelliguntur. uere tanquā pphetica iudicia preceden-
 tia futurorum. Sane non omnia que in lege & pphetis scripta sūt in-
 stentem enigmatis obtegunt. sed p his que aliquid significant
 etiā que nichil significant conecuntur. Sicut enī in cytharis &
 huiusmodi organis musicis. non quidē omnia que tangunt canorum
 aliquid resonant sed corde: cetera tamē in toto cythare corpore idō
 facta ut eēt ubi conecerent. & quo tenderent illa que ad canti-
 lene sequitate modulaturus est artifex: ita in his pphetis narra-
 tionibus que obteguntur. aut aliquid sonant in significatione futu-
 rorum: si nichil sonant. ad hoc interponunt. ut sic unde illa si-
 gnificata tanquā sonantia conecant. Has autē uerū gestarū figu-
 ras de mysticis thesauris sapientiū ut predictum depmentes: in una



A uere te in dō iterū & sēp optamī pater eleuthere. Rogauimī scire
& sociū nīm ireneū hęc scripta deferre. quē depicimū ut habes
cōmīdatū. emulatae namq; est testamta xpi. Scimū enī qđ solus of-
fici gradus nō facit aliquē iustū. qđ tamē iste recte utatē in p̄bō.
sed plus eū & utq; merito cōmīdam. Innumerant etiā post hęc
duerforū martyruū glās. q̄nta ferro cęsi. q̄nta bestis. quanta igni-
bus. quanta squalore carceris absūpta s̄t. **Q**ue nō s̄t uultu plenus
noscere. ipsas ex integro requirat eplās; **u** **g**itvs. antoni-
m tēporib; q̄b; hęc gesta referunt. marcū aureliū frēm ei cęsa-
rē bella inferentē germanis ac sarmatis. tradunt hystorie cū
sici ei picturavō exeret. inuestigantē & querentē qđ factū op-
ēt. reppisse in legione quadā multes xpianos. q̄b; ut nris mos
est flexis genib; obsecrantib; exaudisse dñm supplicationes eo-
rū. & subito contra omīū spē largissimis imbrib; p̄fusis ex-
eret qđ dē picturatis p̄ q̄ orauerant. xpiani sic sedatā. hostis
ū qđ uā exualtē immincebant fulminib; crebris & cęstē plap-
si ignib; effugatos. Qđ factū referē quidē & ab hystorici
gentiliū. sed quia mōz id orationib; impetratū sit nō referat;
quippe apud quos etiā cętera miracula que annis gesta s̄t non
habent fidē. **N**roz ū & terrullianū hęc memorato. & apud gre-
cos ap̄llimari. qđ etiā ipsā legionē p̄ insignis facta mundo
mirato nomine uocantā dicit ab impatore fulm. sicā. **T**er-
tullianū ū marci impatoris eplās etiā nē habi dicit. q̄b; debis
ap̄tus indicat. **S**; nosiā geboe ad hystorie ordinē redam; &
cirtvs. pothino nonagesimo uite sue anno cū cęteris gallie
martyrib; coronato. hyreneus lugdunensis ecclē. facientū
susceperit. Quē reuicā. pollicam. iudicorē fuisse in ouerica

XV **I**n his que tēpora nē habemī in manibus. scribe se op̄ illud
indicit his uerbis. Fundata q̄ & edificata ecclēa beati ap̄tī.
uno officū episcopatū iungunt. cui lum paulus in eplā. sua
meminit ad timotheū. Huic succedit anacleus. post quē tōio
loco episcopatū suscepit clemens. Hic autē cū beatis ap̄tis fu-
it. & cū ipsis sēp uitā exegit. atq; ab ipsis institutū recentē
memoriā traditionis eoz. gerebat. & p̄dicationis eoz. formā
sēp habebat in oculis. Sub hoc ḡ el emente seditio nō modica
exorta est ap̄d chorinthū inē fr̄s. ita ut ex p̄sona romane
ecclē. scriberet ipse clemens ad corinthios eplām. necessa-
riā. que eos reuocaret in pacē. & fidē eoz. que concussa fue-
rat renouaret. exp̄mens in ea ap̄toz. traditionē. quā nup ab
eī ipse suscepit. Et post aliquā iterū dicit. Huic autē cle-
mens succedit euarist. & euaristo alexander. Et post hunc
s̄t ab ap̄tis ordinatū syxus. post quē telestor. qđ & illustre
martyruū dixit. Post hē ygrin. deinde pius. post quē aniceus.
huic successit sother. qđ nē duodecimo loco ab ap̄tis episcopatū
obtinere soctē. & easdē quas ap̄tī tradiderō p̄dicationes diuine
fide. integras illibatasq; custodit. Hęc ireneus in sup̄dicatū li-
bris cōplexus est. **S**; & in secō nichilominū eidē op̄is libro. di-
cit etiā suis tēporib; reliq̄as quasdā diuine uirtutis in ecclēis
inueniri hoc m̄ scribit. Absit autē longe ab eis ut mortuū
suscitaret. sicut dñs suscitauit & ap̄tī porationes. Sed & fr̄s
frequētē fecerēt hoc in plurimis ecclēis. ita ut omīs simul. pe-
desia cęnta. ieiunus & obsecrationib; multas addm. p̄fusis con-
uertentes s̄s mortuū. & redderetur bō uiuus porationes scōz.

dme nrām. Quāqm̄ inima
 gne abuleo homo. Idō enī q̄m̄
 quā magnū aliqd̄ imago hęc.
 & hoc q̄m̄m̄ secretū est tamen. ut
 illud qd̄ audistis q̄m̄m̄ utē solē
 ste. hoc autē qd̄ seq̄ tam̄ sub so
 le ste. & illud p̄nate aduerita
 tē. hoc ad uanitatē. Quāqm̄ q̄
 in imagine abuleo hō. tamen
 uane contēbat. Audi coruatiōnē
 ei. & uide si n̄ est uana. ut calces
 eā. tūtilat eā. & habites in excel
 sis. ubi n̄ est ita uanitas. Que ua
 nitas? **T**hesaurizat & n̄ cogno
 scit eū cōgregabit eā. O insan a ua
 nitas. Beat̄ cui est dñs sp̄s ipsi.
 & n̄ respexit in uanitates & in sa
 mas in daeas. Desirare ē uideor
 auare eū hęc loqr̄. apicularia ē
 uident hęc uerba. Tu enī uideli
 cet homo magnū cōsilū. magneq;
 prudentie. exogras cotidie gene
 ra adquirende pecunie. de negocio.
 de agr̄ cultura. fortassis & de elo
 q̄o. de iuris consultatione. de mi
 lita. Ad dñs & de senore. Homo
 cordat̄ nichil p̄mittat̄ omnino. un
 de nūmus sup̄ nūmū & innocuo
 diligenti carigeat̄. Dep̄daris ho
 mine. caue dep̄datore. Qd̄ facis
 times ne patiaris. & meo qd̄ p̄te
 ris non te corrigis. Sed n̄ patiaris.
 Prudent̄ enī homo est. bene seruas.
 n̄ solū bene colligis. habes ubi po
 nas. eū cōmittas. qm̄ nichil p̄te
 xeo qd̄ cōgregasti. Inuogo cor tu
 um. discurtio prudentiā tuā. Ec
 ce collegisti. ecce ita seruasti. ut
 nichil possis amittere eoz̄ que ser
 uasti. Dic m̄ eū seruast. Non te

eū ago. n̄ cōmemoro. n̄ exaggeto
 qd̄ aliud mali habet auaritia ua
 nitas tue. Hoc unū p̄pono. hoc
 discurtio. qd̄ m̄ dat occasio lectio
 nis hui' psalmi. Prors' colligis.
 thesaurizas. n̄ dico ne forte dum
 colligis colligaris. n̄ dico ne forte
 eū uis eē p̄zdo. sis p̄da. Hoc ap
 tus eloqr̄. Fortasse enī eē auari
 tia. n̄ audisti aut̄ n̄ intellexisti.
Hon dico inqm̄ ne forte eū uis esse
 p̄do minoris. sis p̄do maioris. non
 enī sentis eē te in mari. nec cernis
 minores pisces a maiorib' deuorari.
Non dico ista. n̄ dico difficultatem
 seu picula in p̄sa cōstructione pecu
 nie. quā patiant̄ q̄ eā colligunt.
 quā in om̄ib' p̄terire. in om̄ib' pe
 ne mortē uideant̄. Transeo hęc
 om̄ia. Prors' colligis nullo contra
 dicente. seruas nullo auferente.
Exerte cor tuū ab ipudencia tanta
 q̄ me deridet. q̄ me insipientē pu
 tas hęc loquente. & die in thesau
 rizaris eū cōgregabis eā. Uideo
 qd̄ uelis dicere. q̄si qd̄ uis dicere
 hunc n̄ occurrere. Dicur' est. filius
 meus seruo. Hęc est uox pietatis.
 excusatio iniquitatis. Filius meus
 inq̄s seruo. Etia seruas filius tuus.
Ita ne hoc n̄ nouerit idcirco.
Nouerat ea plane. sed in dieb' ue
 terib' cōputabat. & ideo cōtēbat.
 q̄a ad nouos dies festinabat. Hā
 ecce discurtio te eū filius tuus seruas.
 tūstaur' tūstauris. imo ū tūstauris
 transeuntib'. Nā tūstaur' te sic
 dixi. q̄si n̄ maneat. Ipsū hodie
 exq̄ loq̄ cepim' usq; ad hoc momen
 tū sentis. q̄a senum' Heq; enim

Carigare est. ut carca bove. uindicta
 p̄p̄ memoria aliqd̄ scribere. Vnde
 de uolunt' d̄.

MSS. No.
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 Order No.

THE BRITISH LIBRARY
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
 2 3 4

& altitudine cubiti unius: sup quas ponant
uasa in quib; immolat holocaustum & uictima.
Et labia earum palme unius. reflexa intrinsecus
percussu. Sup mensas autem carnes oblationis.
Et extra portam interiorē gazophilacia can-
torū in atrio interiori quod erat in latere por-
te respicientis ad aquilonē. & facies eorum
contra uiam australem unā. ex latere porte
orientalis que respiciebat ad uiam aquilonis.
Et dixit ad me. Hoc gazophilaciū quod respicit
uiam meridianā sacerdotū est qui excubant
in custodia templi. Porro gazophilaciū quod
respicit ad uiam aquilonis sacerdotū erit qui
excubant ad ministeriū altaris. Isti sunt filii
sadoe qui accedunt de filiis leui ad dñm. ut mi-
nistrent ei. Et mensus est atriū longitudine
centum cubitorū & latitudinem centū cu-
bitorū per quadrū. Et altare ante faciē tēpli;

EXPLIIT EXTREMA PARS;

INCIPIT LIBER SECONDUS OMELIARVM

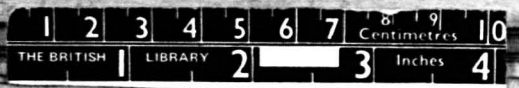
BEATI GREGORII PAPE VRBIS ROMÆ

SVPER EXTREMA PARTE EZECHIEL' PPHE;

unos circiter triginta. qui utriq; monachice conuersatio-
 nis erant studiis imbuti. Et relictis in ecclia sua fratribus
 aliquot primo uenit ad insulam huius: unde erat ad pre-
 dicandum uerbum genti angloꝝ destinatus. Deinde fecerit
 fit ad insulam quandam parua que ad occidentalem pla-
 gam ab hibernia pcul secreta. sermone scottico in
 uobofinde id est insula uiculae albe nuncupat. In
 hac q̄ pueniens: construxit monasterium. & mona-
 chos imbi quos de utraq; natione collectos adduxe-
 rat collocauit. Quia cum inuicem concordare n̄ possent.
 eo quod scotti tempore estatis quo fruges erant colli-
 gende. relicto monasterio p̄nota sibi loca dissi ua-
 garentur: at uero hieme succedente redirent. & his
 que angli p̄parauerant comunit̄ uti desidera-

anglicam eamque uniuersam p̄uam p̄uam p̄uam
 eo quo pontificem decebat animo cepte obseruanda
 docere. Cuius sinodice actionis huiusmodi textus est. v
 in nomine dñi dei & saluatoris nr̄i ih̄u xpi regnan-
 te imp̄petri ac gubernante suam eccliam eodem
 dño ih̄u xpo: placuit conuenire nos iuxta more
 canonum uenerabilium tractaturos de necessariis ecclie
 negotiis. Conuenim̄ autē die uicesimo quarto men-
 sis septēbris indictione p̄ma in loco qui dicit̄ herford.
 ego quidē theodor' quāuis indign' ab ap̄lica sede de-
 stinatus dorouernensis ecclie ep̄s. & confacerdos ac
 frat̄ nr̄ reuerentissim' uisi orientaliū angloꝝ ep̄s.
 Quib; etiam frat̄ & confacerdos nr̄ uulfrid northā

XIX Royal 6 C. vi.



MSS. No. 722
Folio 222
Order No. 92147E

xxii

capite arduo admonitionis uoce infusione
pinguatur muliere. Hi qui inno corpore
tunc ipse metra sollicita est: sic illoz manite
riti metra cetera fidetur: ita necesse est ut
mris phidit illoz mactura replentur. Quando
§ si doctoris phidit ad cetera manifesta
deducti uincione dicitur mactura manifesti
cunt: burrio dicitur pedet lauat. Solent
etiam pedet ipa asperare timentis lauari.
Unde & omnia diffidit: mactura accionis
hui usq; ut agere: & nulla celidit timentis
uultura sustinet. Cui § uigilanti phidit au-
ditores hui curit cetera uult: mactura ad au-
rituocant: ut que in ipa licita qui adme-
ritur mala cognoscant: & que cognoscant
desiderat: pedet burrio lauat: quia cor uul-
neris: hoc mactura lauita sustinetur.
Remittitur § gada ut uideant afflicta qm
parit hui cetera psychononon uult: metra
etiam in se cetera mundabit: & dicitur.
Quando lauita pedet mactura burrio. Quid
beata iob admirabile: hinc mactura qm
tunc uult rit u. in se cetera asperat: mactura
tunc phidit mactura: sustinetur hui quilibet
cetera uult boni regnata uult: pedet: ut
cetera cetera: iocant: qm hui ad cetera opa
deterantur. Quid ad hui: nos qui dicitur q
comissit nobi tunc uult ipodit nactura qm
cungent uult u. phidit: nactura. ab officio pdi-
cacionis: hui hui: & magis occupato
facilitat: Sicut uult ueritate hui hui.
ad hui gade ia uba rediam: que phidit iob
id est: pof mactura hui loq; qm hui que ut
pote cetera uult: dicitur: accionis hui
remittit: & ipa uult: ubi pingue
dicitur opuntia uult lauat. Que ipa qm p-
dicitur hui: uult mactura plecti: & sequitur
subdit: Et pectra funditur in riuos olia.

Quia pectra nomine ipa accipit: plectra qm riuo
facit dicitur licita aut cetera ipa. Que uult dicitur
pectra ne actura ipa gade olia riuos fundat: qua
ita loquitur dicitur plectra uincione uerime ma-
tur. De hac pectra dicitur riuos olia lauita
ubi mactura hui hui: hui hui: hui hui
manu hui: que plectra cetera: cetera pectra
huc pectra uult: omni riuos fundat: locant ad
huc dicitur hui: riuos olia fundat: gader ad
ipm uigilanti hui: mactura: & que mactura
uult: de ipa dicitur hui: & plectra. Et riuos
uult: dicitur: quia dicitur: & uigilant. In hui
qst uigilant: uigilant: Quisq; mactura: mactura
spargunt: De qm hui u. pingue hui: plectra
aut. Sic ad hui & pingue hui: replent an-
ma mea. Locet nomine olia ipa hui hui in-
ceto dicitur: de qm hui hui: hui hui: hui hui
ingua asperat olia hui: ipse asperat olia copu-
tratur: quia dicitur hui: gada uigilant: accionis
cetera hui: hui hui: hui hui: hui hui: hui hui
ipm dominatio hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui
q uult: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui
olio hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui
ma hui: olia. hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui
q ad hui: olia mactura hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui
Quid § cetera gada: cetera hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui
dicitur hui: & mactura que ne hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui
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Pectra funditur in riuos olia. Quis: uult hui: hui: hui: hui
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& templata hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui
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Mos uult: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui
& uult: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui
cetera hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui: hui

PRIMUM. AGITE PE

NITENTIAM APPROPIN

QUANTUM REGNUM CELORUM.

VAN

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DIGNOS

DIGNOS eos ARGV EHT ECV QVI
 faciem celi norunt probare. &
 tempus fidei regni celorum app
 pinquantis nesciunt inuenire.
 Iudeis autem hoc dicebat. sed etiã
 ad nos sermo puenit. Dñs autem
 ipse ihc xpc. euanglii sui predica
 tionē ita cepit. Agite penitentiam.
 appropinquauit enī regnū celoz.
 Et iohs euangelista apłs eius. similitē
 & iohs baptista precursor ipsius.
 ita cepit. Agite penitentiam. ap
 p

ficut ipse ait. Et iterum ipse ait. Re
 gnum celorum intra uos est. Irudentē
 ergo accipit unusquisq; monita p̄
 ceptoris. non perdat tempus misericō
 dię saluatoris. que modo impenditur.

quam diu generi humano pareatur.
 Ad hoc enim pareatur homini ut cor
 rigatur. & non sit qui damnetur.

Uiderit d̄s quando uentū finis secl.
 est tamen modo tempus fidei. Finis
 secl. utrum hic aliquem n̄m inue
 niat nescio. & fortasse non inueniet.

Tempus cuiquam n̄m in pximo est:
 quia mortales sumus. & inter casus
 ambulamus. Si uitrei essemus: minus
 casus timeremus. Quid fragilius uase
 uitreo. Et tamen seruat. & durat
 per secl. Et si casus uitreo timentē:
 senectus eius & febris non timetur.

Hos ergo fragiliores & infirmiores sum.
 quia & casus om̄s qui non cessant in
 rebus humanis fragilitate utiq; n̄ra
 cotidie formidamus. Et si ipsi casus
 non accedant: tempus ambulat. U
 tat homo itum. nunquid uitat extrū.

Uitat que extrinsecus eueniunt. nun
 quid qđ intus nascitur pellitur.

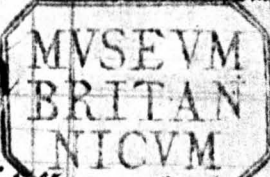
Deniq; nunc lumbricos gignunt inte
 riora. nunc morib; qlibet subitō oc
 cupat. Postremo quantum uis homini
 pareatur: nouissime senectus eum
 uenerit. non est quo differatur.

Et tunc audiamus dñm. in nobis

Cum inter scripturas euangeliarum legantur. soli quatuor euangeliste nati sunt. uelucas. iohannis apud maiores nros pondus auctoritatis ascriptum se ob
tinere. sed in figuris quatuor animalium qd ostendit se excedere in sua uisione. ut beatus iohannes in reuelata sibi epistola scilicet formatione.
Docet una ad euangelica idem nobis hoc nro cetera uidetur. ut qd h ueluti qd riga xpm p. m. mundi partem fuerit portata. & qd rithda more
corrupti qm humani p. eandem xpi hie iustificata. ut qd eadē doctrina p. cuncta sibi clonans more qd rithda. nulla lacā sibi p. d. h. i. n. q.
ozudul. e. u. ang. l. i. t. d.

MATHEVS ex iudea sicut in ordine
 primus ponticus ita euangelium in iudea
 prima scripsit. cui uocatio ad
 dominum ex publicanis actibus fuit. Duo
 uero in generatione christi principia primum
 sument. unum cui prima circumcisio
 in carne. alterum cui secundum cor electio
 fuit. & ex utroque in patribus
 christi. sicque quatuor denario numero
 transformate posito principium a cre
 dendi fide. in electionis temporis porri
 gens. & ex electione usque in trans
 migrationis die dirigens. atque ad

la. i. p. t. si p. d. i. c. t. o. r. a. n. i. m. a. l. i. u. m. h. i. g. u. r. y. m. o. r. e. s. o. m. a. n. t. i. u. m. u. e. u. a. n. g. e. l. i. s. e. u. e. i. l. l. u. s. i. o. n. e. s. i. c. a. u. e. r. i. & u. a. n. d. i. m. i. s. t. i. s. e. l. i. b. i. c. i. q. u. i. s. e. i. e. u. a. n. g. e. l. i. s. t. e. q. u. i. b. u. m. o. d. i. e. s. t. i. m. a. t. i. o. n. u. m. h. i. g. u. r. u. m. e. p. t. o. t. i. e. x. e. c. u. t. s. u. e. n. a. r. r. a. t. i. o. n. i. s. i. l. l. u. s. p. d. u. a. n. t. & e. x. p. o. n. i. t. q. u. a. d. r. e. s. t. i. t. u. e. n. d. u. m. n. o. b. i. s. p. d. i. c. t. u. m. b. e. a. t. u. d. i. n. i. s. t. a. r. u. m. n. a. s. c. i. u. o. l. u. t. u. t. h. o. m. o. i. m. m. o. l. a. r. i. u. t. u. t. a. t. u. s. s. u. n. g. e. r. e. u. t. l. a. o. s. e. c. e. n. d. e. r. e. u. t. a. q. u. a. d. i. c. i. t. n. a. q. i. n. c. i. n. g. l. i. s. i. n. g. l. i. s. & n. o. n. o. m. i. b. h. i. g. u. r. i. s. a. s. s. i. g. n. a. n. t. c. u. o. m. n. i. s. c. l. o. n. a. n. t. a. s. t. r. u. a. n. t. x. p. i. n. a. t. u. r. a. n. t. p. a. s. s. i. o. n. e. r. e. s. u. r. r. e. c. t. i. o. n. e. & a. s. c. e. n. s. i. o. n. e. s. o. s. s. e. c. u. t. i. t. a. q. u. i. h. o. c. f. i. e. r. i. s. i. s. e. d. q. u. o. d. a. d. d. i. c. e. n. d. i. q. u. i. n. i. m. o. l. e. n. t. h. i. g. u. r. u. c. u. q. u. i. u. l. o. f. f. i. c. i. u. s. p. i. a. t. e. a. s. c. r. i. b. i. t. s. e. d. i. l. l. u. d. d. e. q. u. i. p. r. i. n. c. i. p. a. l. i. u. l. e. x. c. e. l. l. e. n. t. i. t. e. r. a. s. s. e. u. i. d. e. t. v. n. m. a. t. h. a. e. a. b. e. x. o. r. d. i. o. s. u. e. n. a. r. r. a. t. i. o. n. i. s. e. u. a. n. g. e. l. i. i. s. u. i. l. b. r. u. a. p. e. l. l. a. t. g. r. a. t. i. o. n. i. s. e. p. i. s. t. o. s. u. o. d. e. m. o. n. s. t. r. a. t. i. o. n. i. s. e. x. o. r. d. i. o. e. p. i. s. t. o. l. e. & r. e. g. u. l. a. u. b. i. h. u. m. a. n. a. t. i. g. r. a. t. i. o. n. e. s. e. f. i. s. t. a. p. r. i. s. t. e. c. u. p. e. a. m. u. l. t. o. p. l. u. r. i. s. u. p. a. d. d. a. t. q. u. a. d. c. h. o. m. a. n. d. o. s. m. o. r. u. m. u. r. o. i. d. e. x. p. e. f. e. c. i. t. u. l. d. i. x. i. t. u. l. p. a. s. s. i. t. i. n. h. o. m. i. n. e. M. a. r. c. u. q. u. a. u. o. c. e. i. n. d. i. c. a. t. i. n. d. e. s. e. r. t. o. c. l. a. m. a. n. t. e. i. o. h. m. s. e. l. i. c. i. t. u. t. u. e. l. u. t. i. q. u. a. d. r. u. g. i. u. l. e. o. n. i. s. b. e. h. a. s. t. e. l. h. o. m. i. n. u. m. p. r. e. s. a. c. t. i. o. n. e. i. n. t. e. l. e. o. n. i. c. o. m. p. a. r. e. C. u. n. e. t. i. a. s. a. c. r. i. f. i. c. i. o. i. l. l. u. d. e. g. r. a. t. u. e. q. u. i. n. d. i. c. i. t. u. r. e. s. u. r. r. e. c. t. i. o. n. i. s. e. i. e. u. a. n. g. e. l. i. u. m. u. e. a. t. e. i. n. e. c. e. l. l. i. s. i. n. t. e. p. o. t. e. d. i. l. i. g. e. n. t. i. s. & e. u. i. d. e. n. t. e. x. p. o. n. e. n. t. i. s. o. r. d. i. n. e. i. n. r. e. s. u. r. r. e. c. t. i. o. n. i. s. i. n. t. q. u. a. n. t. l. e. o. f. o. r. t. i. s. e. x. e. c. u. t. i. t. p. g. l. i. a. p. a. t. r. i. s. f. u. e. r. e. e. n. i. m. n. a. t. a. e. s. t. l. e. o. n. i. s. u. t. n. a. t. u. e. u. e. a. t. e. r. i. d. u. o. t. a. n. q. u. i. m. o. r. t. u. a. l. i. s. f. i. e. r. i. a. d. i. e. s. u. r. g. a. t. a. d. u. o. c. e. p. a. t. r. i. s. e. x. e. c. u. t. i. t. L. u. c. a. s. a. u. t. e. q. u. i. a. s. a. c. e. r. d. o. t. o. m. i. s. t. e. p. & s. a. c. e. r. d. o. t. a. l. e. i. e. i. g. n. a. t. i. o. n. e. d. i. l. i. g. e. n. t. e. x. e. c. u. t. i. t. q. u. i. c. o. r. p. a. s. s. u. m. p. t. u. d. e. o. p. a. t. r. i. t. a. n. q. u. i. u. t. u. l. u. e. x. p. i. a. t. i. o. n. i. s. o. b. t. u. l. i. t. u. t. u. l. u. e. i. n. t. e. l. e. c. t. i. o. n. e. h. i. g. u. r. u. m. p. r. i. n. c. i. p. i. u. m. i. o. h. i. s. u. l. t. i. m. i. d. a. u. n. a. x. p. i. g. n. a. t. i. o. n. e. d. e. s. c. r. i. b. u. m. q. u. a. e. x. e. c. u. t. i. o. n. e. c. o. m. p. l. a. c. i. o. n. i. s. a. l. t. e. r. u. d. i. e. s. u. p. a. d. & q. u. a. d. i. n. s. p. a. r. y. e. n. t. i. a. s. o. c. t. o. s. i. n. t. i. o. r. e. s. a. s. h. i. r. e. a. q. u. i. e. x. e. c. u. t. i. t. a. u. t. u. o. l. a. n. d. o. s. u. p. a. n. t. e. s. p. a. r. t. i. d. i. g. n. i. s. e. d. v. n. a. d. i. n. s. t. r. u. e. n. d. a. f. i. d. e. i. n. t. e. i. n. f. a. n. c. i. a. l. g. e. n. t. e. e. u. a. n. g. e. l. i. a. h. u. m. a. n. e. u. a. n. g. e. l. i. o. s. i. n. n. a. t. u. l. i. s. a. r. t. i. f. i. c. i. a. l. i. o. r. d. i. n. e. p. r. o. m. u. n. t. n. q. u. i. f. u. e. r. e. h. o. m. o. q. u. i. d. e. s. i. p. e. l. h. u. m. a. n. i. t. a. t. e. p. r. o. u. e. n. i. t. a. d. d. i. u. i. n. i. t. a. t. e. & p. e. l. h. u. m. a. n. i. t. a. t. e. s. u. p. s. i. m. m. a. t. e. r. i. a. l. e. O. m. n. i. u. m. a. u. t. e. d. o. m. i. n. u. m. i. n. t. e. n. c. i. o. u. n. a. c. o. n. s. i. d. a. r. e. p. s. o. n. a. d. e. i. i. n. e. h. o. i. s. s. i. m. u. l. q. u. i. n. o. s. i. n. s. t. r. u. e. r. e. p. e. a. q. u. e. g. e. s. s. i. t. i. n. h. o. m. i. n. e. v. e. d. e. p. o. s. i. t. a. i. m. a. g. n. e. u. e. l. i. h. o. i. s. d. e. g. e. n. t. i. s. p. o. r. t. a. m. u. s. i. m. a. g. n. e. q. u. e. d. i. u. i. d. e. & e. u. a. n. g. e. l. i. u. m. i. d. e. s. t. b. o. n. a. a. n. n. u. n. c. i. a. t. i. o. u. o. c. a. t. e. s. o. r. u. n. a. r. r. a. t. i. o. q. u. e. n. o. b. i. s. p. r. i. n. c. i. p. i. u. c. o. n. g. l. o. r. i. f. i. c. a. t. i. o. n. e. m. h. i. n. o. n. u. e. r. i. d. a. m. u. s. c. o. m. p. a. s. s. i. o. n. e. m.



Tres thesaurus decades in generatione christi in iudea fide sicut in iudea quibus concordie asserunt doctrina legalis & euangelice institutionis. Tres enim trinitatis fidei quatuor doctrina euangelica deest legalis significat institutione. ut tres aut fecit distinctiones pp. tria tpa quibus olim plebs israelitica gubernata: primo a patribus & iudicibus secundo a regibus & prophetis tertio a sacerdotibus & quibusdam prophetis quorum omnium facta ut etiam nominum interpretationes aliqua signa

ut de clausura possit p. d. m. Arnedam epm

INS
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 4
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 Folio 2
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partib; nuncupant. Non nulli etiam eos borborigas uocant quasi ce-
 nosos propter nimiam turpitudinem quam suis ministeris exercere dicuntur.
 Alij eos amcolatas exortos putant. Alij acarpocrate de quo post loquemur.
 Tradunt autem dogmata fabulosissimis plena figmentis. Etiam ipsi
 principum ut angelorum nominibus; terribilib; infirmas animas capiunt.
 & de deo rerumque natura fabulosa & a sanitate ueritatis aliena multa
 contexunt. Animarum substantiam dei dicunt esse naturam. eorumque ad
 uentum in hec corpora & reditum ad deum eisdem suis fabulis longissimis
 & stultissimis secundum suos errores inserunt. & illos qui eis credunt faciunt
 non multa ut putant scientia prepollere. sed multa ut ita dixerim fabu-
 lositate uanescere. Dicunt quoque deum bonum & deum malum in suis habere
 dogmatibus.

ad hanc sicut dicitur

¶ 111.

Carpocratiani sunt acarpocrate. quod docebat omnem turpem operationem
 omnemque ad inuentionem peccati. nec aliter euadi atque transiri principatum
 & potestates quibus hec placent. ut possit ad celum superius ueniri. In etiam
 istum hominem tantummodo & de utroque sexu coniunctum putasse prohibent.
 sed accepisse talem animam qua scire & que supra essent atque nuntiarent.
 Resurrectionem corporis simul cum lege abiciunt. Negant adeo factum.
 sed anescio quibus uirtutibus mundum. Sectae ipsius traditum fuisse quandam
 feminam marcellinam. que colebat imaginem ihesu & pauli & pythagore ad
 orando & incensum ponendo. ¶ 111.

in ista...
 potestatem...
 a malis operatione
 in ista...
 p...
 in ista...

Cherentiani a cherento.

idemque merentiani a merento. mundum ab angelis factum esse dicentes. & carne
 circumcidi oportere. atque alia huiusmodi legis precepta seruari. Inim
 tantummodo hominem fuisse. nec resurrexisse. sed resurrectionum asseue-
 rantes. Quille quoque annos post resurrectionem in eterno regno christi secundum
 carnalis uentris & libidinis uoluptates futuros fabulantur: unde etiam
 ciliastae sunt appellati.

in ista...
 in ista...

Nazarei cum dei filium confiteantur

esse christum. omnia tamen ueteris legis obseruant. que christiani per apostolicam tradi-
 tionem non obseruare carnaliter sed spiritualiter didicerunt intelligere. ¶ 111.
Hebionites christum etiam tantummodo hominem dicunt. mandata legis ob-
 seruant. circumsisionem scilicet carnis & cetera. aquorum honoribus per nouum
 testamentum liberati sumus. Huius heresi epiphanius sampseos & celeseos
 ita copulat. ut sub eodem numero tanquam una sit heresis ponat.
 aliquid tamen in eis esse significans. quam uis & inconsequentibus loquatur
 de illis. ponens eos sub numero suo. Eusebius uero helchisatarum sectam
 commemorans. fidem in persecutionem dicit negandam docuisse. & in corde

in ista...
 neganda...
 in corde...

Ab iniquitate tempore noluerunt. Alteru
 dinem turris contra diluuiū respiciens.
 A edificauerunt turrim excessam. Vt
 dit om̄s sup̄biam ipsorū. & hunc erro
 rem illis immuta fecit. ut non se co
 gnoscerent loquendo. & facti sunt
 diuise lingue desup̄bia. Si sup
 bia fecit diuersitas linguarum.
 humilitas xpi congregauit diuersi
 tates linguarum. Item quod illarū
 dissociauerat. sc̄la colligit. De ma
 lingua facte sunt multe. noli mirari.
 sup̄bia hoc fecit. De multis linguis
 fit una. noli mirari. caritas fecit.
 Quia & si soni diuersi linguarū sunt.
 in corde unus d̄s inuocatur. una
 pax custoditur. Vnde debuit q̄dam
 demonstrari sp̄s sc̄s. unitate quanda
 designans. nisi p̄ columbā. ut pax
 ecc̄le diceretur. una ē columba mea.
 Vnde debuit humilitas nisi p̄ auem
 simplicitatem & gemitum. non p̄ auem
 sup̄biam & exaltationem se. sicut coruus.
 Et forte dicitur. Quia q̄ colūba & unaco
 lūba. p̄ter unam columbam. tam

Quia
 de pax
 de pax

I tibi certe dictum ē. I specta. noli me in
 rogate. Si in dictum ē. p̄ba primo.
 i michi dictum ē. cito uolo audire.
 I tibi dictum ē. Responde uoce
 catholice. Michi. Hoc uicem fr̄s q̄d
 ore meo solius sonuit. sonuit ut ar
 bitror. & de cordib; ur̄s. & omnes pa
 triter diximus. ecce catholice dictus.
 una ē columba mea. una ē matris sue.
 P̄ter ipsam columbam inquit. bap
 tismus non ē. Ego p̄ter ipsam colūbā
 sum baptizatus. Ergo non habeo. Si tu
 patrum non habeo. quare in uas.
 quando uoce uenio. Et ego interrogo.
 I iterum sequestrem cui dictum sit. una
 est columba mea. una ē matris sue. Adhuc
 querimus. Aut in dictum ē. aut ē
 dictum est. Sequestrem cui dictum sit.
 hoc q̄ querro. Si columba ē simplex. in
 nocens. sine sale. pax in osculis. non
 seua in unguib; querro uerum adha
 columbe. me. bra penitentia auari. ta
 priores. subdoli. ebriosi. flagitiosi.
 Omnia sunt columbe. huius. Absit

tribus forte uel ad cepit incolumē: sed ut salua
 faceret inq; a psequentib; anima mea. Salua fit aut
 a psequentib; anima: si non est consentiat ad malum.
 Non est aut; consentit: cu; assistit dñs a dextris paup;.
 ne ipsa paupertate idest infirmitate succubat. Hoc
 adiutoriu; presertim est corpori xpi in scis martyri
 bus omib;.

Expliet de psalmo
 centesimo octauo. Incipit
 de psalmo centesimo nono.
INSTRUM DñS O OHAT
 qui nos ministros constituit uer
 bi & sacramta sui seruire uobis.

In adipe misericordie
 sue suscipimus psalmu; istu; quem in cantamus.
 breuē numero uerboz; magnu; pondere senten
 tiaru; adiuuante illo quos fecit intentos ut & nos
 faciat idoneos sic possumus considerare atq; tracta
 re. Uuat anima tua & uigilet in dñm. Tempus eni;
 constat dñs pmissu; suis. & temp; est que pmissu; im
 plendi. Promissionu; temp; erat tempore ppharu;
 usq; ad iohanne baptista. Ab illo aut; & deinceps
 usq; infini; tempus est implendi que pmissa se
 fidelis dñs q; se nisi debeatore fecit. n; aliqd anobis
 accipiendū. sed tanta nobis pmittendo. Parū erit
 pmissio. etia; scripto se teneri uoluit. ueluti faci
 etis nobiscū. circographū. pmissioz; suoz;. ut cū ea
 que pmissu; soluere incipet. inscripta pmissio
 ru; considerarem; ordine soluendoz;. Temp; itaq;
 pphete. p dicitio erat ut sepe ia dixim; pmissio
 nu;. Promissu; salute; eterna; & beata; uitā. cū angli;
 sine fine. & hereditate; inamarecesibile. glām semp
 terna; dilacione; uel dñs domi; scificationis sue.
 in celis. ex resurrectione amotans. nullū de in
 cepit. mortalit; meū. Hoc est pmissu; ei; tanquam
 finale. q; decurrit omni; uia; intentio. q; cū ueneri
 m; nichil amplius regnam;. nichil amplius exigamus.
 Sed ad illud q; dicitur ibi. q; ordine ueniat. neq; hoc
 tacuit pmittendo & pmittendo. Promisit enim
 hominib; diuinitate; mortalib; immortalitatem.
 peccatorib; iustificatione; abiectione; glificationem.
 Quicq; pmissu; indigni; pmissu; ut in quasi opibus
 merces pmitteret. sed gūa nomine suo gratis da

beneficium est dñi. Hemo enim iuste uiuit n; iustificat.
 idest iustus effectus. Ab illo enim sic homo iustus. qui
 nunquā potest esse iniustus. Sic eni; lucerna n; a se
 ipsa accendit. ita nec anima humana sibi pstat
 lucē. sed clamat ad dñm. Tu illuminabis lucerna
 mea dñe. Cū g; peccatorib; pmissu; sit regnū; ex
 loz; n; in peccato pmanentib; sed a peccato liberat
 & iusticie seruentib;. qd; ipsū ut possint. grā ut
 dixim; adiuuant. & ab eo q; semp est iustificante.
 incredibile uidebat; tanta dñm curā gerere p homi
 nib;. hodieq; q; de grā diuina despant. atq; a pes
 simis morib; nolunt se euertere ad dñm ut ab illo
 iustificent. & p ei; indulgentiā delectis omib; pec
 catis suis in illo incipiant uiuere iuste. q; nunquā
 uixit iniuste. Hanc habent pncie; cogitationis
 sue in seipos. ut dicant dñm res humanas n; curare.
 nec inde posse cogitare mundi hui; artificē atq;
 rectorē. que admodū quisq; mortalis in cōra uiuat.
 Ita nec cōputari se homo putat a dō. qui factus est
 a dō. Tale hominē si alloqui possum;. si admittat
 nos pnt; ad aures suas. deinde ad cor suū. si n; re
 pellat resistendo querente; se. & patiat; p dicit; in
 uentri se. possum; ei dicere. O homo. qm; te dñs
 factū non cōputabit. que fieret ante curauit.
 Cur te in ordine rerū conditarū numerari n; putas?
 Noli exdere seductori. capilli tui numerati se a con
 ditore. Hoc deniq; & dñs in euēgio discipulis suis
 ait. ne mortē timent. ne aliqd suū in morte pi
 turū putarent. Illi in morte de animab; suis p
 timescebant. ille illis securitate; ia de capillis
 dabat. Itane ū anima pte. cui capillus non pte.
 Veruntam fr̄s. qā incredibile uidebat; hominib;
 qd; pmitteret dñs. ex hac mortalitate. corruptio
 ne. abiectione. infirmitate. puluere & cinere.
 futuros homines equales angli; di;. non solum
 scripturā hominib; fecit. ut edicerent. sed etiā
 fidei sue posuit mediatorē. n; quelibet pncipē.
 aut quelibet anglm; uel archangelū. sed unū fi
 liū suū. ut qua uia nos pducurus esset ad illū fi
 nē que pmissu; p eū ipsū filiū suū & ostenderet
 & pberet. Parū eni; erit dō. si filiū suū faceret
 demonstratorē uie. cū ipsū uia; fecit ut illum

INCIPIT PROLOGVS BEATI IERONIMI PRESBITI
IN LIBRVM DE HEBRAICIS QVESTIONIBVS.
IN GENESI;



VI IN PRINCI
PIIS LIBRORVM

DE BEBAQ SECVTVR

operis argumenta pponere.
rogor pri respondere maledi

ctis. terentii
suscipiens. qui comediarum
sionē sui scenis dabat. Urgebat em luci lanum nro lucio
similis. & qsi publici aern poeta criminabat. hoc idē pas
sus ē ab emulis & mantuan' uates. ut cū quosdā uersus
homery transculisset ad uerbū cōpilator' diceret. Quib'
ille respondit. magnarū ēē uirtū clauā herculi extorque
re de manu. Sed & tull' q̄ in arce eloquentie romane stetit.
rex orator. & lingue latine illustrator. repetundarum
accusat' a grecis. Non mirū q̄ si cont' me parūū homin
culū imunde sues grunnant. & pedib' margaritas cul
cent. cū aduersus doctissimos uiros & q̄ glā inuidiā supā
re debuerant liuore exarserint. Verū hoc illis merito

fure



INCIPIT LIB. BEATI AUGUSTINI EP. ET DOCTORIS EXIMI



DE AGONE CRISTIANO.
CORONA VICTORIE
NON PREVENITUR VINCENS CRISTUS.
In diuinis autē scripturis assidue
inuenim⁹ promissa nobis corona
si uicerim⁹. Sed ne longū sit multa
comemorare. apud ap̄tm paulum
manifestissime legitur. Opus per
feci. cursum consummaui. iata super

est michi corona iusticie. Debemus ergo cognoscere quā sit ipse ad
uertianus. quem si uicerim⁹ coronabimur. Ipse est enī quē dñs noscitur
prior uicit. ut etiam nos in illo permanentes uincam⁹. Et si q̄dam
uirtus autē sapientia. et nobis per quod facta sunt omnia. qui fi
lius dei uictus est. super omni creaturā. semp incomitabilis ma
net. Et qm̄ sub illo est creatura etiam que non peccauit. quāto
magis sub illo est omnis creatura peccatrix. Et qm̄ sub illo sunt
om̄i sc̄i angeli. multo magis sub illo sunt om̄i peccatores an
geli. quorū diabolus princeps est. Sed quia naturam nr̄am decepe
rat. dignatus est unigenitus dei filius ipsam naturā nr̄am susci
pere. ut de ipsa diabolus uinceretur. et quē semp ipse sub se habet
sub uobis cum esse faceret ipsam. significat dicens. Principib⁹
mundi missus est foras. Non quia extra mundū missus est. quōm
quidā heretici putant. sed foras ab animis eorū qui obediunt uer
bo dei. et non diligunt mundum. cui ille princeps est. quia do
nant eis qui diligunt temporalia bona. que hoc mundo uisibili
continent. Non quia ipse dñs est hui⁹ mundi. sed princeps ei

Lehannes ū subdiaconus n̄r multanob̄ bona
tue fraternitatis rediens nuntiavit de quib:
om̄ipotentē d̄m̄ petim̄. ut haec quae cepit
ipse perficiat. quatin̄ te interius exteriusq; p̄
ficiat. & nunc inter homines & p̄ inter
anglos ostendat. Preterea pallium ad sacra
missarum sollempnia utendū. ex more trans
missimus. sed peto ut dum hoc suscipitis.
ā honorem ac genuū exhumilitate

VI DICITIS. GREG' CONSTANTI

EPISCOPO MEDIO LANIENSI.



ULTISSIMUS FILIOS
m̄s Bonifacius diaconus
quedā in exscripto fiater
nitatis tue secreto nunti

avit. q̄d exquisita occasione potius quā in
venta. n̄r se epi fraternitatis un̄e comuni
one separauerunt. dicentes uos in d̄pnatio
ne tui capitulorū consensisse. atq; cautio
nem fecisse. Et si quid de tuis capitulis
in quocūq; ul' uerbo. ul' scripto nominatū
est. bene fraternitas un̄a remittitur. quā
uis decessor fraternitatis tue Laurentii. distric
tissimā cautionē sedi aplice emisit. in qua
uiri nobilissimi & legitimo numero sub
scripserunt. inter q̄s ego quoq; tunc urba
nā p̄fecturam gerens. parit̄ subscripsi. q̄a
p̄quam tal' scissura p̄nulla re facta est.
nullū fuit ut sedi aplice curam gereret.
quatin̄ unitatē uniuersalis eccl̄ae sacerdotū
merito p̄m̄ia custodire. Q̄d autē d̄
filiam nr̄am Theodelindā sese a comunione
h̄c audito nuntio suspendisse. constat
p̄m̄ia quā & n̄ p̄uiciorū hominū uerbis
ad p̄uulatu seductū ē. uenientib; tamē
p̄p̄posito netano. et lobe abbate. erit

modis om̄ib; un̄e fraternitatis comunione. que
situa. Cui etiā meas epl̄as dixi. quas firm
tas un̄a dilacione sine transmittat. De epi
ū qui se suspendere. nisi sunt. aliam epl̄am
feci. quā cum eis ostendi feceris. eos n̄ ambigo
desusp̄sione sue sup̄bie apud firmitatem
un̄am penitentiā acturos. Subalio autem
m̄ & breuē indicastis. ut de agone rege. ul'
de francorū regib; quae gesta sunt. Peto autē
ut fraternitas un̄a que adhuc cognouit. in
modis om̄ib; innotescat. Si autē uidetis
ut cognoscatis quia cum patricio nichil facit.
Ago langobardorū rex. de nob̄ ei p̄mittat
quia paratus sū in causa eius me impendere.
si ipse aliquid utilit̄ cum re publica uolu
ent ordi

IA RE. GREG' CONSTANTI

EPISCOPO MEDIO LANIENSI.

PER UENI AD NOS Q̄D QUIDA
epi un̄e dioceses exquirentes oc
casionē potius quā inuenientes.
se se scindere a fraternitatis un̄e unitate
temptauerunt. dicentes te apud romam
urbē in tui capitulorū damnationē
cautionē fecisse. Q̄d uidelicet idcirco di
cunt. quia quātū fraternitati tue etiā si
cautionē credere solei nesciunt. Si enī hoc
f̄et. necessū fieri uerbis nob̄ nudis credi
potuiss̄m̄. Ergo tam̄ nominata inter nos
neq; uerbo. neq; scripto. tua capitula re
colo. Sed eis sicutus reuertunt̄. de suo errore
p̄tendunt. q̄a iuxta Pauli apl̄i uocem.
S̄ intelligunt. neq; que locunt̄. neq; de q̄b;
affirmant. Nos tam̄ auctore. ueritate. teste
conscientia. f̄atem̄ fidem̄ sc̄ae calcedonensis
synodi. illibitā p̄m̄ia custodire. nichilq;
ā diffinitioni addere. nichil subtrahere.

sum & pro peccato & p̄ delicto. Et ad latūs externus quod ascendit ad hostium
portae quae p̄git ad aquilonē duae mensae & ad latūs alterū ante uestibulū
portae duae mensae. Quattuor mensae hinc. & quattuor mensae inde p̄ la-
tera portae. Octo mensae erant. sup̄ quas immolabant. Quattuor autē mensae
ad holocaustū de lapidibus quadrīs extructae longitudine cubiti unius & di-
midii. & latitudine cubiti unius & dimidii. & altitudine cubiti unius. sup̄ quas
ponant uasā in quib; immolat holocaustū & uictima. Et labia earū palmae unī.
reflexa intrinsecus p̄ circuitum. Super mensas autē carnes oblationis. Et extra
portā internam gazophilacia cantorū in atrio interiori quod erat in late-
re portae respicientis ad aquilonem. & facies eorū contra uā australem unā
ex latere portae orientalis quae respiciebat ad uā aquilonis. Et dixit ad me.
hoc gazophilaciū quod respiciet uā meridiana sacerdotū qui excubant in-
custodis templi. Porro gazophilaciū quod respicit ad uā aquilonis sacerdo-
tū erit qui excubant ad ministeriū altaris. Isti sunt filii sadoc qui accedunt
de filiis leui ad dñm. ut ministrent ei. Et mensus ē. atriū longitudine cen-
tū cubitorū & latitudine centū cubitorū p̄ quadrum. Et altare ante faciem
templi. (A primo vers. xl. capit. ad 48. m. vers. 7. elus.)

INCIPIT LIBER II OPERARUM BEATI
GREGORII PAPAE VRBIS ROMAE
IN EXTREMA PARTE EZECHIELIS
PROPHETAE QUAE SVNT NUNCIO



UONIAM QVLTIS CV
RES EXISTITIS. EZECHIELIS EXORBITAS LESAVO
coram ur̄a caritate totū p̄ ordinem p̄scrutari non li-
cuit. bonis ur̄is desideris placuit petere ut saltem ex-
trema eius uisio. quae ei facta ē. de ae-
dificio in monte constituto. quae & eun-
ctis ē. uisionibus eius obscurior. exponi debuisset. Et quidem urne me purere
necesse est uoluntati. sed duo sunt quae in hac re p̄turbant animū meum.
Vnū quod haec eadem uisio tantae obscuritatis nebulis tegitur. ut uix in ea

scendit colūba. de quo dicitur est hic est qui baptizat
in spū scō. Petrus baptizat. hic est qui baptizat.
Paulus baptizat. hic est qui baptizat. Iudas bap-
tizet. hic est qui baptizat. Nam si p̄ diuersitate me-
ritorum baptizatus sc̄i est: quia diuersa sunt merita.
diuersa er̄ baptizata. Et tanto q̄sq; aliqd̄ melius
putat accipere. quanto a meliore uidet accepisse. Ipsi
sc̄i intelligunt fr̄s. boni p̄mentes ad colūbam. p̄-
nentes ad sortem ciuitatis illius IERUSALEM. ipsi
boni in ecclia de quib; dicit apls. nouit dñs q̄ sunt
ei: diuersarū gratiarū sc̄i. n̄ om̄s paria merita h̄c.
Sunt alii alius sanctiores. sunt alii alius meliores. Et
q̄ si unus ab illo uerbi gratia iusto. sc̄o baptizat. alius
ab alio inferioris meriti apud dñm. inferioris gradus.
inferioris continentis. inferioris uite. unū tamē
p̄. & equale est qd̄ accipiunt. n̄ q̄a hic est q̄ baptizat.
Quom̄ q̄ cū baptizat bonus & melior. n̄ ideo iste bonū
accipit & ille melius. sed quāuis bonus & melior
fuerint ministri. unū & equale est qd̄ accipiunt. nec
est melius in illo & inferius in illo: sic & cū baptizat
malus. ex aliqua uel ignorantia ecclie uel toleran-
tia. aut enī ignorantia mali aut tolerantia. toleratur
p̄tēa quāq; in ultimo uentilē area. illud qd̄ dicitur
est unum est. nec impur̄ p̄tē impur̄s ministros. sed
par & equale p̄tē hic est qui baptizat. Ergo dilecti
simi uideamus qd̄ uidere illi nolunt. n̄ qd̄ n̄ uide-
ant. qd̄ qd̄ se uidet dolent. quasi caueū sic cetera
illorū. quāuis sc̄i discipuli in nōe Patris & filii & sp̄s sc̄i.
ut baptizarent tanquā ministri. Quo missi sunt.
Ite dixit. baptizate gentes. Audistis fr̄s. q̄m uent
illa hereditas. Postula amē & dabo t̄ gentes herē-
ditatem tuā. & possessionē tuā t̄mnois terry. Audi-
stis qm̄ a syon p̄ditur lex. & uerba dñi ab ierlm̄. Ibi
enim audierunt discipuli. Ite baptizate gentes in
nōe Patris & filii & sp̄s sc̄i. In cetera facti sumus. cū
audiremus ite baptizate gentes. In cuius nomine
In nomine Patris & filii & sp̄s sc̄i. Ite unū deus. q̄a
n̄ in nominib; Patris & filii & sp̄s sc̄i. sed in nomine
Patris & filii & sp̄s sc̄i. Ubi unū nom̄ audis. unū
d̄s. Sicut de femine dicitur est abrahe. & exponit
Paulus apls. In semine tuo benedicent om̄s gentes.
Non dixit in seminib; quasi in multis. sed tanq̄ in uno.
in semine tuo. qd̄ est x̄p̄s. Sicut q̄ quia ibi n̄ ait in
seminib;. docere te uoluit a pl̄s quia unū x̄p̄s.
sic & hic cū dicitur est in nōe n̄ in nominib;. q̄m ibi

Pat̄ lingue
diuiduntur.
hac copulati

in semine n̄ in seminib;. placuit unū d̄s Pat̄ & filii
& sp̄s sc̄i. Sed ecce inquit discipuli ad dñm. Audiam
unū in q̄ nōe baptizatus. Ministros nos fecisti &
dixisti nobis. Ite. baptizate in nōe Patris & filii &
sp̄s sc̄i. Quo uimul: Quo. n̄ audistis: Ad b̄p̄tē
tatem meā. In uogatis. quib; uimul: Ad id qd̄ emi-
linguine meo. Quo q̄: Ad gentes in q̄. Putauit q̄
dixit. ite baptizate a fr̄s in nōe Patris & filii & sp̄s
sc̄i. Dō grat̄. soluit d̄s questione. docuit colūbam.
Dō grat̄. ad gentes apli missi sunt. Si ad gentes: ad
om̄s linguas. Hoc significauit sp̄s sc̄i diuisus in lin-
guis. unū in colūba. Lingue diuidunt. colūba
copulat. Lingue gentiū concordat. & una lingua
a fr̄s discordat. Quid euidentiū fr̄s mei.
In colūba unū. in linguis gentiū societas. Ali-
quando enī lingue p̄supbiam discordant. & t̄
sunt facy lingue ex una multy. Post diluuiū
enī sup̄bā q̄dam homines uelut aduersus dñm se
munire conantes. quasi ceteri ali qd̄ excellē d̄o. aut
ali qd̄ tūc sup̄b;: exeret turre. quasi ne dilu-
uiō si postea fieret deleterent. Audierant enī & re-
centurant. q̄a om̄s iniquas erat delecta diluuiō.
Abiniquitate rep̄ari uolebant. altitudinē turre sc̄i
diluuiū r̄p̄tēbant. Et deficiat turre ex cellam.
Cū dicitur sup̄biam ipsorū. & hunc errorem illi im-
ta fecit. ut in se cognoscerent loquendo: & facy ex
diuis lingue de sup̄bā. Si sup̄bā fecit diuersitate
linguarum: humilitas x̄pi congregauit diuersita-
tes linguarū. Jam qd̄ illa t̄r̄ discordauerat: ecclia
colligit. De una lingua facy sunt multy. noli mi-
rari. sup̄bā hoc fecit. De multy linguis sic una.
noli mirari. caritas fecit. Quia & si som̄ diuersi
linguarū sc̄i: in corde unū d̄s inuocat. una p̄x
custodit. Unde debuit q̄ carissimi demonstrari
sp̄s sc̄i. unitate quādam designatis n̄ p̄ colūba: ut
iucate ecclie diceret. una est colūba mea. Unde de-
bit humilitas n̄ p̄tē simplice & genit̄. n̄ p̄tē
sup̄bā & exaltante se sicut coruus. Et forte di-
cent. Quia q̄ colūba & una colūba. p̄tē unā colū-
bam baptizatus. c̄. non potest. Ergo si apud te est
colūba uel tu est colūba: quando ad te uenio. da mi-
qd̄ n̄ habeo. Sicut hoc ipsorū. c̄. Modo uobis appa-
retur n̄. c̄. de uoce colūbe: sed de clamore corui.
Nam pululū accendat caritas ur̄a. & timent m̄
d̄s. imo cauet. & ex p̄tē uerba contradicentiū.

Paup̄ p̄tē ubi
de puau ecclie

Illustrat. & ideo nichil mea lucis uideri. Cui autem incipit ab illo recedere. illustrari ab ea eadem parte qua habet ad terram & necessario incipit a cornibus. donec fiat quia decima contra solem. Tunc enim sole occidente utitur ut quisque occidente solem obseruare. cum cum coepit non uideri. conuersus ad orientem lunam surgere uideat. Atque inde ex alia parte cui ei coepit propinquare illam partem ad nos conuertere qua non illustrat. donec ad cornua redeat. atque inde omnino non appareat. Quia tunc illa pars que illustrat sursum est ad celum. ad terram autem illa qua radiare sol non potest. Ergo & secundum hanc opinionem luna intelligitur ecclesia quod suum lumem non habeat. sed ab unigenito dei filio. qui multas locis in sanctis scripturis allegorice sol appellatur est illustrat. Quos nescientes & carere non ualentem heretici quidam ad istum solem corporali & uisibile quod commune lumem & carnis hominum atque muscarum. sensus simplicium conantur auertere. & in nullis auerant. Cui quoad diu non possunt interiorum lucem ueritatis mente conuerti. simplice fide catholica contenta est. nolunt. que una paruulis saluatur. & quo uno lacte ad firmitatem solidioris cibi certo robore peruenit. Quilibet ergo duarum istarum opinionum uera sit. congruenter accipit allegorice luna ecclesia. Aut si in istis obscuritatibus magis negotiosus quam fructuosus pertere animam aut non libet aut non uacat. aut animi ipse non ualeat. sicut in luna popularibus oculis inueniri & non querere obscuras causas. sed cum hominibus & incrementa ad & completum a & decremum tenere. Quis si peccata deficiat ut renouetur. etiam ipsa ipsorum multitudinem demonstrat ecclesia figuram in qua creditur resurrectio mortuorum. Deinde querendum est qui in hoc psalmo accipitur obscura luna in qua peccatores sagittare paruenerunt rectos corde. Non enim uno modo dicitur obscura luna potest. Nam & cum finit mensuris aut sibi. & cum est fulgor nubilo impolatur. & cum plena deficiat. dicitur potest obscura luna. Potest ergo & de peccatoribus martyrum intelligi quod sagittare uoluerunt in obscuram luna rectos corde. sicut adhuc in ecclesia nouitate qua nondum certis maior effulserunt & generalium suspensionum tenebris uocant. Duo linguis blasphemorum & ipianorum nomina male diffamantium. quasi nebulis cum cetera obtegere uideri. propria luna non poterit. id est ecclesia sicut ipsorum martyrum cadibus & tanta effusione sanguinis. tanquam a defectu & obscuritate querentia faciem illa luna uideat ostendere. a nomine xpiano decedant infirmi. In quo uide uerba dolosa & sacrilega ualabant peccatores. ut eam rectos corde pertererent. Potest & de his peccatoribus in-

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Hanc opinionem qd catholici affluunt dominus ipse hanc opinionem fulgoris uocant. de cuius uoluntate dicitur uideri. hoc est in hanc opinionem qd significat uoluntatem.

celligi quos ecclesia continet. quod tunc inuenta occasio ne huiusmodi obscurum multa commiserunt. que nobis obprobria ne obiciunt. ab hereticis autem eorum auctores caecasse dicant. Sed quomodo se habeat quod in obscura luna factum est. nunc catholico nomine. ut o orbe diffuso atque celebrato. quod in incog. in dno enim confido. nec audio dicentes anime meae transmigra in montem sicut passer. qui ecce peccatores incederent arcum. ut sagittarent in obscura luna rectos corde. Aut si & ne illa luna uideat obscura quia incertos uolunt efficiere que sit catholica. & eam peccata carnalium hominum quos multos continet conantur arguere. quod ad eam pertinet quere dicit in dno confido. Quia uoce te quisque & fructum et ostendit. & usque ad uentilationis tepus paleas tolerabiliter sustinet. In dno ergo confido. Illi timeant qui confidunt in homine. & de parte hominis se esse negare non possunt per cuius canos uirant. Et cum in sermone ab eis querit cuius communionis sint. non de parte illi se esse dicunt non possunt agnoscere. Dic quod isti faciunt cum illi commemorant tam innumerabilia & cotidiana peccata & scelera eorum. quibus plena & illa societate. Nunquid possunt dicere in dno confido. quod dicitur anime meae transmigra in montem sicut passer. Non enim confidit in dno qui se esse dicunt seia sacramenta simpliciter homines dant. Itaque cum ab eis querit qui sunt seia erubescunt dicere nos sumus. Qui eam si illi non erubescunt hoc dicere. in qua audiret populi erubescunt. Itaque isti cogunt eos qui accipiunt sacramenta spem suam in homine ponere. cuius cor uideri non possunt. Et male dicitur omni qui spem suam in homine ponit. Quid enim dicitur. ego quod deo sumus & non spem tuam in me pono. Quid si non est scilicet? Aut ostende cor tuum. Quod si non potest. ubi uidebo quod seis est? An forte dicit quod scriptum est. ex operibus eorum cognosceat eos. Uide plane mira opera. uolentia uolentia circa cellum sub episcopo & presbiteris duabus. circa quaque uoluntate & tribiles fustes strabellus uocare. que homines qui non uiuunt cotidie uident & sentiunt. Mastrum uero tempora de quibus inuidia faciunt. & plurimum uident. & nemo non uideat. Et quis ista uidet catholice potest dicere si dicit seruis esse uellet. in dno confido. Quod se ne dicit cum multa que non uult in ecclesia uideat. qui se intra illa reata plena peccatis bonis & malis uacare adhuc sentit. donec ad finem mundi ueniat. ubi mali segregentur a bonis. Ista autem quid respondentem hanc eorum dicit ille que baptizant. quod in me uobis presumere. Nam & si dantur & accipientes & meriti sit dantur illi & accipientes conscientie meae. Hec enim duo non in incerta se. bonitas illius. & fidel mea.