

**The Medieval Regulars and their Book Collections:  
St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury,  
and  
The Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester.**

**by**

**Patrick Jonathan Samuel Haines**

**A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of  
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (B)**

Department of Medieval and Modern History  
School of History and Cultures  
College of Arts and Law  
University of Birmingham  
November 2013

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### **Abstract**

The recent editing of many monastic house library catalogues in the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues has opened up the opportunity for new studies into the book collections of the regulars. The catalogues can be problematic, so an attempt has been made to tackle these issues before exploring them further as sources.

This thesis demonstrates the use of these catalogues and extant manuscripts to explore further a monastic culture of learning that grew within both St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester. There is a particular focus on denoting not only the acquisition of these collections but their use as well, using the surviving evidence to demonstrate two communities thoroughly involved with their book collections. This includes the catalogue as a text, its order, the selection of authors, the location of books within the monastery, the donation and borrowing records of volumes, the contents of volumes and the surviving manuscripts.

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### **Abbreviations**

The two catalogues and their witnesses considered within this thesis have been classified by the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues as Follows:

#### ***The Library of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury [from St. Augustine's]***

BA1. #	The Main Catalogue
BA1.REG #	The Locations Register
BA1.IXD #	The Original Index
BA1. M#	Missing Entries Reconstructed from Cross-references (Appendix 1 of <i>St. Augustine's</i> )

#### ***Other Sources***

BA2. #	Books Noted in additions to the Martyrology of St. Augustine's Abbey, late 12th to early 13th Century
BA3. #	Books noted in the Chronicles of Thomas Sprot and William Thorne, early 14th Century (?) and late 14th Century
BA4. #	A monk's borrowing list, later 14th Century (after 1340)
BA5. #	Books noted in the <i>Speculum Augustinianum</i> of Thomas Elmham, 1414
BA6. #	Canterbury court records of books stolen by John Gaywode in 1457
BA7. #	Titles noted by John Leland in his <i>Collectanea</i> , before 30th July 1538
BA8. #	Notices from John Leland <i>Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis</i> , c. 1545

#### ***The Library of St. Mary De Pratiss, Leicester [from Augustinian Canons]***

A20. #	The Main Catalogue
A21. #	Titles noted by John Leland in his <i>Collectanea</i>

### ***Other Abbreviations Used***

<i>Augustinian Canons</i>	T. Webber and A.G. Watson (eds.), <i>The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons</i> , Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 6 (London, 1998)
B14. #	a 'List of Books Read in the Refectory' from Bury St. Edmonds Abbey as reproduced in eds. R. Sharpe et al, <i>English Benedictine Libraries. The Shorter Catalogues</i> , Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4. (London, 1996)
B39. #	1247/8 library catalogue from Glastonbury Abbey as reproduced in eds. R. Sharpe et al, <i>English Benedictine Libraries. The Shorter Catalogues</i> , Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4. (London, 1996)
B71. #	c.1192 library catalogue from Reading Abbey as reproduced in eds. R. Sharpe et al, <i>English Benedictine Libraries. The Shorter Catalogues</i> , Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4. (London, 1996)
BL	Manuscripts from the British Library
Bodl.	Manuscripts from the Bodleian Library, Oxford
CCCC	Manuscripts from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
CUL	Manuscripts from Cambridge University Library
Emden, <i>BRUC</i>	A.B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500</i> (Cambridge, 1963)
Emden, <i>BRUO</i>	A.B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500</i> , 3.vols. (Oxford 1957-9)
Emden, <i>Donors</i>	A.B. Emden, <i>Donors of Books to St. Augustine's Abbey Canterbury</i> (Oxford, 1968)
TCC	Manuscripts from Trinity College, Cambridge
TCD	Manuscripts from Trinity College, Dublin
<i>St. Augustine's</i>	B.C. Barker-Benfield, <i>St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury</i> , Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 13 (London, 2008)
Z19. #	c.1190-1200 library catalogue from Rievaulx Abbey as reproduced in ed. D. Bell, <i>The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians</i> , Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 3, (London, 1992)

**The Medieval Regulars and their Book Collections:**  
**An Introduction**

The English regulars and their practices have been extensively studied and critiqued from their own time through to the present. These regulars and their book collections are represented by extant manuscripts, and these manuscripts can provide an insight into these people's experiences. Peter Hoare summarised aptly the entwining of book collections with those they served: "Libraries pervade the culture of all literate societies."<sup>1</sup>

In order to explore further this notion of the library catalogue as such a source, two monastic houses will be looked at in detail: St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester (St. Mary of the Meadow).<sup>2</sup> Whilst general discussions of monastic libraries are useful for providing an understanding of these collections as a whole, there is a tendency for such wide ranging studies to homogenise individual collections. Rouse wrote of the place of manuscript studies and highlighted the importance of perception for

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<sup>1</sup> P. Hoare, 'Foreword', in E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Vol.I, to 1640* (Cambridge, 2006), p. ii.

<sup>2</sup> St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, will often be referred to as St. Augustine's. St. Mary de Pratis will often be referred to as Leicester Abbey.

understanding individual texts.<sup>3</sup> This should include the contemporary perceptions of the regular as well as our understanding of how texts have survived into the present. What matters for this thesis is not if these catalogues fit this general mould but instead how the differing attitudes of those engaging with these libraries, in two different but not dissimilar houses, shaped their collections. This thesis explores how the study of the surviving manuscripts and catalogues evidence this.

The meaning and implications of “culture” as applied to monastic libraries could be problematic. Writing of the twelfth century, Evans suggests that to medieval regulars the word ‘cultus’ (the latin root for ‘culture’) simply meant ‘worship’.<sup>4</sup> In an early age this is a more than fitting definition. For the later middle ages, where there is greater evidence of the regulars as active participants in and recipients of a broader literate culture, this worship-centric definition becomes too restrictive. It has been argued that some of the greater abbeys and priories should be credited with having their own “distinct cultural environment”,<sup>5</sup> and the surviving collections of the two monasteries concerned would certainly suggest this is the case. Yet Knowles described such collections as having the appearance of a heap - a sporadic collection.<sup>6</sup> Such libraries were sporadically acquired over decades but each individual and generation had the opportunity to be represented by their own additions.

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<sup>3</sup> R. Rouse, ‘Medieval Manuscripts in the Modern Curriculum’, in ed. J. Van Engen, *The Past and Future of Medieval Studies* (Notre Dame, 1994), pp. 305 - 6.

<sup>4</sup> G.R. Evans, ‘The Meaning of Monastic Culture: Anselm and His Contemporaries’, in J.G. Clark (ed.), *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> J. Clark, ‘Introduction: The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism’, in J. Clark (ed.), *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism*, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1948-59), p. 332.



Monastic libraries held the books that would help shape the experiences of the regulars and, according to Hoare's definition, offer the historian an insight into a culture of worship. It can lead us to a deeper realisation of their faith and religion, made all the more challenging due to such collections' haphazard constructions.

### *A Monastic Experience*

If "history consists essentially of human values"<sup>7</sup> then it is important to search for these so as to understand the regulars. Chaucer takes the monks to task in the *Canterbury Tales*, presenting the image of the miserable monk concerned with many stories of woe.<sup>8</sup> This joke about the lives of the regulars worked because Chaucer's audience could identify with the stereotype.

A similar view of regulars appears in *Piers Ploughman*. Initially the monastic way of life is praised:

"Why, if heaven is anywhere to be found here on earth, if there is any real balm for the spirit, I can think of several reasons for placing it in a monastery or university. No one enters the cloister in order to quarrel and fight: it's a place of harmonious co-operation, given over to study and to learning."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Focillon wrote that "...history consists not only of currents, events, and settings - history consists essentially of human values". H. Focillon, *The Year 1000* (New York, 1971), p. 36.

<sup>8</sup> L.D. Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed (Oxford, 1987), p. 241.

<sup>9</sup> William Langland, *Piers Ploughman: A New Translation of the B-Text*, trans. A. Schmidt (Oxford, 1992), p. 104.

Yet after such a glowing ideal William Langland criticises what has become of regulars, acting as nothing more than pseudo-nobles constantly away from their communities and abandoning the care of their sacred buildings.<sup>10</sup>

The Augustinian canon Alexander Nequam, whose works appear in both library catalogues, was critical of the dangers of the monastic lifestyle. Several of his sermons rebuked his monastic audience for following their daily offices sluggishly, either using rain as an excuse or staying in bed instead of following the hours: “You hug yourselves in your beds. The bell is rung. You pretend not to hear”.<sup>11</sup> Two former friars, who fled their House in the 1520s, also mocked their overfed, over comfortable brethren’s lifestyle:

“What do they for it, anything?”

“Truly nothing but read and sing...”<sup>12</sup>

Whilst unflattering to the monastic orders, the act of reading as a pillar of the monastic lifestyle is still present. This portrayal of the monk as synonymous with bookishness continued into the eighteenth-century with Thomas Fosbroke’s poem *The Economy of Monastic Life*, a retrospective he tried (or so he claims) to base in truth and fact. It yearns for the monasticism of old, as well as giving guidance for a contemporary perception of monasticism where “the monks, (each bending low upon his book with head on hand reclined) their studies plied”.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Langland, *Piers Ploughman*, pp. 104 - 5.

<sup>11</sup> R.W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam 1157-1217*, M. Gibson (ed.) (Oxford, 1984), pp. 90 - 1.

<sup>12</sup> M. Heale, *Monasticism in Late Medieval England, c.1300-1535: Selected Sources* (Manchester, 2009), pp. 223 - 4.

<sup>13</sup> T. Fosbroke, *The Economy of Monastic Life: (As It Existed in England) A Poem* (Gloucester, 1795?), p. 49.

Whether intended or not, these poems supply such figures “...their due measure of warm, red blood”;<sup>14</sup> they provide a summary of the impressions of monastic learning and reading. As such they are an excellent foundation on which to create a more complete image of this element of monastic life, using the book collections of these communities as a lens.

### ***St. Augustine’s and Leicester Abbey***

The two houses whose existing library catalogues have been selected for analysis offer an interesting coupling due to their apparent differences. St. Augustine’s was a Benedictine House, founded in c.598 by St. Augustine and his English missionaries.<sup>15</sup> In contrast, Leicester Abbey was founded by the Earl of Leicester, Robert Rossu, in 1143 as a house of Augustinian canons.<sup>16</sup> Both enjoyed episcopal privileges and were considered important houses, both surviving until the last monasteries were dissolved in 1538. One commentator, possibly overstepping the mark, described St. Augustine’s as:

“the mother-school, the mother-university of England, the seat of letters and study, at a time when Cambridge was a desolate fen, and Oxford a tangled forest in a wide waste of waters.”<sup>17</sup>

Each library is witnessed by a surviving catalogue from the late 15th Century<sup>18</sup> both of which are now edited in the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues.<sup>19</sup> St. Augustine’s

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<sup>14</sup> P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (London, 1989), p. 447.

<sup>15</sup> R. Boggis, *A History of St Augustine's Monastery, Canterbury* (Canterbury, 1901), p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> A.H. Thompson, *The Abbey of St. Mary of the Meadows, Leicester* (Leicester, 1949), p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> The words of Dean Stanley, recorded in Boggis, *St Augustine's*, p. 186.

<sup>18</sup> St. Augustine’s Catalogue was first compiled 1375-1420, and transcribed with corrections 1474-1497, and Leicester's dated to 1477-1494. *St. Augustines*, p. 3 ; *Augustinian Canons*, p. 108.

<sup>19</sup> St. Augustine’s Abbey’s surviving manuscript is now TCD, MS 360, and is reproduced in *St Augustine's. St. Mary de Pratis*, Leicester, surviving manuscript is now Bodl. Laud. Misc. 623, and is reproduced in *Augustinian Canons*.

catalogue records some 1700 volumes<sup>20</sup> and Leicester Abbey over 940 volumes, the latter not including liturgical books.<sup>21</sup> It is important to note that it is these modern edited versions of the catalogues which provide the catalogue reference numbers used within this thesis. The main catalogue of St. Augustine's is referenced as BA1.#, and Leicester Abbey as A20.#.<sup>22</sup> Without the already extensive work carried out within the corpus this study would be difficult to complete within the required limits. The two surviving catalogues use different systems to denote volume location. St. Mary de Pratis records these as separate lists at the end of the catalogue, whereas St. Augustine's records for many of its volumes *Distinctio* and *Gradus* (eg. D.1 G.2) marks - essentially the equivalent of a bookcase and shelf number respectively. These two different ways of recording similar information have much to do with the function of both the catalogues, with St. Augustine's providing a more searchable document, and St. Mary de Pratis acting as an audit of the collections.<sup>23</sup>

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This thesis is an attempt to understand the sources surrounding those concerned with their monastic community's book collections; how they were involved, how this impacted the learning of successive regulars and the ways in which this is now evidenced. Chapter I will explore ways to approach the collections, including the problems of working with these library catalogues, and an overview of contemporary monastic opinion on their own book collections, so far as is possible from other sources. Chapters II and III will tackle the book

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<sup>20</sup> *St. Augustine's*, p. 5.

<sup>21</sup> *Augustinian Canons*, p. 104.

<sup>22</sup> For a further breakdown of the referencing system used, see Abbreviations.

<sup>23</sup> This distinction is important for the way in which the regulars accessed their collection, and is discussed explicitly at pp. 27 and 63.

collections of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and St. Mary of the Meadows, Leicester, respectively. The surviving catalogues will be extensively used to produce a picture of these two communities' collections, with particular emphasis on the catalogue-making process and order, locations, donors and, most importantly, evidence of use.

**I. Engaging With a Library:**  
**In Contact with a Book & Reconstructing a Library**

An attempt to engage with the medieval regulars and their book collections provides a different challenge to the historian compared to other avenues of monastic research. This is due to the nature of the available source: the library catalogue. Whilst such a source shares many of the issues that other primary written sources have, the catalogue itself is often a witness to individual texts that no longer survive, a detail that heightens the issues surrounding surviving manuscripts. The focus of this chapter is primarily to discuss how a catalogue can be accessed, and the ways in which this can be either useful, a hinderance or sometimes even a danger to historical interpretation. The intention is that an explicit statement and understanding of these issues limits their ability to complicate the discussion of the monastic book collections in Chapters II and III.

***In Contact with a Book: i. Monks and Canons***

The debate surrounding English monasticism has always been necessarily concerned with the internal life of these religious communities. Recently there has been a shift to refocus the scholarship from a study of the different orders to a study of specific institutions, and even the

individuals within the institutions. This manifests itself in several different ways. There has been a focus on the individual experiences of the regular within the institution, such as Harvey's book on the life of a monk. This provides an insight into the daily rituals and experiences, saying as much about the individual as the institution.<sup>1</sup> Individual institutions have also had their histories re-written but often through the influence of select individuals. Clark's *A Monastic Renaissance at St. Albans: Thomas Walsingham and His Circle, c.1350 - 1440* and the collective articles in *Leicester Abbey* achieve this in different ways.<sup>2</sup> These often fit into the narrative extensively set out by Dom. David Knowles,<sup>3</sup> but their closer foci lead to a clarity of discussion previously unobtainable. Greatrex's opening words of *The English Benedictine Cathedral Priories* are, it seems, most appropriate:

“We may perhaps benefit from the occasional reminder that there are as many approaches to the study of English monasticism as there are historians to sit down and write it”.<sup>4</sup>

A narrowed focus has in turn led to a greater discussion of monastic culture, an element of scholarship better served by a more personal approach since an individual's response to their culture is in its very nature “personal.” This approach cannot escape the impact of the book collections. The discussions of Wyclif's ideas, for instance, are greatly advanced by considering the impact of his books and those he consulted in order to better understand how

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<sup>1</sup> This is certainly true of the discussion on food and calorie intake coupled with the monastic ideal of giving a certain amount of the food to the poor. B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> J.G. Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance at St. Albans: Thomas Walsingham and His Circle, c.1350 - 1440* (Oxford, 2004). J. Story, J. Brown, R. Buckly (eds.), *Leicester Abbey* (Leicester, 2006)

<sup>3</sup> D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1948-59). D. Knowles and N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales*, new ed. (Harlow, 1971).

<sup>4</sup> J. Greatrex, *The English Benedictine Cathedral Priories: Rule and Practice, c.1270-c.1420* (Oxford, 2011), p. 1.

his influence spread,<sup>5</sup> particularly when some of these influencing collections belonged to the communities of regulars. Such preoccupation is also informing current understandings of monastic learning. A well stocked library had an immediate impact on the ability to provide sound learning within sermons, the shaping of each house's identity<sup>6</sup> and on the schooling of novices and university graduates alike.<sup>7</sup> It is apt that religious history in general has become far more concerned with the nature of a "monastic spiritual life".<sup>8</sup> This is a concept very much involved with a monastic understanding of culture, with this spiritual life manifesting itself within the book collections of the regulars.

### ***In Contact with a Book: ii. Accessing a Library***

Exploring the libraries of the medieval regulars offers an intellectual as well as a physical challenge. Clearly those monks with book collections did not collate and store their books as we might today, with the majority of modern day institutional and public book collections aimed at general access rather than a micro-community. It often seems to be the minds of individual regulars which shape the collections rather than a consistent policy for library expansion. These catalogues are therefore more personally attached to their respective houses, and as such can reveal much about their compilers and users, from the origins of the books

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<sup>5</sup> A. Hudson, 'Wyclif's Books', in L. Clark (ed.) et al *Images, Text, and Church 1380 - 1600* (Toronto, 2009), p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> J. Catto, 'Franciscan Learning in England, 1450 - 1540', in J.G. Clark (ed.), *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 100. J. Greatrex, 'Benedictine Sermons: Preparation and Practice in the English Monastic Cathedral Cloisters', in C. Muessig (ed.), *Medieval Monastic Preaching* (Leiden, 1998), p. 259.

<sup>7</sup> Thomson discusses the Worcester monks novice schooling and university impact in R. M. Thomson, 'Worcester Monks and Education, c.1300' in J.G. Clark (ed.), *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism* (Woodbridge, 2007), and Forde discusses similar points within the context of the Augustinian Canons, S. Forde, 'The Educational Organisation of the Augustinian Canons in England and Wales, and the University life at Oxford, 1325 - 1448', *History of Universities*, 13 (1994), pp. 21 - 60.

<sup>8</sup> J. Van Engen, 'The Christian Middle Ages as an Historical problem', *The American Historical Review*, 91 (1986), p. 521.



through to their use. These were not merely stagnant and idle enterprises but working and growing collections that served the communities that nurtured them.

The scale of the catalogues for St. Mary of the Meadow and St. Augustine's Abbey's makes it impossible to do anything other than select examples that best demonstrate how the regulars interacted with their libraries, using these to represent the whole. Bell was sceptical of such scattered information, writing that "one cannot posit the nature and extent of a forest from a handful of unusual twigs".<sup>9</sup> Webber was similarly keen to note that information from two houses does not necessarily constitute a wider pattern.<sup>10</sup> Whilst the latter may be true, the ability to compare a handful of twigs from two differing monastic houses provides a greater likelihood of discerning the truly unusual from those more common, and both can help to illuminate the studies that the regulars undertook.

Monastic studies are intrinsically woven with those people which it studies. An institutional approach to such book collections is only useful to a point; it is through individuals and their contact with libraries and books that we can gain a greater insight into their houses.<sup>11</sup> Within this new-found exploration of the monks and canons there is one major issue. If these histories become increasingly individualistic in order to grasp a better understanding of a

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<sup>9</sup> D.N. Bell, 'Monastic Libraries: 1400 - 1557', in L. Hellinga and J.B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Vol.III 1400 - 1557* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 230.

<sup>10</sup> T. Webber, 'Latin Devotional Texts and The Books of the Augustinian Canons of Thurgarton Priory and Leicester Abbey in the Late Middle Ages', in J.P. Carley and C.G. Tite (eds.), *Books and Collectors 1200-1700: essays presented to Andrew Watson* (London, 1997), p. 35.

<sup>11</sup> This type of exploration is already present in the study of the library catalogues, as demonstrated by Bell's discussion of the compiler of Dover Priory's catalogue, John Whytefold. His reasons for compiling the catalogue are as much his as the communities: to record the owned books, to make them more searchable and to stir up studious brethren to read them. This discussion is, in turn, expanded from M.R. James' original discussion of John Whytefold. Bell, 'Monastic Libraries: 1400 - 1557', p. 253. M.R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover: The Catalogues of the Libraries of Christ Church Priory and St. Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury and of St. Martin's Priory at Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), pp. 407 - 10.

community's library then the blurred lines between the definitions of "author", "writer", "reader", "user" and "annotator" become all the more problematic. The regulars often seem to fulfil several of these definitions at the same time. Interestingly, Geertz interprets the word "author" with elements of "work" and "function", comparing this to a "writer", which he identifies with "text" and "utility".<sup>12</sup> Clearly these are terms which can be interchanged and can cause much confusion. Yet the notion of an "auteur", of having a specific purpose and guidance for a work, is different to the position of an "editor" or "copier". The "copier" provides a text for the collection where it has been deemed there is an omission, the "editor" produces a personalised variant of a pre-existing work and the author provides a new work with the intention that others will use it once added to the library. There is an obvious difference in the skill and approach of a regular when copying or adding to a text, or when writing an original work.

The notion of a monastic culture being identified by the regulars as meaning the act of worship has previously been discussed.<sup>13</sup> An understanding of their own surroundings is an important element of this. Both these catalogues contain many records now listed as "pseudo". A20.244 is a large volume, both in the sense that it is 2° and runs from a-ak, collecting the works of Augustine. Yet the first work in the volume, *Epistula de Transitu S. Hieronymi*, is now known to have been misattributed to Augustine. Jensen notes "how different 'their' Augustine is from 'ours'" by the fifteenth century, with spurious works infiltrating the volumes of genuine Augustine texts.<sup>14</sup> This begs the question as to whether the

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<sup>12</sup> C. Geertz. *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 18.

<sup>13</sup> See p.2.

<sup>14</sup> K. Jensen, 'Reading Augustine in the Fifteenth Century', in ed. S. Corbellini, *Cultures of Religious Reading in the Late Middle Ages: Instructing the Soul, Feeding the Spirit, Awakening the Passion* (Turnhout, 2013), p. 163.

compiler of the volume or the catalogue was aware of this mistake, and thus whether the error was an intentional misdirection or ignorance. The same sentiment is true throughout much of the catalogue, such as with its order, the book locations and those listed as donors.

### ***Reconstructing a Library: i. From the Historian to the Library Contents***

The initial reason for the compilation of these catalogues is of immediate relevance for understanding their usefulness today. In this respect the library catalogues of St. Augustine's and Leicester Abbey, although both dating from the late fifteenth century, both had different aims in their construction, which immediately affected their presentation and layout. St. Augustine's catalogue was predominantly structured as a working document (in the sense that we might understand the purpose of a catalogue today). The shelf-marks, from the late thirteenth century,<sup>15</sup> indicate a stable arrangement by subject, and this pattern was largely followed within the catalogue itself.<sup>16</sup> In this instance the intrinsic association between the catalogue and library room contents is clear. As both were arranged within subjects or clear sections (such as "Theology" or "Biblical Books"), and as the catalogue provides cross-references to works found elsewhere within the collection, the catalogue became searchable. It also directed users towards similar books they might like to consider.

In contrast, Leicester Abbey's catalogue was initially more an audit of the collection. It would appear that this was the intention of its probable creator, William Charyte.<sup>17</sup> The catalogue also recorded no shelf marks, but instead in its final folios provides location lists by library

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<sup>15</sup> *St. Augustines*, p. lii.

<sup>16</sup> Any deviation from this seems to denote a specific purpose for this. pp. 27, 49.

<sup>17</sup> *Augustinian Canons*, p. 105.

stalls and other locations.<sup>18</sup> Yet these lists are not large enough to encompass all the books previously recorded. As such, it was less of a finding<sup>19</sup> or prompting aid. Searching for more than the titles of similar works would have been difficult. Yet both catalogues are useful in recording the names of many owners and donors, and these are invaluable for constructing reading and ownership habits. William Charyte was also keen to record books he made and commissioned, recording these after the book location records at A20.1926-1958. The patronage of the compiler is therefore evident here as well. Our access to these library contents is therefore coloured by these initial intentions of the catalogue compilers.

Such access is also aided and hindered by manuscripts still extant and this is particularly true of the surviving catalogue manuscripts. Both Leicester Abbey and St. Augustine's Abbey record previous catalogues within the surviving fifteenth century transcripts but these are now lost. St. Augustine's surviving manuscript is most probably a neat copy of a previously existing transcript, adding shelf-marks and locations,<sup>20</sup> and this would explain its greater ability to function as a searchable document.

The connection between the modern user and the surviving catalogues is based upon the ability to trace references beyond these documents. An understanding of the construction of these catalogues is therefore vital in their function as a source. *Fig. 1* (see overleaf) demonstrates this "tracking", an appropriate word considering this process starts with the volumes recorded and finishes with the researcher.

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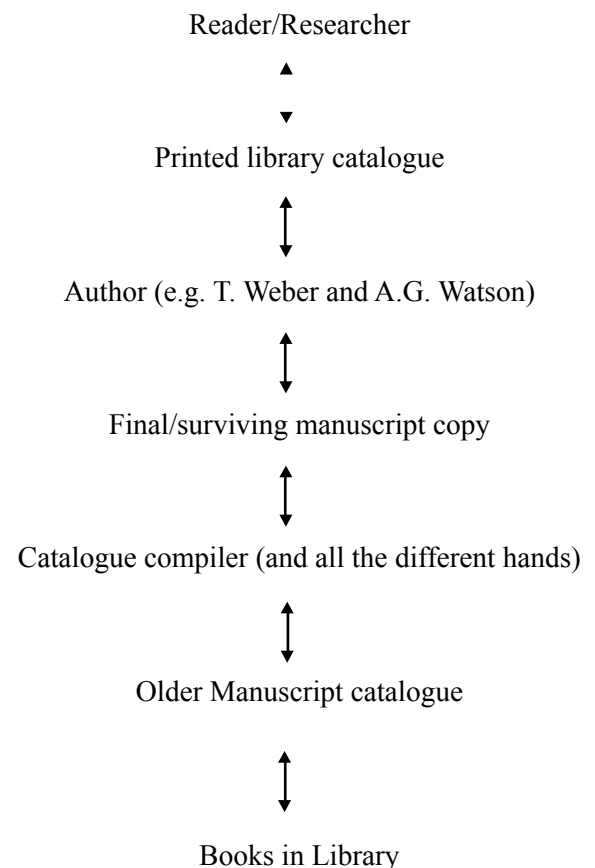
<sup>18</sup> A20.1450 - 1925.

<sup>19</sup> Webber, T. 'The Books of Leicester Abbey', in Story, J, Brown, J, Buckly (eds.), R. *Leicester Abbey* (Leicester, 2006), p. 128.

<sup>20</sup> *St. Augustines*, p. 3.

Understanding this chain adds a provenance to the information recorded in the catalogue that is not apparent when taking the documents at face value. The historian is connected to the library and its contents, but only through several filters. The first filter is the way in which the modern researchers of the printed library catalogues have presented the collections. This is affected by the way they approached the extant catalogues. Their previous academic knowledge and interests are reflected in their notes on the collections and by the specific texts they chose to highlight in the modern printed editions. The second filter is the survival and condition of these original library catalogues. How much of a manuscript survives inevitably limits what one can study. For instance, it is likely that St. Augustine's catalogue previously also contained

Fig. 1:



Canon and Civil Law sections and these are now presumed lost.<sup>21</sup> The third filter is the manner in which the contemporary catalogue compilers approached their work. These differences in record keeping inevitably created different catalogues. Some catalogues record liturgical volumes as well as the library holdings, as is the case at Leicester Abbey. The presence of a previous catalogue for the compilers to refer to, as well as the physical order of books in the library, could also affect the way in which an updated version was drawn up.

<sup>21</sup> *St. Augustines*, p. 4.

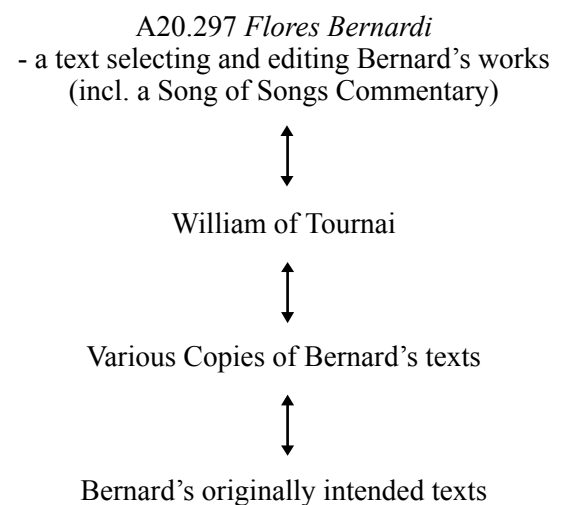
Equally of importance was the purpose for drawing up a catalogue. An audit of a collection does not possess the same functionality as a document drawn up to aid the regulars in their search for books.

These points of interaction are also present within the library books themselves, and some of them are more obvious than others. A20.297 from the catalogue of St. Mary of the Meadow is a work compiling, editing and adding to various texts, including a Song of Songs commentary, attributed to St. Bernard and compiled in the thirteenth century by William of Tournai.<sup>22</sup> As such it has passed through several stages, *Fig. 2*, before reaching the form represented in the catalogue. Bernard's original texts

had, presumably, been copied. Indeed, it is likely that William of Tournai used a copy of a copy to edit the original commentary. This newly created work was then itself copied and thus spread in much the same way as those texts had been before their compilation by William of Tournai. This poses the question previously raised over authorship. Is William the author of the final piece, or has he

simply updated and edited? The fact that William felt the need to add to the Song of Songs commentary clearly demonstrates an important filter being placed upon Bernard's original work. Similarly, the engagement of any reader with the same book does not necessarily imply the same thought processes as an output, but the recording of notes around extant manuscripts

*Fig 2:*



<sup>22</sup> S. Poor, 'Transmission' in ed.s A. Hollywood and P.Z. Beckman, *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 244.

provides a similar posterity to their ideas, much as William of Tournai's commentary does. These different points of interaction can therefore say much about those involved with the text. The interference provides evidence of the individuals.

### ***Reconstructing a Library: ii. From the Library Contents to a Regular's Life***

Perhaps the biggest challenge is to connect the contents and catalogues of these libraries to the regulars and their use of these books in daily monastic life. This is less of a causal chain than was demonstrated above, but rather more a balancing of many different sources available. Whilst the next two chapters will concern themselves explicitly with the library contents, this section will study a general attitude within monastic learning and devotion.

Within both houses the reading and study of biblical and religious texts comprised a fundamental element of their existence. Evans paints a picture of quiet study for monastic book use, with regulars retiring to the cloister after dinner and reading until vespers.<sup>23</sup> This contemplation through the studying of books was also reflected in the poems of monastic life.<sup>24</sup> It follows that the regulars' book collections would inevitably grow as they sought further insight through learning. These were collections designed to serve, or more accurately that grew in order to serve, the communities they kept occupied. This growth was the by-product of monastic learning with new texts written by each generation. What shaped the differences between St. Augustine's Abbey and Leicester Abbey seems to have been the desired endpoint for the study. The starting point for their studies were remarkably similar, yet similar study material has been utilised in varying ways.

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<sup>23</sup> Evans, 'The Meaning of Monastic Culture', p. 77.

<sup>24</sup> See p. 3.

The Rule of St. Benedict contains many instructions on reading and interaction with books, including reading the Rule through three times a year.<sup>25</sup> Boggis is keen to point out a distinguishing feature of the Benedictine Rule. Chapter 38 mandates reading of texts at mealtimes and just as there were specific hours set aside for manual labour so there were also for sacred reading.<sup>26</sup> It is possible that the manual labour also included book production in the scriptorium,<sup>27</sup> providing a physical form of contact with a literate culture. This encouraged the monks to be actively and frequently exposed to a culture of learning, making it a specific, and possibly unavoidable, choice not to be involved. It heavily suggests the desire for spiritual betterment by the monks, with Chapter 8 commanding those who need a better knowledge of the Psalms and lessons to use the time after matins for this study.<sup>28</sup>

It is of note that even in 1539 as the dissolution of the monasteries reached Glastonbury Abbey the monks, following the Rule of St. Benedict, complained that “the Offices are so tedious there is no time for study”.<sup>29</sup> They clearly felt that even though the Rule encouraged learning it did not provide ample time for it. The Monastic *Constitutiones* of Lanfranc, compiled from the customs of monasteries he considered most in repute, provides the reading time allocated in the Horarium as after Prime,<sup>30</sup> and there is even some evidence from other houses that “Chapter Mass” was moved from 9am to 7:30/8am so that theology students

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<sup>25</sup> Abbott J. McCann (ed. and trans.), *The Rule of St. Benedict: in Latin and English* (London, 1962), p. xxiv.

<sup>26</sup> *The Rule of St. Benedict*, pp. 93 and 111. Boggis, *St. Augustine's*, p. 138.

<sup>27</sup> J.E. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 164.

<sup>28</sup> *The Rule of St. Benedict*, p. 49.

<sup>29</sup> J.G. Clark, ‘The Self Image of the Scholar Monk in Late Medieval England’, in A. Müller and K. Stöber (eds.), *Self-representation of Medieval Religious Communities: The British Isles in Context* (Berlin, 2009), p. 245.

<sup>30</sup> D. Knowles, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc* (London, 1951), pp. xi and xxxv.



could work longer in the morning.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps this concession was to be expected, with the growing popularity of university education by the thirteenth century opening up new avenues of learning for greater numbers of regulars.<sup>32</sup>

The Rule of St. Augustine is less specific in its intentions for the use of books, instead encouraging a desire for learning on a broader scale. Chapter three advocates reading to the canons during dinner: “for you have not only to satisfy your physical hunger, *but also to hunger for the word of God*”.<sup>33</sup> It is fitting that the Rule’s lines on listening to the Bible are themselves intertextual in nature; even more so when the full Bible verse speaks of a famine of the word of God.<sup>34</sup> As an Augustinian monastery Leicester Abbey’s canons would have been encouraged in intellectual exploits to provide sermons, as Martin highlights: “though bound to a monastic regime they were not monks: they were ordained priests, and they were expected to undertake pastoral duties outside their houses, among the laity, and in particular in the parish churches committed to their care”.<sup>35</sup> This is an important distinction between the two houses.

Both Rules would encourage the regulars to engage with their houses’ book collections, and the subsequent customaries would also play a role in shaping regular access to books. An element of ritual can be seen in the Benedictine tradition of returning and handing out books

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<sup>31</sup> This is certainly true at St. Albans Abbey. Knowles, *Religious Orders*, Vol.1, p. 280.

<sup>32</sup> D. Knowles, ‘Some developments in English Monastic Life, 1216-1336’, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser. vol.26 (1944), p. 37.

<sup>33</sup> R. Canning (trans.), *Rule of St. Augustine* (London, 1984), p. 14. Amos 8:11; *Rule of St. Augustine*, p. 14.

<sup>34</sup> Amos 8:11, “ecce dies veniunt dicit Dominus et mittam famem in terram non famem panis neque sitim aquae sed audiendi verbum Domini” Latin Vulgate. “Behold, the days come, saith the Lord God, that I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord.” KJV Translation.

<sup>35</sup> G. Martin, ‘Henry Knighton’s Chronicle and Leicester Abbey’, in Story, J, Brown, J, Buckley, R. (eds.), *Leicester Abbey* (Leicester, 2006), p. 119.

on the second day of Lent. Each monk was tasked to read one book during the year, a procession to return each borrowed book ensued, and a pardon “for lack of diligence” was sought for those who had not read their book. All the books were laid out on a strip of carpet and each monk then given a book to read for the next year.<sup>36</sup> Although the monks at St. Augustine’s Abbey would encounter a spiritual call to study more explicitly through their Rule, the activities of Leicester Abbey and its local community involvement go a long way to explain their particularly large collection too.

Additional records can also aid an understanding of an individual house and its specific literary activities. Often the visitation records for the diocese, coupled with other diocesan records, can help to demonstrate certain elements of a monastic community’s existence, though it is unfortunate that these do not usually concern the libraries of the houses. Additionally, not all houses were subject to visitation by their diocesan bishop and therefore such material is not always available. Both St. Augustine’s and Leicester Abbey enjoyed some exemption from episcopal oversight, although Leicester was still subject to visitation.<sup>37</sup> One surviving record for a Visitation to Leicester Abbey in 1440 highlights a community more concerned with stories of theft and incest than their book collections. There were issues surrounding the lack of a teacher for the novices and boys, although this seems more a complaint against the conduct of the Abbot than a comment on the general learning of the house.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> K.M. Setton, ‘From Medieval to Modern library’, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 104 no.4 (1960), p. 376.

<sup>37</sup> C.R. Cheney, *Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the 13th Century* (Manchester, 1931), p. 39. Thompson, *St. Mary of the Meadows*, p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> A.H. Thompson (ed.), *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln Volume II: Records of visitation held by William Alnwick, bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1436 to A.D. 1449* (Horncastle, 1918), pp. 206 - 10.

However, both St. Augustine's and Leicester housed chroniclers, who give occasional and brief insights into the monastery and its book collections. St. Augustine's had four main chroniclers: Goscelin (d.1107), Thomas Sprott (fl.1272), William Thorne (fl. 1397) and Thomas Elmham (d. after 1427). Thomas Elmham records in his work *Speculum Augustinianum* nine volumes which are central to the cult of St. Augustine. These include *Biblia Gregoriana* and *Psalterium Augustini*, both of which are specifically mentioned as arriving in the library after being allegedly sent by Pope Gregory with Augustine's mission to England c.597.<sup>39</sup> It can be claimed that because of this the library also began with the monastery's founder and first Archbishop of Canterbury, Augustine. The importance of this one man to the monastic community can be seen by the addition of St. Augustine to the altar's dedication in 978 by Archbishop Dunstan.<sup>40</sup> Such important books are therefore seen to hold more value than their contents alone ever could.

The yearly procession of books at Lent was previously mentioned, and William Thorne's chronicle adds specific context to this. Thorne records that in 1307, on the prompting of Abbot Thomas, the brethren arranged that when the books were processed the "souls of those living be 'commended,' and of those deceased be absolved, by whom the library of this church has been in any way improved".<sup>41</sup> Those living were also to receive a special mass. As such the provision of materials for the library was rewarded in a spiritual way, a very real reward for the benefactors. It is also of particular note that Abbot Thomas Fyndon instigated

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<sup>39</sup> R. Emms, 'St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and 'the first Books of the Whole English Church'', *Studies in Church History*, 38 (2004), p. 33. *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, Vol. III*, pp. 1650 - 1652.

<sup>40</sup> Previously the altar was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. Boggis, *St. Augustine's*, p. 148.

<sup>41</sup> A.H. Davis (trans.), *William Thorne's Chronicle of St. Augustines Abbey, Canterbury* (1934), p. 392.

this, as the library catalogue records him as donating at least eight volumes, with several other possibilities from the 103 volumes marked as just “Abbot Thomas”.<sup>42</sup> In case the abbey’s commitment to learning was ever in doubt, Thorne also records the actions of Abbot Nicholas, who in 1283 had built a chapel in the dormitory with “studies” or “studia” attached.<sup>43</sup> This was expressly so that the regulars would “more conveniently have leisure for prayer and contemplation, and also might be able to attend their studies in various books”.<sup>44</sup>

Leicester Abbey’s surviving Chronicle by Henry Knighton (d. c.1396) is less explicit in matters of learning. Instead, it offer glimpses into the culture of study. When talking of Wyclif Henry Knighton copies a section from Guillaume de Saint-Amour’s *De Periculis nouissimorum temporum*.<sup>45</sup> However, a copy of this is not traceable within the library catalogue, although the Chronicle itself is recorded at A20.636. The King’s commission against the books of Lollard content is also copied,<sup>46</sup> and a narrative of the 1389 dispute of students at Oxford provides an insight into extra-curricular fighting among the students.<sup>47</sup> Knighton was particularly averse to the translation of the Bible into English. One wonders if a translation of his own work would have caused offence too. His own poetical output used scribal imagery to describe heresy:

“If all the world were parchment, and the trees one reed,  
The Seas a pool of ink, and all mankind a mighty scribe,  
They would not serve to tell the wicked tale.”<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Emden, *Donors*, p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> N. Orme, *Medieval Schools: from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (London, 2006), p. 272.

<sup>44</sup> A.H. Davis (trans.), *William Thorne’s Chronicle of St. Augustines Abbey, Canterbury* (1934), p. 280.

<sup>45</sup> G. Martin, *Knighton’s Chronicle 1337 - 1396* (Oxford, 1995), p. 245.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, p. 439.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, p. 529

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*, p. 307.

Although, as highlighted by Martin, Knighton's real focus in this instance was the Lollard movement,<sup>49</sup> there is still an undercurrent of learning present. Regardless of other issues and questions which Knighton's writings might raise, they do indicate the learning that took place within the monastery.

All of these various sources for monastic book use bring to the fore the differing functions of the collections in the monastic life. Bell suggests that literacy had four levels:

- I. Read text in latin (without comprehension)
- II. Read and understand common liturgical texts.
- III. Read and understand less common non-liturgical texts.
- IV. Write one's own text.<sup>50</sup>

This seems an appropriate basis for an understanding not just of literacy, but the involvement of an individual within a collection too. This reflects the various ways in which book use was present in monastic life. How much of an impact these collections had on regulars was ultimately up to the way that individuals used the collections. An edited list for monastic learning might run as follows:

- I. *Listen to* or read text in latin (without comprehension).
- II. *Listen to*, or read and understand common liturgical texts.
- III. Read and understand less common non-liturgical texts.
- IV. *Make brief notes around texts.*
- V. *Make extensive notes around texts that guide others in their study.*

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<sup>49</sup> G. Martin, 'Henry Knighton's Chronicle and Leicester Abbey', p. 124.

<sup>50</sup> D.N. Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (Kalamazoo MI, 1995), p. 60.

*VI. Commission and oversee creation of book for personal use.*

VII. Write one's own text.

The addition of the phrase "Listen to..." at stages I and II in the different levels of monastic learning is crucial as most daily contact with biblical texts is through the liturgy and mealtime readings.<sup>51</sup> It is therefore important to recognise that the use of the library, essentially an individual's engagement with specific texts, is an addition to this and one often taken seriously by the community.

Stages IV to VII are concerned with passing on knowledge that the instigator deemed important. Such an intellectual legacy is reflected wholly in the creation of one's own text, but in reality the three additional stages (IV-VI) would be more likely to pass on such a heritage within a monastic house. This transference of knowledge among the regulars is a crucial element, with Knowles acknowledging that "monks received what their elders in the monastery had to give".<sup>52</sup> It is the recognition that each individual house and period would offer different opportunities and sources for learning, and that these opportunities are affected by the involvement of previous generations within the house.

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Throughout this chapter elements of the useful nature of the library catalogues have already been seen. The next two chapters will explore the book collections of St. Augustine's and St. Mary de Pratis Abbey in succession, albeit with the limitations of using representative examples. It is crucial that such a study is founded upon historical witness, however it equally

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<sup>51</sup> See p. 18.

<sup>52</sup> D. Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (London, 1962), p. 74.

requires an element of considered speculation. The next two chapters will go some of the way to filling the implied gaps left by the witnesses to monastic book collections.

**Into The Libraries:**  
**II. The Library of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury**

The previous two chapters have discussed the problems and solutions that arise from studying surviving library records. In contrast the next two chapters look “into” the libraries of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester. The commentator who branded St. Augustine's the “mother-school”<sup>1</sup> was making excessive claims, but such a comment introduces this chapter's most critical element: study. These library catalogues and their books are a witness to such study, and therefore a witness to those who used them for this purpose. It is inevitable that the following sub-headings will not be able to cite all of the materials which are specific to them. Yet these divisions present a way of streamlining the discussions in order to make them more manageable. In this respect they are indeed imposed upon the sources, but they are necessary to seek an order for analysis, with the hope that what really *was* will shine through.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 5. Boggis, *St. Augustine's*, p. 186.



### *The Catalogue as a Body of Work*

It seems appropriate to look first at the surviving manuscript for St. Augustine's Abbey library. It is a transcript of an existing and, one presumes, rather untidy record. This is particularly evident through interconnectivity in the three main components, the Locations Register (BA1.Reg #), the Index (BA1.IDX #) and the Main Catalogue (BA1.#). St. Augustine's extant fifteenth century manuscript therefore represents a copy which was meant to be an improvement on its precursor, and a concerted effort was made to leave space for potential later accessions. In some cases these gaps were filled, but due to the late date of the catalogue it is problematic to determine exactly when texts were added. However, as will be seen throughout this chapter, several other sources and ways of understanding these booklists can offer an insight into when some books entered the library collections. The construction of the catalogue can offer several indications as many of these are additions to previous entries by the fourth main hand in the catalogue, Hand D. The presence of Hand D among the earlier Hands demonstrates books not accounted for before. The nature of these additions, squashed into remaining spaces, can lead to brief records, such as the two sermon entries at BA1.689-90.<sup>2</sup> An unspecified historical text in French added at BA1.1515 is similar in nature. A copy of *Philosophia* by William of Conches was added later by an unfamiliar hand at BA1.1486. Barker-Benfield suggests the donor was William de Clara (b.1242-3), and therefore represents books he acquired whilst studying at the University of Paris.<sup>3</sup> An attempt was made to add this to the correct section for William of Conches, but space within the catalogue only permitted its addition after several cross references, rather than more typically

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<sup>2</sup> BA1.689 *Sermones Cum A*, BA1.690 *Sermones Odonis sine asseribus*. Neither are specific enough to denote the content of the volumes.

<sup>3</sup> BA1.1486.

before them. BA1.1549 and 1549.1 also accentuate issues of space, essentially operating as “overflow” entries where space was not available. The first is a book of the Apocalypse, which should ideally be placed in the biblical studies at the beginning of the catalogue, and the second, cross-referenced, entry is to Ps. Aristotle *Physiognomia*. Such ties are also visible within the Index, with Hand D again adding to previous sections, such as BA1.IDX457-458 (additions of two *Exposiciones* for Pauline epistles and a Hugh of St. Victor commentary). The Augustine additions, detailed below, are further examples of this, as are the additions of the donor John of London.<sup>4</sup>

The catalogue’s intertextual character and ‘user friendliness’ become apparent when looking at the basic construction and this is expanded by the work of Barker-Benfield in the modern edition. This is aptly represented at BA1.IDX917, recorded as *Musica Augustini* with a cross-reference to page 23 of the catalogue, and at BA1.374.85, denoted as a cross reference itself in the modern edition of the catalogue by the inclusion of a decimal. As such, Barker-Benfield has reconstructed the now missing volume reference at BA1.M1847e. There is another reference to BA1.374.85 at BA1.1116.1, as the former is part of a section on St. Augustine of Hippo, and the latter is a section of Musical Treatises. This demonstrates much of the catalogue’s strengths. The numerous cross-references mean that a user of the catalogue at any of these records would also be directed towards similar works located elsewhere in the library. This is particularly evident with the number of cross-references; BA1.374.85 is part of a section of 90. Clearly the compiler wished the references to the collections on Augustine to be exhaustive, whereas this is not the case for other authors. Yet importantly the Index does make

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<sup>4</sup> See p. 48.

this distinction. BA1.IDX917 is one of four references to musical works by Hand A, whereas BA1.IDX7-84 provide references to many of Augustine's works. The latter, along with several other records, were later additions by Hand D.<sup>5</sup> Yet several of these additions were accidental duplications by Hand D for IDX records recorded in the original Augustine section, an example of human error within the catalogue. This implies that the system was set up to be used; the catalogue is full of other examples of its intertextual and interactive nature, and this is indeed tied to the utility for 'study'. Cross-referencing the catalogue would have been a considerable undertaking if it was not expected to be used. This is particularly evident in the borrowing records, but the questions surrounding the borrowing of books are a distinct element of a working collection, and warrant separate discussion.<sup>6</sup>

### ***The Significance of Catalogue Order***

Both of the library catalogues were similarly organised to other contemporary monastic collections, starting with copies of the Bible, then individual biblical books, and then intrinsically linked works, such as concordances and commentaries. Two Benedictine houses see a similar pattern. Glastonbury Abbey in its thirteenth century surviving catalogue records Bibles, followed by psalters, then individual books, with several glosses interspersed. Reading Abbey's twelfth century catalogue records Bibles, individual biblical books and commentaries including *Sentences*.<sup>7</sup> It is when these purposeful boundaries demonstrate the importance of certain texts that the intentions of those involved with the collection start to become clear.

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<sup>5</sup> Barker-Benfield identifies these additions by Hand D at BA1.IDX 74-84, 125-6, 233-6 and 700-703.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> Glastonbury Abbey's 1247/8 catalogue is compiled as B39 and Reading Abbey's c.1192 catalogue as B71. Peter Lombard's *Sentences* are recorded at B71.30-1. see eds. R. Sharpe et al, *English Benedictine Libraries. The Shorter Catalogues*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4 (London, 1996) and A. Coates, *English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal* (Oxford 1999), p. 21.

This was partially seen with the later addition of texts to the existing catalogue. St. Augustine's follows its records for Bibles with a section of the works of Peter Comestor (BA1.45 - 70.1). This is no particular surprise for the "Master of Histories",<sup>8</sup> whose twelfth century *Historia Scholastica* has been described as "...the single most important medium through which a popular Bible took shape, from the thirteenth into the fifteenth century, in France, England, and elsewhere."<sup>9</sup>

These works were the second recorded block of texts, placing them in such a prominent position as to be undeniably among the most important held by the library, second only to the Bible itself. However, what is of more importance are the *Distinctio* and *Gradus* shelf marks (the equivalent of bookcase and shelf numbers) for these volumes. The Bibles, psalters, individual books and glosses were shelved from D.1 to D.2, yet the Peter Comestor works were largely shelved at D.10 G.2. Barker-Benfield describes this as "defensible" due to these texts' full coverage of the Bible.<sup>10</sup> Yet this does not reflect the importance of the cataloguer placing these texts at this specific point within the catalogue. This deviation from the shelving order implies that the catalogue was expected to be used as a source for not just the discovery of book locations, but also as a guide of which books to read - the suggested texts are enhanced by their catalogue position. The fact that such deviations in position are exceptions rather than the rule elevates this point. It is regrettable that an earlier catalogue does not survive for St. Augustine's as the ability to compare these texts' recorded positions would deepen an understanding of their use.

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<sup>8</sup> S.R. Daly, 'Peter Comestor: Master of Histories', *Speculum*, 32 (1957), p. 67.

<sup>9</sup> J.H. Morey, 'Peter Comestor, Biblical Paraphrase, and the Medieval Popular Bible', in *Speculum*, 68 (1993), p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> *St. Augustine's*, p. 389.

Yet the order of the catalogue can always betray a human aspect to these collections, especially where an element of disorder creeps into an otherwise structured arrangement. The arrangement of a selection of *Postils* in the Biblical scholarship section, for instance, does not appear to have any particular rationale.<sup>11</sup> This is also echoed in the *Distinctio* and *Gradus* positions recorded. For example, two *Postils* by Nicholas de Gorran are neither next to each other in the catalogue, nor on the shelves.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the second is shelved before the first. Instead there is a broad grouping of these commentaries by the original text; but even this system is only loosely maintained. The devil is in the detail. This is not to suggest that such minute selections of texts should have particular running orders, but that the actual order demonstrates a particular lack of importance for those cataloguing and maintaining the library; the fact that these were *Postilla* was seen as their distinguishing feature, not their specific authorship. Grouped by type rather than content, the cataloguer provides a collection of similar texts for users to access should they desire similar works.

The use of the Index for finding desirable books has already been touched upon. The first major run in the Index was St. Augustine of Hippo, followed by Ambrose, Anselm and then several ‘Alquinas’ (Thomas Aquinas) records. It is clear that the order reflects an overarching alphabetical system, but this is ignored within each letter set.<sup>13</sup> Bede and Bernard of Clairvaux are placed at the beginning of the B section, and a selection of commentaries on Peter

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<sup>11</sup> This *Postil* section of the Biblical scholarship runs from BA1.226-259.

<sup>12</sup> BA1.239 is D.3 G.3; BA1.241 is D.2 G.3.

<sup>13</sup> This is perhaps necessary due to a lack of universal consensus for individual authors names. The As are Indexed BA1.IDX1-222.

Lombard's *Sentences* is first in the Q section.<sup>14</sup> This is presumably for "Quatuor Libri Sententiarum" or an implied "Questiones" title. Yet those entries within this section, such as BA1.IDX1125 *Thomas de alquino* and BA1.IDX1126 *Petrus tarentasius*, only assume an implied "Questiones" because of their positioning after BA1.IDX1124's *Quatuor libri sententiarum* title. More importantly, this is another section added by Hand D instead of the main hand, Hand A. As such it represents an attempt to place these Index records where "Questiones" would be most looked for, or at least where Hand D would have expected to find them. Perhaps this represents an attempt to guide any user of the Index towards the *Sentences* even though the Index only references actual *Sentence* texts three times. Furthermore, these volumes were unremarkably placed in the middle of the P section.<sup>15</sup>

University attendees were expected to create their own *Sentence* commentaries as part of their studies, with Oxford students even lecturing on the *Sentences* before the Bible.<sup>16</sup> With these students spending anywhere up to four years studying the Bible and the *Sentences* it is unsurprising that the Index mainly directs the catalogue user to these commentaries. Courtenay even suggests that by the second decade of the fourteenth century some prospective university students would have created first drafts of their *Sentence* commentaries one to two years before reading at university.<sup>17</sup> The main catalogue witnesses the majority of the library's holdings of the *Sentences*, including excerpts and single book volumes of the *Sentences* as a four-volume work, from BA1.496-538, and 41 of 51 records have owners or

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<sup>14</sup> The Bs are indexed BA1.IDX223-276.

The Qs are indexed at BA1.IDX1124-1176.

<sup>15</sup> The Index records the *Sentences* at BA1.IDX1033-1035.

<sup>16</sup> W. J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, 1987), p. 43.

<sup>17</sup> Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, p. 47.

donors recorded.<sup>18</sup> This text saw university graduates donating the fruit of their first years of study for future would-be students to read before embarking on their own education. Colish also highlights the importance of Peter Lombard's exegesis on the Psalms as a tool for learning,<sup>19</sup> but this does not seem to be reflected within St. Augustine's collections, recording copies often as part of larger volumes throughout the catalogue,<sup>20</sup> with a few exceptions. Instead, the catalogue implies that much of the section recorded as Psalters were copies of Peter Lombard's work.

The order of the Patristic theology for St. Augustine's is notable in listing the works of Jerome first. With the suitability of Jerome's texts for preaching and sermon preparation this arrangement would perhaps have been more appropriate for Leicester Abbey than it is to St. Augustine's. Again, the *Distinctio* and *Gradus* marks for Patristic theology put Jerome and Cassiodorus at D.4 G.1 in the library. Indeed, this is not even based upon placing the largest collection first, with St. Augustine of Hippo occupying D.4 G.2-4. Perhaps the layout of the library dictated this positioning, with D.4 G.2-4 being a more appropriate place for these volumes to be stored together. The same is true for the recordings of Gregory's works, placed at D.5 G.2-4.<sup>21</sup> As such the importance of the four Doctors of the Western Church was represented in the catalogue as well, with Jerome, Augustine of Hippo, Ambrose and Gregory being catalogued in shelf order. Cassiodorus' intrusion appears to be an anomaly. Despite

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<sup>18</sup> This number includes cross-references BA1.536.1-6.

<sup>19</sup> M. Colish, 'Psalterium Scholasticorum: Peter Lombard and the Emergence of Scholastic Psalms Exegesis', *Speculum*, 67 (1992), p. 538.

<sup>20</sup> Such as BA1.71.

<sup>21</sup> These four authors were catalogued in the Patristic theology section as follows:

Jerome BA1.322-334.

Augustine of Hippo BA1.335-76.

Ambrose BA1.377-384, 389.

Gregory BA1.385-8, 390-411.

being shelved along with Jerome his works are recorded in the catalogue after the four above at BA1.412-417. Yet thematically this is a good fit. Only four are placed at D.4 G.1: a three-volume copy of his *Expositio psalmorum* and Ps. Cassiodorus *De amicitia christiana*.<sup>22</sup> The latter is complemented by secondary texts on sermons; a good companion to the writing of Jerome for sermons.

Some specific text locations within the catalogue are also of note. BA1.674 *Sermones quarrelli*, which Barker-Benfield suggests was a miscellaneous collection of “sermons of the cloister” or “sermons of the study”, was donated by the thirteenth century Abbot Nicholas Thorne - an apt tie between the intended location of use (or creation) for a book and the catalogue. The actual contents of this work are unknown, but there is a possibility that this represents a collection of sermons written by the Abbot.<sup>23</sup> Wenzel comments that monastic sermon collections often leave it unclear who the intended audience were: lay, clerical, monastic.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps the location reference in the title is as much about denoting the monks as the intended audience as it is with providing a setting for the sermons.

Several texts now deemed important for understanding the workings of a monastery and its books are seemingly hidden away. BA1.626 has within its folios a treatise on the Rule of St. Benedict, donated by ‘Abbot Thomas’.<sup>25</sup> In a similar fashion BA1.668b-h is a collection of saints' lives, including some of a very local interest, but these are placed within the sermon

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<sup>22</sup> These are BA1.412-4 and 417 respectively.

<sup>23</sup> Although Barker-Benfield stresses that the cross-reference at BA1.458c should but does not list him as author if this was the case.

<sup>24</sup> S. Wenzel, *Latin Sermons Collections from Later Middle England; Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 286.

<sup>25</sup> For the complications of the several different Abbot Thomas's present at St. Augustine's Abbey, and the catalogue's apparent lack of clarity in distinguishing between these, see *St. Augustine's*, p. 1863.



section on the merit of the volume's first work, John Cassian's *Collationes*. The problem with such texts is that, despite their relevance, it is difficult to prove a specific use. The fact that local saints celebrated within St. Augustine's walls also have a presence within the library does not mean that the volumes were used.<sup>26</sup> All they represent is a possible link between the life of the monastery and its book collection.

### ***The Selection of Authors***

Although the authors studied by the monks at St. Augustine's are important for understanding their studies, it is difficult to prove use for large groups of texts. Instead, as has already been seen, the patterns of these authors provide some suggestions of use, in particular through the interests of the recorded donors. For instance Richard of Canterbury donated several volumes of penance and confession texts: BA1.297b, a work on Job, BA1.479, a compilation of works by several authors,<sup>27</sup> BA1.652a, Peter of Waltham's *Remediarium conuersorum* from Gregory's *Moralia*, BA1.1507, William de Waddington's *le Manuel des pechiez*. These are important for Richard's personal interests as well as the institutional concerns of the abbey. This was clearly a man interested in the study of penitence, even gathering one such text in French. Richard of Canterbury's additions to the catalogue therefore provided a range of authors, but across a consistent field of interest.

Sometimes the relative importance of one text can be demonstrated over another by the cataloguer referencing a volume by its most important text, not its first work. BA1.415 sees

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<sup>26</sup> *St. Augustine's*, p. 773.

<sup>27</sup> Namely BA1.479a Ps. Hugh of Saint-Victor (Thomas Chobham), b Summa Confessorum, poss. Iohannes de Deo, Liber penitentiarius, c - d poss. Iohannes de Deo, Libellus dispensationum. treatise on confession.

Cassiodorus' *De Anima* follow this pattern, actually being placed last in the volume. The volume is also placed away from Cassiodorus' other works in the library room. Perhaps the librarian realised the full contents of the codex only after its position in the library had been decided - a position probably not determined by the cataloguer. Even if this was not the case, it certainly elevates one text in the volume above the others, especially as *De Anima* is the only text within the volume to be cross-referenced elsewhere in the catalogue.<sup>28</sup>

As one might expect for an important medieval figure, Anselm of Canterbury is well represented within the catalogue, but not in terms of volume numbers. The Main Catalogue section only runs BA1.455-459.72. Yet BA1.455-458 are all sizeable volumes in their own right,<sup>29</sup> and perhaps represent compilations of texts in order to represent Anselm of Canterbury. Indeed, the way in which these volumes are meticulously cross-referenced from BA1.459.1-72 creates four thoroughly searchable volumes, but also betrays many duplicates within them. Appendix A:i details BA1.456; all the texts are cross-referenced, with the order apparently dictated by BA1.455. The two volumes with library markings were kept together at D6.G1. A conscious decision has therefore been made to deal with the Anselm collection in this way. Bede, however, seemed to cause placement issues. BA1.443 contains Bede's *Vita s. Cuthberti*, and Lethaldus Miciacensis's *Vita Juliani*, and these two texts could fit into several categories. This was evidently also a dilemma for the monks, with three different library locations being recorded: firstly in mixed theology and history, secondly in hagiography and finally within the other works of Bede.<sup>30</sup> The grouping of certain texts might suggest to the

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<sup>28</sup> This is recorded in the index at BA1.IDX289.

<sup>29</sup> These four volumes contained 9, 20, 51 and 8 texts respectively, although BA1.457 included several Augustine texts as well.

<sup>30</sup> BA1.433 started at D.9 G.3, moved to D9. G.5, then finished at D.6 G.1.

catalogue's user that the works complemented each other. Texts that fell into the same genre were often placed together in volumes and on the bookshelves, as was the case with BA1.433. Perhaps more telling however is that in this instance the text's author was ultimately deemed more important than its genre. BA1.433's last move placed the volume in the library next to those Bede texts that it was surrounded by in the catalogue. With Bede being such a prominent medieval author it is not a surprise that his texts are placed together when they could have ended up elsewhere in the catalogue and library. BA1.440-442 records Biblical book commentaries by Bede placed with his other texts, and there was even an attempt to record several other commentaries present as secondary texts within volumes.<sup>31</sup> This is comparable to the focus on Peter Lombard and Peter Comestor.

The importance of certain texts is also highlighted by another possible way of accessing them. BA1.633-4 are two volumes of tables for Lombard's *Sentences* and other selected texts. Iohannes Duns Scotus, Aristotle's works on Logic and natural science, amongst others, are present in BA1.634, a volume donated by Abbot Thomas Poucyn (d. 1343). He is also recorded as owning many of the texts for which he possessed tables. This would suggest that these tables had a function for their owner, being compiled specifically to be used as an index, or that the texts were gathered as a result of the tables. The former seems more likely, but both suggest that these volumes were used and that their interconnected nature provided a major element of their usefulness. This could be particularly useful for the study for and creation of new *Sentence* commentaries.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, such a collection of texts provides the Abbot

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<sup>31</sup> BA1.451.5 and 451.6 are cross references to Bede's commentaries on the Prayer of Habakkuk and Revelation respectively.

<sup>32</sup> For *Sentences* and university study see p. 32.

with an academic reading list. The Abbot's book donations and index tables are, essentially, a researcher's key texts coupled with his personalised reading aid. However, the significance for the monastic house as a whole is limited by the relatively inconspicuous, unremarkable, positioning of these two volumes. Nevertheless, that one Abbot used and donated such a volume is significant in itself for a different approach to popular texts.

### ***The Significance of Book Location Within the Monastery***

The question of denoting use becomes less problematic when a book is specifically placed outside the library room. The uncertainty then becomes the reason for a particular volume's location, as this is either closely linked with its contents or suggests frequent use of the text. For instance, as might be expected, several of the recorded Bibles are listed as being in the vestry or the cloister - the most appropriate place for the most important and most used texts considering the importance of the cloister as a daily place for study.<sup>33</sup> A copy of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, BA1.45, had for a time been kept in the cloister, before returning to the library room. BA1.790, a book of devotions, was kept at the Great (High) Altar, and another, BA1.792, was specifically placed at the chapel of St. Mary in the central nave. Yet again, the positioning is appropriate for books of prayer, devotions and meditations.

The catalogue also indicates the existence of a "reference collection" within the cloister. The locations register lists 16 books, 11 of which are definite entries, which were kept there [see Appendix A:ii]. These include a glossed Psalter, possibly by Peter Lombard, which had erroneously found its way back into the library despite its intended location in the Cloister, as

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<sup>33</sup> There was an expectation of daily study written into the Benedictine Rule. See p. 18.

well as a concordance. Most of these volumes are a selection of *Postilla* by Nicholas of Lyre, the fourteenth century Franciscan. As general excursions into their biblical counterparts, these were appropriate for a reference collection, especially one kept in such a communal and easily accessible area as the cloister. The *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor is also present, demonstrating a community's collection either of often accessed texts or ones that they were encouraged to access on a regular basis.

Accessibility is also relevant for a different purpose. BA1.REG3-4 was a two volume Bible, which Barker-Benfield argues was kept in the cloister for use in the Refectory - the Main Catalogue entries reference these as "cum. R.". A Benedictine "list of books read in the Refectory" has survived from Bury St. Edmonds, recording a recital list predominantly focused on Gregory.<sup>34</sup> The Rule of St. Benedict was also of obvious importance for a Benedictine house. The tradition of reading the Rule to the monks on a cyclical basis resulted in its recitation three times a year.<sup>35</sup> Meal times were an appropriate time for this, as encouraged by Chapter 38 of the Rule.<sup>36</sup> This exposure to the text is of obvious importance as well as the location of the volume. There is presumed to be a missing *Monastica* section of the St. Augustine's Catalogue, and it is within this section that collections of the rule would have been found.<sup>37</sup> However, the catalogue still records two copies of the Rule: BA1.469d and BA1.1550f. Both were positioned by *Flores* of St. Bernard and St. Augustine, the former donated by Nicholas of Battle (a thirteenth century St. Augustine's monk), the latter placed among a *collectio* bound with texts donated in the thirteenth century. As such neither offers an

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<sup>34</sup> The 'list of books read in the Refectory' is now catalogued at B14 in eds. R. Sharpe et al, *English Benedictine Libraries. The Shorter Catalogues*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4 (London, 1996).

<sup>35</sup> See p. 18, McCann, *The Rule of St. Benedict*, p. xxiv.

<sup>36</sup> *The Rule of St. Benedict*, p. 93

<sup>37</sup> *St. Augustine's*, p. 315.

appropriate copy for regular use by the community. There are Index entries which suggest three additional copies of the Rule not present in the contemporary catalogue. It is these texts which were likely to have been used for regular readings of the rule.<sup>38</sup>

The symbolic importance of the book collection at St. Augustine's has previously been discussed.<sup>39</sup> Thomas Elmham records some of the abbey's earliest books being kept at the altar and a martyrology book was also to be found in the vestry.<sup>40</sup> It is unlikely these were used extensively, but rather served a symbolic, commemorative, purpose.<sup>41</sup> The Locations Register records the two volume Bible of Saint Gregory<sup>42</sup> in the vestry, and five others in the cloister. However, borrowing records provide the most information about Bible location. From BA1.1-44 twenty-three are listed as borrowed. The library stops being the repository and becomes the supplier of the monks' most important text-book.

### ***The Importance of Donors and Borrowers***

The presence of owners and donors throughout the catalogue is of importance, and necessarily intrudes in every element of the book collections discussed in this chapter. The patronage of both abbots and monks was important for the growth of the collection at St. Alban's,<sup>43</sup> and the same is true for St. Augustine's. Many of those who donated books were abbots, although the ambiguous "Abbot Thomas" donor records complicate specific identification of each abbot.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> BA.M1842x was donated by Abbot Thomas Findon, providing a thirteenth century copy of the rule. BA.M1844a is associated with IDX.1208. BA.M1845a is a further copy of the rule.

<sup>39</sup> See pp. 19 - 22.

<sup>40</sup> These are a Psalter, two Passionals, and a gloss of the epistles: BA5.5-9. *St. Augustine's*, pp. 1650 - 1652.

<sup>41</sup> Emms, 'St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury', p. 44.

<sup>42</sup> BA1.1-2.

<sup>43</sup> J.G. Clark discusses the impact of the abbots' and regulars' donations in Clark, *St. Albans*, pp. 90 - 97.

<sup>44</sup> See p. 34.

The previously mentioned Abbot Nicholas Thorne is notable for his connection to sixteen volumes, including his “sermons of the cloister”. This sermon theme is continued throughout the rest of his donations [See Appendix A:iii]. BA1.674 was a miscellaneous sermon collection, BA1.698 Willelmus Peraldus’ *Sermones de sanctis* and BA1.707 another sermon text, now unidentifiable. Useful sermon aids, such as several *distinctiones*, a concordance set and William Brito’s *Expositiones uocabulorum Bibliae* were also donated by the Abbot.<sup>45</sup> The donation of BA1.1708, which includes a table on canon law and on a gloss of Gregory IX’s *Decretales*, again highlights the use of tables to access volumes for study.

It is also possible to glean that four of Abbot Nicholas Thorne’s volumes were borrowed after their donation. This solidifies their use within the community. John Dygon (who would become Abbot 1497-1510) borrowed Alexander of Hales’ commentary on Lombard’s *Sentences*,<sup>46</sup> which fits with his other Lombard-centric borrowings: a copy of Humbertus de Prulliac’s *Conclusiones in libros Sententiarum* and a Miscellaneous *Questiones* on the *Sentences*.<sup>47</sup> This could represent the beginnings of study for attending university. Peter of Tarentaise’s commentary on the *Sentences* and the unidentified sermon text were borrowed by a man intrinsic to the development of the collection, Clement Canterbury,<sup>48</sup> and Thorne’s Bible was borrowed by an unidentified “Abbot”.<sup>49</sup> As such these volumes were borrowed by individuals whose involvement with the house would have shaped those who came after them, and these donations would have been a factor in this.

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<sup>45</sup> These are BA1.741, 745 and 1348 respectively.

<sup>46</sup> BA1.554.

<sup>47</sup> These are BA1.588 and 609 respectively.

<sup>48</sup> See p. 46.

<sup>49</sup> Thorne’s Bible was recorded at BA1.7.

Such links made possible by the available texts within the collection can be seen through the interests of Robert Winchelsea (ord. acolyte 1468), who seems to have had a particular fascination with texts on Vice and Virtue, and other similar themes.<sup>50</sup> He borrowed six books, and again the donors attached to several of these demonstrate the continued use of certain texts [see Appendix A:iv]. Most notable is the *Philobiblon* of Richard of Bury, the “greatest bibliophile of medieval Europe.”<sup>51</sup> Richard of Bury also has a connection with Leicester Abbey, as Leicester’s is the only catalogue that witnesses his sermons.<sup>52</sup> It is apt that a man so concerned with the library collections he encountered, and a borrower himself,<sup>53</sup> should find himself borrowed at St. Augustine’s. That the original donor, William Welde, was a junior monk is of note, especially when he was elected abbot in 1387. William Thorne records that he was sent to Rome to acquire the papal confirmation.<sup>54</sup> The inclusion of works on astronomy and logic in BA1.987 portray an image of Robert Winchelsea as a man keen to learn from a varied selection of texts. However, his borrowing of BA1.987 could have been motivated by its inclusion of a commentary on Boethius’s *Philosophiae Consolatio*, a text also borrowed in a stand-alone volume. More could be gained if the dates for such borrowings were known too.

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<sup>50</sup> He borrowed: BA1.477 (of which b is Ps. Leo the Great, *De conflictu uitiorum et virtutum*), BA1.819 “de viciis et virtutibus Odonis Abbatis”.

<sup>51</sup> N. Denholm-Young, ‘Richard de Bury (1287-1345)’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Series, 20 (1937), p. 135.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, p. 156.

<sup>53</sup> C.R. Cheney, ‘Richard de Bury, Borrower of Books’, *Speculum*, 48 (1973), p. 326.

<sup>54</sup> W. Page, ‘Houses of Benedictine monks: The Abbey of St Augustine, Canterbury’, W. Page ed. *A History of the County of Kent: Volume 2* (1926), pp. 126 - 133.



Several university attendees are also represented in the donors list. The ties between university and monastic houses was an obvious connection for the transfer of books into the book collections. Henry de Belham (fl.1300) donated nineteen volumes to St. Augustine's collection, Dr John Mankael (d. c.1329-31) donated forty volumes and William de Clara (b. 1242-3) thirteen volumes. Through these a wide range of university worthy books can be seen [see Appendix A:v]. Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and various works on the text are again prominent, and of particular note is John Mankael's commentaries by Robert Cowson and Iohannes Duns Scotus.<sup>55</sup> These two texts are matched exactly by donations of Abbot Thomas Poucyn (Abbot 1334-43), the entries occupying the next record number in the catalogue.<sup>56</sup> This suggests an attempt to keep together not just these similar volumes, but their donors too. Emden emphasises these two monks' Oxford University studies, with Poucyn being the first Abbot of St. Augustine's to incept as a Doctor of Theology, and both owning copies of recent authors they no doubt encountered at University.<sup>57</sup>

These donations also include many Aristotelian texts. Henry de Belham had volumes of the *corpus uetustius*, the *Logica uetus* and *Logica noua* sets, the *Metaphysica* and *Ethica*. John Mankael also held a volume of Aristotle's *Corpus recentius*, a set of twenty-eight of his works, as well as the *Logica noua* and a volume of *Questiones* on Aristotle's logic texts.<sup>58</sup> This implies that Henry de Belham and John Mankael both held several copies of the same texts within these collections, with the *Corpus recentius* representing a thirteenth century

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<sup>55</sup> BA1.596 and 600 respectively.

<sup>56</sup> BA1.567 and 601.

<sup>57</sup> Poucyn a doctor of Theology by 1334, *BROU*, p. 1508. Emden, *Donors*, pp. 3, 12.

<sup>58</sup> See Appendix A:v.

compilation of Aristotle texts.<sup>59</sup> These additions demonstrate a sizeable filtration of university worthy texts into the collections at St Augustine's. John Mankael is also known to have taught at Oxford University and, as Poucyn's contemporary, was the first monk at St. Augustine's to incept as a Doctor of Theology.<sup>60</sup> It is apt that several of his volumes were sermon collections. William de Clara studied at Paris University before becoming a monk at St. Augustine's - a different university experience. Emden also suggested that Abbot Nicholas Thorne's collection was "indicative perhaps of a period of study in Paris".<sup>61</sup> Of particular interest is William de Clara's collection of Boethius and Grosseteste texts, which accounts for a significant number of his donations. These were evidently texts of importance for his study, with commentaries on Boethius' texts recorded in separate volumes. With the extant manuscripts given by William originating in Paris it is likely that this was where the volumes were originally collated.<sup>62</sup> Whilst it follows that the book collections within a monastic community are heavily influenced by their donations, St. Augustine's large collection of university texts highlights its importance in higher learning as well as regular reading. Knowles characterised twelfth century monastic learning as a boy entering a monastery for grammar and calligraphy training, coupled with many years memorising psalters, lessons and the chant. It was the talented who then either progressed to literary studies or manuscript illumination.<sup>63</sup> As monastic learning progressed so did expectations on the new entrants, with fourteenth century applicants being asked for greater prior knowledge and schooling.<sup>64</sup> Yet

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<sup>59</sup> For the *corpus uetustius*' inclusion of the *Logica uetus* and *logica noua*, as well as the progression from these collections to the *Corpus recentius*, see B.G. Dod, 'Aristoteles latinus', in N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny, J. Pinborg (eds.), *The Cambridge history of later medieval philosophy : from the rediscovery of Aristotle to the disintegration of scholasticism 1100-1600* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 49 - 53.

<sup>60</sup> John Mankael Doctor of Theology by 1330, *BROU*, p. 1214. *St. Augustine's*, p. 1844.

<sup>61</sup> Emden, *Donors*, p. 3.

<sup>62</sup> *St. Augustine's*, p. 1880.

<sup>63</sup> Knowles, 'Some Developments in English Monastic Life, 1216 - 1336', in *TRHS* 4th ser. 26 (1944), p. 41.

<sup>64</sup> Greatrex provides several examples of thirteenth and fourteenth century entrance requirements in Greatrex, *The English Benedictine Cathedral Priories*, pp. 50 - 54.

even with higher intellectual expectations and demands the majority of monks would study in the cloister as opposed to attending university.<sup>65</sup> St Augustine's therefore represents a community far overreaching in this progression, with monks regularly extending their studies to university and bringing back developed reading habits in the arts.

The library of St. Augustine's also provides a unique opportunity to understand the layers of book use. Barker-Benfield records twelve entries in BA4, an unknown later fourteenth century monk's borrowing list on the final folio of a surviving glossed copy of St. Paul's Epistles.<sup>66</sup> This surviving list is fascinating as several owners or donors of the volumes are recorded, such as BA4.6-7 given by Adam de Clare and BA4.9 given by Michael de Northgate. It is possible that Michael de Northgate was still alive at the time this borrowing record was made, which could suggest a patronage of the book. Michael de Northgate was likely a secular clerk before entering St. Augustine's and his previous skills appear to have entered the abbey with him.<sup>67</sup>

The contents of these volumes are crucial too. BA4.1 is a copy of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, emphasising the text's use and importance. It is, however, the three liturgical books with donors' names attached that are most interesting.<sup>68</sup> The fact that these texts had previous owners and proof of further use after being donated suggests a liturgical book collection within St. Augustine's similar to that at Leicester Abbey.<sup>69</sup> Such volumes therefore

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<sup>65</sup> Greatrex, *The English Benedictine Cathedral Priories*, p. 90.

<sup>66</sup> This is now CUL MS Ff.4.4.40. Barker-Benfield has previously written on this, *St. Augustine's*, pp. 1640 - 1.

<sup>67</sup> Emden, *Donors*, p. 14.

<sup>68</sup> BA4.6 is an Ordinal for the performance of Mass, BA4.7 is a Psalter for liturgical use, BA4.9 is a *Diurnale*.

<sup>69</sup> For the discussion on the borrowing records of liturgical books at Leicester Abbey see p. 74.

found repeated use within a community. It also demonstrates that those who donated were remembered by the next generation of monks as they used volumes ascribed to their predecessors, something particularly poignant for texts used to celebrate Mass. This gives books a memorial as well as a liturgical function.

### ***The Surviving Manuscripts and their Contents***

The most pressing issue in studying medieval library catalogues is the lack of surviving comparative evidence. The catalogue itself may offer a snapshot in time, but its accuracy and level of detail is called into question by those manuscripts that now survive. Clark commented on the annotations made by monks to the books that they read, stating that no monk seemed to be able to read without picking up the pen as well.<sup>70</sup> This insight into the workings of a book collection is one of the most fruitful yet is also problematic in terms of overall representation. Clement Canterbury (fl. 1463-95) is the most persistent of ghostly presences within St. Augustine's Abbey library. The records list twenty-three books which he borrowed, and there are copious examples in extant manuscripts of his annotations and corrections to texts. His activity exemplifies the use of the library and how the library served as a repository to pass on knowledge to the next generation of monks. BA1.325 is a copy of Jerome's *Breviarium in Psalmos*.<sup>71</sup> Within it Clement Canterbury has left several markings in his distinct style - by using a pointing hand to highlight several different passages for the future reader. This is particularly evident on fol.174r, with three differently drawn hands, but all drawn in the same style. [see Appendix B:i] Clement Canterbury is also present in many books where he has

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<sup>70</sup> Clark, *St. Albans*, p. 160.

<sup>71</sup> Now Oxford, Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 300.

drawn up a contents page, and he is most probably the library catalogue's Hand C.<sup>72</sup> He was a man thoroughly involved with the collections at St. Augustine's. Similar markings reveal the involvement of other individuals. As well as markings from Clement Canterbury, BA1.419 has others from an unknown annotator.<sup>73</sup> Such markings denote a continued use of the volume.

Annotations are also prevalent in other extant manuscripts, such as BA1.65,<sup>74</sup> a copy of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, which has notes in several different hands present around fol.1r, as does BA1.197<sup>75</sup> on fol.5. A selection of Bede's commentaries, BA1.441, is particularly interesting for its inclusion of a monogram next to a rubric marking the beginning of the exposition of Job<sup>76</sup> [See Appendix B:ii]. Much like the pointing fingers, this marks what the annotator viewed as an important part of the manuscript. The extant manuscript of BA1.993,<sup>77</sup> a Glossed copy of Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*, can also provide an insight into the study of such books. The gloss begins neatly occupying the borders of the pages, but on several folios is forced around the initial text. Additionally, the use of symbols to guide the reader from Boethius' text to the surrounding commentary acts with a similar function to the symbols surrounding the texts above [see Appendix B:iii]. Such additions would therefore enable the user to study the text thoroughly; the obvious intention of a gloss. The inclusion of an illumination of a female philosophy holding a book in her right hand and either a flower or sceptre in her left is an embodiment of this learning.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> *St. Augustine's*, p. 1839.

<sup>73</sup> Now CCCC MS 314. St.A, p. 587.

<sup>74</sup> Now BL Harley 4132.

<sup>75</sup> Now BL Harley 1524.

<sup>76</sup> Now Bodl. MS e Mus. 66.

<sup>77</sup> Now TCC O.3.7.

<sup>78</sup> Now TCC O.3.7, fol.1 see Appendix B:iv

The involvement of individuals is particularly evident in relation to donations and compilation. John of London (fl.1290-c.1325) made the second largest donation to the library, with up to eighty-five books of which thirteen are still extant.<sup>79</sup> It has been suggested that he was a man learned in astronomy, most probably from time spent in Paris, who in later life left the secular world to become a monk at St. Augustine's.<sup>80</sup> This would help to explain his large donation to the library. It is possible that he entered several of his donations into the library catalogue himself.<sup>81</sup> He most probably assembled several of these volumes personally, including the part-extant BA1.900.<sup>82</sup> Robinson suggests that the compilation of booklets was common during the middle ages.<sup>83</sup> Hanna discusses this further, identifying the creation of a booklet from two differing perspectives, that of the vendor/owner of books and that of the producer of books.<sup>84</sup> This volume is more akin to the former.

BA1.900 is a collation of seven booklets bound together and recorded in the history section.<sup>85</sup> Booklets I-II, IV and VI appear to be written in the hand of John of London, with booklet III also written partly by him. Only booklet VII was written earlier. It is therefore possible to understand more clearly how John of London constructed his own personal volume. [See Appendix A:vi] Indeed, the contents represent a broad collection. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* in Booklet II, and the *Propheta Merlini* in Booklet III were

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<sup>79</sup> *St. Augustine's*, p. 1841.

<sup>80</sup> Emden, *Donors*, p. 12. W. R. Knorr, 'London, John of (fl. c.1260)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

<sup>81</sup> Barker-Benfield notes the possibility of his hand specifically at BA1.879.5-7.

<sup>82</sup> The surviving folios were later bound with others, and is now Bodl. MS. Digby 77 Fol.83-96.

<sup>83</sup> Robinson also provides several other similar examples of composition. P.R. Robinson, 'The 'Booklet': A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts', *Codicologica*, 3 (1980), p. 54.

<sup>84</sup> R. Hanna III, *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and their Texts* (Stanford, 1996), pp. 22-23.

<sup>85</sup> The catalogue's history section runs BA1.880-938.2.

therefore not previously united before the volume's creation. Yet this also denotes a division. The *Historia Regum Britanniae* is a text alone in Booklet II, but Booklet III collects three prophetic texts and their commentaries. In the same vein the sequence of Booklet IV and V has an overtly monastic theme. Booklet IV is a copy of Willelmus Peraldus's *De professione monachorum*. Booklet V contains, amongst others, the *De conflictu uitiorum et uirtutum flores Augustini* of Ambrosius Autpertus and Thomas de Frakaham's *Speculum spritualis amicitiae*. Clearly the thought process was to produce a collection of texts whose utility was based on the related nature of its running order. A lack of overall planning for such a codex is, according to Hanna, part of the basic definition of the booklet.<sup>86</sup> BA1.900 therefore represents years of accumulation and copying before the construction of the final codex.

There are also several points within the extant manuscript where blank folios were originally left. Instead of wasting this space, a hand attributed to John of London copied out model letters. He is also believed to be the scribe for part of Booklet III, as well as providing a cross-reference to a copy of the Laws of Hywel Dda - a law book presumed to have been included in the now lost Law section of the library catalogue. Providing a reference to a book within his own house's library is important for its intertextuality. There would be little point in referencing and annotating if subsequent use was not intended. This is supported by the likelihood of it being John's hand which also added BA1.900 and the catalogue cross-references for Booklet III at BA1.879.5-7. Interestingly, John of London owned another copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, listed slightly earlier at BA1.897 (but not catalogued by him). It stands to reason that BA1.900 was donated by John before he died, and can be seen as

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<sup>86</sup> Hanna, *Pursuing History*, p. 31.

an overt attempt by an important benefactor to supply the library with works which he deemed important. Knorr suggested that John of London's annotations were lacking in intellectual quality, yet if "entry into the abbey marked not the beginning but the end of scientific pursuits" then at least it did not mark the end of all intellectual endeavours.<sup>87</sup>

BA1.900 is an example of how just part of an extant manuscript can show the web of users within a monastery. John of London was thoroughly involved with the process of creating the book. The source of these texts is also relevant. Due to his connections with Paris, as well as the extensive collections at St. Augustine's, it would not be difficult for such a volume to be compiled, although his motives are intriguing if many of the texts were available to him already [See Appendix A:vi]. Moreover, the prolonged use of this volume is highlighted by the later markings of Clement Canterbury. He added folio numbers, as well as many of his characteristic pointing fingers and scowling faces, particularly in Booklet VI. The records also show Robert Winchelsea as a borrower of BA1.897, so a sustained use is implied for several of John's volumes. In this way these volumes became working repositories for the texts they contain, and this passing on of seemingly important texts would provide the motive for their creation. If there were no extant manuscripts, and only the Library Catalogue record had remained, much of this information would be untraceable.

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<sup>87</sup> W.R. Knorr, 'Two Medieval Monks and their Astronomy Books: MSS. Bodley 464 and Rawlinson c.117', *The Bodleian Library Record*, 14 (1993), p. 35.



**Appendices for St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury**

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## Appendix A: Textual Information Pertaining to St. Augustine's

### Appendix A:i. BA1.456 and it's Cross-references

The cross references to this volume make these texts thoroughly searchable throughout the catalogue. see p. 36.

BA1.456	Text Title	Cross-reference
<b>a</b>	Anselm of Canterbury, <i>Monologion</i>	
<b>b</b>	Anselm of Canterbury, <i>Proslogion</i>	BA1.459.38 / Possibly BA1.IDX1120
<b>c</b>	<i>Responsio Anselmi contra Gaunilonem</i>	BA1.459.43
<b>d</b>	Anselm of Canterbury, <i>Epistolae</i>	BA1.459.46
<b>e</b>	Anselm of Canterbury, <i>De incarnatione Verbi</i>	BA1.459.1 / Possibly BA1.IDX125
<b>f</b>	Anselm of Canterbury, <i>Cur Deus homo</i>	BA1.459.15
<b>g</b>	Anselm of Canterbury, <i>De Conceptu virginali et de originali peccato</i>	BA1.459.22
<b>h</b>	Anselm of Canterbury, <i>De processione Spiritus Sancti</i>	BA1.459.26
<b>i</b>	Anselm of Canterbury, <i>De sacrificio azymi et fermentati</i>	BA1.459.3
<b>j</b>	Anselm of Canterbury, <i>Epistola ad Waleramnum de sacramentorum diuersitate</i>	BA1.459.34
<b>k</b>	<i>Anselmus de sacramento altaris</i>	BA1.459.48
<b>l</b>	Anselm of Canterbury, <i>De ueritate</i>	BA1.455.1
<b>m</b>	Anselm of Canterbury, <i>De libertate arbitrii</i>	BA1.459.2
<b>n</b>	Anselm of Canterbury, <i>De concordia praescientiae et praedestinationis et gratiae dei cum libero arbitrio</i>	BA1.459.5
<b>o</b>	Anselm of Canterbury, <i>De casu diaboli</i>	BA1.459.6
<b>p</b>	<i>Similitudines Anselmi</i>	BA1.458.4
<b>q</b>	Anselm of Canterbury, <i>Orationes siue meditationes</i>	BA1.459.53
<b>r</b>	Anselm of Canterbury, <i>Meditatio 3 de redemptione humana</i>	BA1.459.59
<b>s</b>	ps. Anselm of Canterbury, <i>Liber Anselmi de antichristo</i>	BA1.459.62
<b>t</b>	ps. Anselm of Canterbury, <i>De spiritu et anima</i>	BA1.374.5 †
† This text was correctly attributed to Augustine at BA1.374.5		

**Appendix A:ii. The Cloister “Reference Collection”**

*The collation of books in the Cloister provided a reference collection of those books presumably used most frequently by the community. see p. 38.*

	Contents
<b>BA1.REG3</b>	Two volume Bible, <i>possibly for use in the Refectory, especially as the records are marked by Hand A with “cum. R.”.</i>
<b>BA1.REG4</b>	
<b>BA1.REG5</b>	Two volume Bible Set
<b>BA1.REG6</b>	
<b>BA1.REG8</b>	Bible
<b>BA1.REG71</b>	A Glossed Psalter, poss. Peter Lombard, <i>recorded as “pertinet claustris sed est in libraria”.</i> A Cloister book that had found its way into the library.
<b>BA1.REG249</b>	Nicholas of Lyre Postille on Pentateuch and other unidentifiable texts.
<b>BA1.REG250</b>	Nicholas of Lyre Psalter Postille, with Matthew and John.
<b>BA1.REG251</b>	Nicholas of Lyre Postille on the Pentateuch, <i>Probable mis-entry.</i>
<b>BA1.REG252</b>	Thomas Aquinas Postille on John, <i>Probable mis-entry.</i>
<b>BA1.REG265</b>	Nicholas of Lyre Postille
<b>BA1.REG266</b>	Nicholas of Lyre Postille
<b>BA1.REG280</b>	Biblical Concordance
<b>BA1.REG862.1</b>	John Waleys, <i>Breuiiloquium</i>
<b>BA1.REG867</b>	Two volume set Vincent of Beauvais, <i>Speculum naturale</i>
<b>BA1.REG868</b>	

**Appendix A:iii. Donations of Abbot Nicholas Thorne**

The donations by Abbot Nicholas Thorne help to demonstrate the popularity of certain texts, as well as demonstrating further use of these with several borrowing records attached. see p. 41.

	Volume Contents	Borrowed
<b>BA1.7</b>	Bible	“Abbot”
<b>BA1.281</b>	A Concordance set of four, missing the Last Volume.	
<b>BA1.282</b>		
<b>BA1.283</b>		
<b>BA1.549</b>	Peter of Tarentaise, Commentary of Peter Lombard’s <i>Sentences I</i> .	
<b>BA1.554</b>	Alexander of Hales, Commentary on Peter Lombard’s <i>Sentences</i> .	John Dygon (future Abbot 1497-1510)
<b>BA1.556</b>	Peter of Tarentaise, Commentary of Peter Lombard’s <i>Sentences IV</i> .	Clement Canterbury
<b>BA1.674</b>	Misc Sermon Volume, possibly written by Abbot Nicholas Thorne. Recorded as “Sermons of the Cloister”.	
<b>BA1.698</b>	Willelmus Peraldus, <i>Sermones de sanctis</i>	
<b>BA1.707</b>	Unidentifiable sermon text	Clement Canterbury
<b>BA1.741</b>	One of Nicholas de Byard’s compiled sets of <i>Distinctiones</i> , most likely <i>Summa de abstinentia</i> .	
<b>BA1.745</b>	Frater Mauritius’, <i>Distinctiones</i>	
<b>BA1.970</b>	Iacobus de Voragine, <i>Legenda aurea</i>	
<b>BA1.1342</b>	Hugutio of Pisa, <i>Liber deriuationum</i>	
<b>BA1.1348</b>	William Brito, <i>Expositiones uocabulorum Bibliae</i>	
<b>BA1.1708</b>	<b>a</b> Canon law Table: <i>Tabula decretorum et decretalium</i>	
	<b>b</b> Bonaventure, <i>Collationes de donis spiritus sancti</i>	
	<b>c</b> A Table on a gloss of Gregory IX, <i>Decretales</i>	

**Appendix A:iv. Borrowing record of Robert Winchelsea**

Borrowing records can help to construct a picture of use in the library. Complementary to Appendix A:iii, the recording of several donors for books that Robert Winchelsea borrowed provides a sustained evidence of use. see p. 42.

	Volume Contents	Donor
<b>BA1.11</b>	Bible	
<b>BA1.477</b>	<b>a</b> poss. Ps. Hugh of St. Victor, <i>De duodecim abusioibus</i>	Thomas of Thanet (subdeacon 1305)
	<b>b</b> Ps. Leo the Great (Ambrosius Autpertus), <i>De conflictu uitiorum et virtutum</i>	
	<b>c</b> Isidore of Seville, <i>Synonyma</i>	
	<b>d</b> “Tractus de religiosis”	
	<b>e</b> A Treatise of Psalm 84 (85)	
	<b>f</b> Innocent III, <i>De miseria humanae conditionis</i>	
	<b>g</b> Albertanus of Brescia, <i>De doctrina dicendi et tacendi</i>	
	<b>h</b> Albertanus of Brescia, <i>De consolatione et consilio</i>	
<b>BA1.819</b>	<b>a</b> Odo of Cluny, Collationes (‘de vicijs et virtutibus Odonis Abbatis’)	
	<b>b</b> “vite et passiones diuersorum sanctorum”	
<b>BA1.964</b>	<b>a</b> Alanus de Insulis, <i>De planctu naturae</i>	William Welde (Junior Monk in 1375)
	<b>b</b> Anon, ‘Forma dictandi’	
	<b>c</b> Richard of Bury, <i>Philobiblon</i>	
	<b>d</b> Anon., ‘Opusculum breue et utile’	
<b>BA1.987</b>	<b>a</b> Boethius, <i>Philosophiae consolatio</i>	John of London (c.1290-c.1330), compiled this volume himself from booklets.
	<b>b</b> Commentary on <b>a</b>	
	<b>c</b> Euclid, <i>Elementa</i>	
	<b>d</b> Jordanus de Nemore, <i>Elementa super demonstrationem ponderum</i>	
	<b>e</b> Euclid(?), <i>Catoptrica</i> (or <i>De speculis</i> )	
	<b>f</b> John of Tynemouth, <i>De curuis superficiebus Archimedis</i>	
	<b>g</b> Astronomy works	
	<b>h</b> Logic works	
<b>BA1.993 or 994</b>	Boethius, <i>Philosophiae consolatio</i>	

**Appendix A:v. The Donation Records of Three University Graduates**

The ties between monastic houses and university was important for the acquisition of books within the regulars libraries. The donations of university students can therefore witness this stage of acquisition. see p. 43.

<b>The Donations of Dr John Mankael (Select texts from his 40 Donations)</b>	
<b>BA1.247</b>	<b>a</b> Nicholas de Gorran, commentary on Revelation
	<b>b</b> Possibly Nicholas Trevet, <i>Expositio historiarum que tanguntur ab Augustino in libro de civitate Dei</i>
<b>BA1.564</b>	Thomas Aquinas, <i>Scriptum super lobros Sententiarum III</i>
<b>BA1.565</b>	Thomas Aquinas, <i>Scriptum super lobros Sententiarum IV</i>
<b>BA1.574</b>	<b>b</b> is a table on BA1.595
<b>BA1.595</b>	Henry of Ghent, <i>Quodlibeta</i>
<b>BA1.596</b>	Robert Cowton, Commentary of Lombards <i>Sentences</i>
<b>BA1.600</b>	<b>a</b> Iohannes Duns Scotus, on <i>Sentences IV</i>
	<b>b</b> Iohannes Duns Scotus, <i>Quodlibet</i>
	Also on <i>Sentences</i> : <b>BA1. 604, BA1. 605, BA1. 622.</b>
<b>BA1.670</b>	<b>a</b> John Cassian, <i>Collationes</i>
	<b>b</b> Sermons
	Also sermons: <b>BA1.693, BA1.700, BA1.705, BA1.709, BA1.722.</b>
<b>BA1.1026</b>	Very large collection of works concerned with Aristotle, <i>Naturalia</i> , runs a-bb. Includes all 28 titles of the full <i>Corpus recentius</i> of Aristotle's works.
<b>BA1.1304</b>	Aristotle's <i>Logica noua</i> set
<b>BA1.1311</b>	<i>Questiones</i> on Aristotle Logic texts

<b>The Donations of William de Clara (Select texts from his 13 (14) donations)</b>	
<b>BA1.820</b>	ps. Leo the Great (Ambrosius Autpertus), <i>De conflictu uitiorum et uirtutum</i>
<b>BA1.998</b>	Boethius, <i>Philosophiae consolatio</i>
<b>BA1.1007</b>	<b>a</b> Boethius, <i>Geometrica I</i>
	<b>b</b> Boethius, <i>De institutione arithmetica</i>
<b>BA1.1009</b>	Large volume focusing on Cicero and Euclid
<b>BA1.1153</b>	<b>a</b> Robert Grosseteste, <i>De sphaera</i>
	<b>b</b> Probably Robert Grosseteste, <i>Compotus correctorius</i>
	<b>c</b> Probably Robert Grosseteste, <i>Kalendarium</i>
	<b>d</b> Astronimical Tables
	<b>e</b> Probably epitomes of Boethius, <i>Des institutione arithmetica</i> and <i>De institutine musica</i>
	<b>f</b> Tract on <i>De Metris Boethii</i>

The Donations of Henry de Belham	
<b>BA1.72</b>	Glossed Psalter
<b>BA1.120</b>	Glossed book of Esther
<b>BA1.124</b>	Glossed book of Job
<b>BA1.180</b>	Glossed book of John
<b>BA1.216</b>	<b>a</b> Glossed Catholic Epistle
	<b>b</b> Revelation
	<b>c</b> Glossed Song of Songs
	<b>d</b> attrib. William of Conches, <i>Moralium dogma philosophorum</i>
	<b>e</b> John Chrysostom, <i>De Muliere Chananaea</i>
<b>BA1.508</b>	Peter Lombard, <i>Sentences</i> Part A
<b>BA1.509</b>	Peter Lombard, <i>Sentences</i> Part B
<b>BA1.534</b>	Peter Lombard, <i>Sentences</i> book IV only
<b>BA1.816</b>	<b>a</b> Peraldus, <i>De virtutibus</i>
	<b>b</b> Perhaps Prudentius, <i>Dittochaen</i>
	<b>c</b> ‘Canones evangeliorum’
	<b>d</b> Perhaps Peraldus, <i>De vitiis</i>
	<b>e</b> ‘Quedam distincio et diuisio compendiosa Scientiarum’
	<b>f</b> Ps. Augustine, <i>De Spiritu et anima</i>
<b>BA1.863</b>	Bartholomaeus Anglicus, <i>De proprietatibus rerum</i> , ‘cum Tabula’
<b>BA1.1014</b>	<b>a</b> Cicero, <i>Laelius de Amicitia</i>
	<b>b</b> Cicero, <i>Cato maior de senectute</i>
	<b>c</b> Cicero, <i>Paradoxa Stoicorum</i>
<b>BA1.1028</b>	The <i>Corpus uetustius</i> of Aristotle’s works, with 11 of the 12 works, but <i>Metaphysica</i> recorded separately.
<b>BA1.1056</b>	Aristotle, <i>Metaphysica</i>
<b>BA1.1292</b>	Arostople’s <i>Logica uetus</i> and <i>Logica noua</i> collections.
<b>BA1.1307</b>	<b>a-b</b> two texts from <i>Logica noua</i> collection
	<b>c</b> Aristotle, <i>Ethica</i>
<b>BA1.1327</b>	John Dumbleton, <i>Summa logicae et naturalis philosophiae</i>
	<b>a</b> Priscian, <i>De constructione</i>
	<b>b</b> Presumably Priscian, <i>De accentibus</i>
<b>BA1.1372</b>	<b>c</b> Donatus, <i>De barbarismo</i>
	<b>d</b> Donatus, presumably <i>ars minor</i>
<b>BA1.1583</b>	<i>Collectiones</i> of Henry de Belham Volume A:
	<b>a</b> Hugh of St-Cher, <i>Tractus super Missam siue Speculum ecclesiae</i>
	<b>b</b> Bonaventure, <i>Collationes de decem preceptis</i>
	<b>c</b> Idem, <i>Collationes de donis spiritus sancti</i>

The Donations of Henry de Belham	
	<b>d</b> Sermon text on Advent text of Romans
<b>BA1.1584</b>	<i>Collectiones</i> of Henry de Belham Volume B:
	<b>a</b> A text of Psalms
	<b>b</b> Sermons on the theme of the Virgin Mary
	<b>c</b> ps. Peter Comestor (Richard of st. Victor), <i>Liber exceptionum</i>
	<b>d</b> Probably and <i>exempla</i> collection



**Appendix A:vi. BA1.900 and John of London**

*John of London's compilation of BA1.900 provides an example of textual preservation and patronage within the monastic library. see p. 48.*

		<b>Cross-references in BA1</b>	<b>Select Other Copies in BA1</b>
<b>Bklt I</b>	Dare Phrygius, <i>De excidio Troiae historia</i>	BA1.897.2	BA1.379d
<b>Bklt II</b>	Geoffrey of Monmouth, <i>Historia Regum Britanniae</i>	BA1.897.3	BA1. 895a, BA1.897
<b>Bklt III</b>	<b>Collection of Prophecies:</b> <i>Prophetia aquile</i>	BA1.879.5	
	<i>Prophetia Merlini</i>	BA1.879.6	
	<i>Prophetia Sibille</i>	BA1.879.7	
<b>Bklt IV</b>	Willelmus Peraldus De Professione Monachorum		BA1M1846a BA1.1829b
<b>Bklt V</b>	Theological Collection: Isidore, <i>Synonyma</i>		BA1.436a
	Ps. Leo the Great = Ambrosius Autpertus, <i>De Conflictu uitiorum et uirtutum flores Augustini</i>	BA1.374.44	
	Walter Map Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum ne ducat uxorem		BA1.1127b
	Thomas De Frakaham (anon. to them) Speculum spiritalis amicitiae	IDX.1280	
	<i>[rest of blank fols were filled with "model letters fol. 178v - 182r in Johns hand. 182r and v blank but numbered in the hand of Clement Canterbury]</i>		
<b>Bklt VI</b>	Innocent III, <i>De Miseria humanae conditionis</i>		BA1.489a
	Thomas Capellanus OP, <i>De essentiis essentiarum</i>		
	<i>[two collationes in Johns hand]</i>		
<b>Bklt VII</b>	Seneca, <i>Naturales quastiones</i>		
	<i>[final spaces filled by John with model letters]</i>		

## **Appendix B: Images from Manuscripts once present in St. Augustines**

### ***Appendix B:i. Clement Canterbury: Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 300, fol.175r***

*Clement Canterbury's pointing fingers and scowling faces are a continuous presence in the surviving manuscripts from St. Augustine's. see p. 46.*

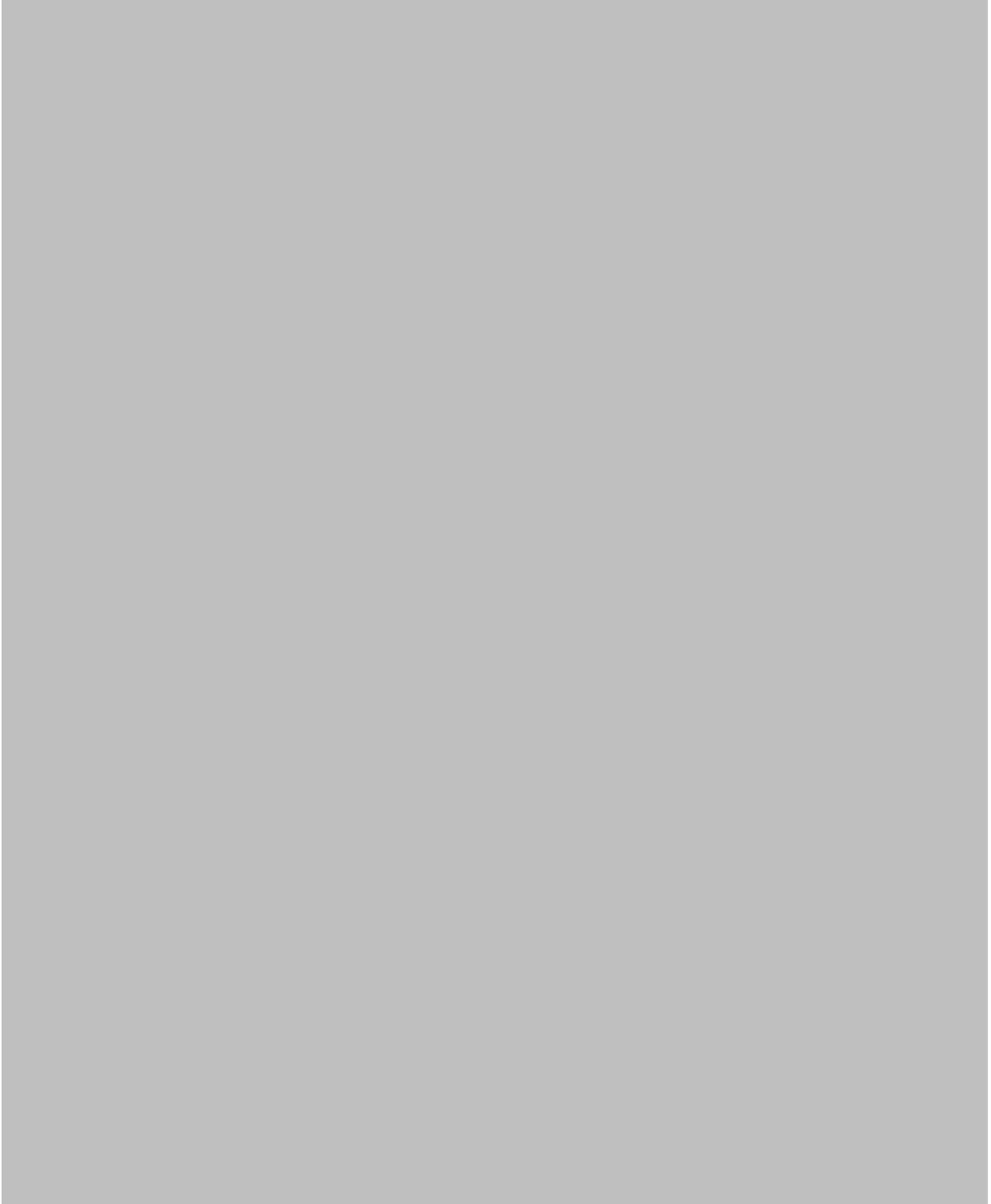


Image Copyright The Bodleian Library.

***Appendix B:ii. Bodl. MS e Mus. 66, fol.95r***

*The use of monograms to mark passages is also common within several manuscripts. see p. 47.*



***Appendix B:iii TCC O.3.7, fol.15 and fol.1***

*A Gloss is a perfect example of an intertextual volume. This Glossed copy of Boethius De consolacione philosophiae uses symbols to guide its reader (right, fol.15), as well as containing the symbolic female philosophy (left, fol.1). She appears to be holding a flower, symbolic for the growth of knowledge. see p.47.*



**Into The Libraries:**  
**III. The Library of The Abbey of St. Mary of the Meadow, Leicester**

Despite the differing institutional histories the libraries of St Augustine's and Leicester Abbey held remarkably similar collections of core texts. Whilst many of these might remain the same, Leicester's strong links with the university at Oxford through the surrounding communities gave ample opportunity for a variety of different and new ideas to permeate the library room. The extent to which any of these books were read is hard to determine, and unlike St. Augustine's is more difficult to demonstrate.

***The Catalogue as a Body of Work***

Despite the catalogue's considerable size (it contains 1958 volume records) Leicester's collection was neither as large nor as structurally organised as St. Augustine's. Indeed, many of these records are cross-references not distinguished from the original records. Groups of texts are often divided by a gap of 4 or 5 lines, with some evidence of records being added later. At the end of the section on Augustine cross-references at A20.245-9 see smaller gaps

between the previous and latter entries. This is an attempt to record the existence of texts by Augustine found within other volumes not exclusive to the writer or with other works as the primary texts. Numerous later sections in the library echo this, such as the *Testamenta prophetarum* from A20.914-923, all of which are recorded elsewhere. There are additions by several hands other than the original scribe, making a staged process more likely. Barker-Benfield suggests gaps were left within the St Augustine's catalogue for the possibility, or likelihood, of future entries;<sup>1</sup> and the evidence of both houses confirms this as intentional.

In comparison to St. Augustine's sectioned and more precise record, Leicester Abbey's catalogue is essentially a reference tool and audit all in one - the catalogue also records astronomical instruments with some of the equipment's donors listed, including the early sixteenth century Oxford student Thomas Halom, although presumably before his student career.<sup>2</sup> The books were evidently not the only tools of monastic study deemed necessary to be recorded for posterity. As well as Thomas Halom, the catalogue compiler William Charyte is also mentioned as the owner of several instruments, so their inclusion was possibly another way for William to demonstrate his involvement with the house.<sup>3</sup>

Much as at St. Augustine's, Leicester's catalogue also witnesses a key text that has not survived for study: A20.844g is an earlier library catalogue of Leicester Abbey. This would have made an interesting comparison to William Charyte's records. (For example, did it record the instruments as well?) It is an apt reminder that, whilst explorations into book

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<sup>1</sup> *St. Augustine's*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> The instruments are recorded between A20.1167 and 1168, *Augustinian Canons*, pp. 324 - 5.

<sup>3</sup> Many sections of the catalogue reflect William Charytes involvement. See pp. 73 and 85.

collections can reveal many things about their users and the communities they served, such a study will always lack sources which could help to bring greater clarity to the discussions. It also perhaps marks a difference between St. Augustines and Leicester Abbey in that this now lost library catalogue was part of a varied volume collecting several sermon texts and an unspecified Anselm meditation. The old catalogue was itself partially hidden within the new.

Leicester Abbey differs from St. Augustine's in the survival of the Civil Law section towards the end of the manuscript. Only running from A20.1251-74 it is overshadowed, unsurprisingly, by the body of Canon Law, A20.1275-1328, which also includes a far greater number of lengthy volumes. Yet it is still valuable in demonstrating the availability of several texts: Justinian's *Digestum vetus*, *Codex*, and several volumes including extracts from these. A large Civil Law collection would not be needed by the monks, but the inclusion of only two owner or donor names poses questions about how such volumes would have entered the library in the first instance. The fact that one volume was donated from outside the monastic walls suggests that in at least that instance the volume was not intentionally sought by the house.<sup>4</sup> However, valuable texts are also recorded later, such as four copies (apparently separate and stand-alone items) of the *Magna carta*.<sup>5</sup> The last is listed as being in *Paruo*, or small/miniature, and such a gap between the records denotes an increasingly disorganised structure in the catalogue. This was probably the result of the catalogue becoming a 'working copy' of the book collections.

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<sup>4</sup> A20.1262 was owned/donated by the unaccounted for John Hatherne. A20.1263 was owned/donated by Richard Barre. See p. 78.

<sup>5</sup> These are recorded at A20.1413-5 and 1423.

Many of these texts also pose a different problem: the location of books. Examples of the locations recorded will be discussed later, but it is relevant that the catalogue contained a separate book locations register alongside the book contents record. This divided system leaves many volumes without traceable locations. There could have been other shelves within the library, or a store of lesser used books - after all, duplicates of Justinian's texts populated the majority of the Civil Law section with only a few library locations being indicated. Without this knowledge it is more difficult to suggest the use of those books not specifically located by the catalogue.

### ***The Significance of Catalogue Order***

The importance of the *Historia Scholastica* was highlighted at St. Augustine's, whereas no significance is placed on this text at Leicester Abbey. Copies are recorded sporadically at A20.518c and A20.618a, a far cry from St. Augustine's veritable library within a library. One possibility is that the monks had their own copies of texts, and that records of these are now lost to us. Yet, much like the locations of many of the volumes, this only leads to conjecture. As a part of its commitment to the community it was common for Augustinian canons to provide sermons in the churches under the quasi-episcopal control of the house. Thompson documents churches gifted to the abbey<sup>6</sup> and Martin writes of Leicester Abbey that the house was "from the beginning overwhelmed with such churches, some fifty in thirteen counties, a number plainly beyond the capacity of a single convent however well formed".<sup>7</sup> Webber divides the majority of the collection at Leicester between books for higher studies and those

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<sup>6</sup> Thompson, *St. Mary of the Meadows*, pp. 5 - 7.

<sup>7</sup> Martin, 'Henry Knighton's Chronicle and Leicester Abbey', p. 119.



for preaching and pastoral activity.<sup>8</sup> Postles equated the purpose of the eleventh and twelfth century Augustinian order at Leicester with proselytising and preaching during the town's expansion.<sup>9</sup> This relationship with lay sermons is further evidenced by Leicester Abbey's most well known Abbot; Philip Repyngdon. Many of his sermons were focused on the art and importance of preaching, with much of the reference material for these sermons also present within Leicester Abbey's library.<sup>10</sup>

Therefore the abbey's holdings of sermon texts are of obvious importance to the house's work, but these are not given the prominence expected, such as at A20.780-859, where the majority of the sermon volumes appear to hold little significance in their ordering. However, what these records actually demonstrate is the spread of sermon texts throughout the catalogue, many of which are actually cross-references, or the same texts, within the earlier author-organised sections. This may be due to the acquisition of such texts from university students, where the use of sermon texts as well as the attendance at sermons was a part of the learning process, if not indeed the primary reason for university study.<sup>11</sup>

Buried within the collection are three copies of Richard Wetheringsett's *Summa Qui bene praesunt*.<sup>12</sup> This is of huge significance, opening a labyrinth of learning possibilities. Richard Wetheringsett (fl.c.1200-c.1230) was originally from the Leicester area and a student at

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<sup>8</sup> Webber, 'The Books of Leicester Abbey', p. 131.

<sup>9</sup> D. Postles, 'On the Outside Looking in: Leicester Abbey's Urban Property in Leicester', in Story, J, Brown, J, Buckly, R. (eds.), *Leicester Abbey* (Leicester, 2006), p. 193.

<sup>10</sup> S. Forde, 'Theological Sources cited by Two canons of Repton: Philip Repyngdon and John Eyton' in A. Hudson, M. Wilks (eds.), *From Ockham to Wyclif (Studies in Church History Subsidia 5)* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 423 - 6.

<sup>11</sup> The use of the Sentences for this is also particularly noted by Wenzel, *Latin Sermons Collections*, pp. 278, 297 - 9.

<sup>12</sup> A20.746a, 747a, 748a.

Lincoln under William de Montibus (d.1213).<sup>13</sup> Richard is also the earliest identifiable Chancellor at Cambridge University (c.1215-32). There has been dispute about the identification of Wetheringsett with Richard le Grant, but if this was the case then he also served as Archbishop of Canterbury from 1229-31.<sup>14</sup> Wetheringsett's *Summa* was specifically organised to aid preachers in how and what to preach,<sup>15</sup> and is placed as the first among other sermon texts within the three volumes. He therefore represents an important figure in both monastic and academic learning; both are intrinsically linked. Yet these volumes occur in the middle of the catalogue section recording *Summae*, rather than placed at the beginning, and as such are not given the status one might expect for a work that initially appears so relevant to this community.

The apparent anomalies within the catalogue also aid an understanding of the regulars. Recorded in the initial run of Psalters, A20.68-69 were Latin and French versions of the Psalms in parallel columns. The St. Augustine's catalogue records a few vernacular texts in its miscellaneous and later additions, but not with this type of prominence. Yet a commentary on the Rule of St. Augustine is to be found at A20.600 on the merit of the author of an attached commentary rather than the Rule itself. A commentary by the Dominican Friar Nicholas Trivet is intriguing due to his Oxford University connection, as well as his writing of the text at a time of concern over the regulation of the religious life.<sup>16</sup> As at St. Augustine's, A20.101

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<sup>13</sup> Several William de Montibus sermons are also witnessed at A20.451a, A20.469x, A20.716, A20.717.

<sup>14</sup> Emden refutes this connection, but admits there is confusion due to the number of contemporaries referred to as Richard Wetheringsett, Richard Wethersett and Richard of Leicester (an alias for Richard de Montibus, an error for William de Montibus). However, Goering suggests that this connection is still viable. Emden, *BRUC*, p. 632; J. Goering, 'Wetheringsett, Richard of (fl. c.1200–c.1230)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

<sup>15</sup> Goering, 'Wetheringsett, Richard of (fl. c.1200–c.1230)'.

<sup>16</sup> J.G. Clark, 'Trevet, Nicholas (b.1257, d. in or after 1334)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

sees in the Prophecy section the prophecies of Merlin. It is the only prophetic work in a large volume but, unlike St. Augustine's, this was not the only non-biblical prophecy recorded within this section. The *Sibyllina Tiburtina* was cross-referenced to a large volume later in the catalogue.<sup>17</sup> Although the *Tiburtina*'s presence makes the inclusion of the Prophecy of Merlin more comprehensible, the *Tiburtina*'s apocalyptic contents are far more akin with those Biblical texts also within the prophesy section.<sup>18</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth's other works were recorded in the history and chronicle sections, so the Prophecy of Merlin was not necessarily identified as his work.<sup>19</sup> There are no location marks to suggest if this represented shelf order, or whether this was just within the catalogue, but it would follow that each section could be compiled from an existing volume order. The inclusion of Merlin could then suggest how the regulars expected to use Geoffrey's text as part of a prophetic landscape created within these collections, rather than being predominantly viewed as an element of Geoffrey of Monmouth's works.

### ***The Selection of Authors***

As is to be expected, there was a conscious attempt by the cataloguers to group together those more widely read authors' works following the initial recordings of Biblical texts. The list of authors is similar to those at St. Augustine's Abbey: St. Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, Bernard and Hugh of St. Victor. Their order, whilst in no particular pattern, is consistent in the treatment by other monastic houses too. For instance, the late twelfth century catalogue at the Cistercian Rievaulx Abbey groups authors' texts together with only a minor

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<sup>17</sup> A20.100 is a cross-reference to A20.303ac.

<sup>18</sup> A. Holdenried, *The Sybil and Her Scribes: Manuscripts and Interpretation of the Latin Sybilla Tiburtina c. 1050-1500* (Aldershot, 2006), p. xxiii.

<sup>19</sup> The full *Historia Regnum Britanniae* is recorded at A20.860c, with a cross reference at A20.627.

disregard for alphabetical order.<sup>20</sup> However, at Leicester the grouping of authors' texts in the volumes was far more selective. The contents of A20.234-235 reflects a conscious effort to group together not just similar authors but exactly the same texts. Listed under Augustine, both these volumes include Augustine's *de vita clericorum*, Hugh of St. Victor's *De institutiones nouiciorum*<sup>21</sup> and Bernard's *De XII gradibus humilitatis*. A similar pattern can be seen with A20.435 and 436, both having exactly the same contents. These two volumes possibly demonstrate a library's ability to expand from its own collections.

A20.435 and 436 Contents:

**a** Ps. Bonaventure *Meditationes de passione Christi*

**b** Ps. Bonaventure (James of Milan) *Stimulus amoris*

**c** Ps. Augustine *De Diligendo Deo*

**d** Ps. Augustine *Liber soliloquiorum animae ad Deum*

**e** Ps. Augustine *Meditationes de spiritu sancto*

**f** *Meditationes Anselmi*

Clearly this volume represents a collection of meditational texts, but what is more important is the way that the rest of the library's collection also treats these texts. Texts c, d and e above are also found in the same order within A20.225ae-ag, A20.244k-m, and A20.306m-o. The collection of Anselm's meditations, f, is also found within A20.244t-ai. This points towards one of two conclusions: either that Leicester Abbey was in the habit of grouping texts of the same author and subject together, or that these specific groupings were consistent outside the house walls as well. St. Augustine's also grouped texts but was concerned with different

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<sup>20</sup> Rievaulx's c.1190-1200 catalogue (reproduced as Z19) records Augustine Z19.5-31, Bernard of Clairvaux Z19.32-37, Anselm Z19.38-9. Gregory is recorded from Z19.57-66. see ed. D. Bell, *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 3 (London, 1992).

<sup>21</sup> If Webber and Watson's assumption is correct, *Augustinian Canons*, p. 161.

authors. Therefore the former seems more likely. The grouping of authors and their works was another conscious decision to direct potential readers towards comparable works. This was in much the same way as the catalogue order suggested certain texts should be read in preference to others.

The popularity of Anselm of Canterbury was noted in the collections of St. Augustine's Abbey; this is also shown in Leicester Abbey's collections. Twenty-five of his works are listed, overwhelmingly copies of his *Orationes et meditationes*.<sup>22</sup> While this shared popularity is unsurprising for such a renowned monastic author, the influence of local interests and trends can be demonstrated by the presence of some of Wyclif's works at Leicester and their comparative absence at St. Augustine's. Leicester Abbey's catalogue records two volumes: A20.611 and A20.612. The former contains a copy of Wyclif's *Triologus* and the latter his *Logica*. Their presence may be due to St. Mary de Pratis' closer ties with Wycliffite ideas, including the difficult relationship of Abbot Repyngdon with Oxford University.<sup>23</sup>

Repyngdon's sympathies for Wycliffite ideas led to the Archbishop of Canterbury suspending him from preaching and subsequently excommunicating him, all in 1382. However, a recantation saw him return to his academic offices later in the year.<sup>24</sup> Webber suggests Repyngdon was the donor of the Wyclif works,<sup>25</sup> but Forde was keen to emphasise that Repyngdon was a reformist rather than a Lollard.<sup>26</sup> This did not stop Henry Knighton from

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<sup>22</sup> There are seven copies recorded: A20.220f, A20.244t-ai, A20.306b, A20.424a, A20.420, A20.418, A20.971u.

<sup>23</sup> Abbot Repyngdon was the source of controversy surrounding the preaching of Wyclif supporting sermons at the University: S. Forde, 'Repyndon, Philip (c.1345–1424)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

<sup>24</sup> Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 50.

<sup>25</sup> Webber, 'The Books of Leicester Abbey', p. 140.

<sup>26</sup> S. Forde, 'Philip Repyngdon and John Eyton', p. 428.

reporting in his Chronicle that Repyngdon had shown him things “he would not liked to have seen”.<sup>27</sup> The presence of the *Trialogus*, one of Wyclif’s final works, is striking and surprising due to its anti-monastic and anti-ecclesiastic sentiments.<sup>28</sup> This same volume was also cross-referenced in the ‘Questiones in Theologia’ section.<sup>29</sup> To have this text highlighted in this way seems counter to the sentiments of the text itself.

It may be surprising to find any Wyclif works recorded at all, yet their overall impact on the collection appears minimal. Instead, these examples are indicative of how book collections grew through individual acquisition and interest, and subsequent donation. However, the possibility cannot be overlooked that such works could have been present in the house in the possession of individuals without passing into the collection later. The immediate impact outside of the monastic walls was felt far more than inside them.

### ***The Significance of Book Location Within the Monastery***

The way in which Leicester Abbey recorded the locations of its books was different to St. Augustine’s, and because of this offers a clearer view of those books in the library and in other locations, though covering less of the overall contents. A20.1450-1678 records the separate shelvings within the library, demonstrating a clear intention with the book’s placements. The first stall, for instance, held biblical works; the second was filled entirely by works of Augustine;<sup>30</sup> the fifth stall was dominated by *questiones* and *sentencarium*; and the seventh stall was populated by history. Augustine’s importance is confirmed by the third stall

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<sup>27</sup> Martins, ‘Henry Knighton’s Chronicle and Leicester Abbey’, p. 123.

<sup>28</sup> Hudson, ‘Wyclif’s Books’, p. 10.

<sup>29</sup> A20.611 was cross-referenced at A20.954.

<sup>30</sup> Webber, ‘The Books of Leicester Abbey’, p. 131.

shelving a whole variety of other authors, and therefore providing a smaller space per author. Thomson found a similar pattern of Augustinian exuberance at Bury St. Edmund's Abbey, with extensive copying of texts in the twelfth-century.<sup>31</sup> At Bury St. Edmund's Augustine was an important theologian, but for Leicester Abbey he was also the source of their Rule. Their Augustine collection comprised several large volumes, and a specific focus on sermon texts: A20.222a-e are Marian sermons; several sermon texts are included in A20.225a-at, located in the library; A20.227 is a collection of Augustine sermons, also in the library. The fourth stall is of particular interest, with A20.1531-A20.1540 being sermon texts - a precedent not set by the book keepers of St. Augustine's. This short collection includes several notable authors, including Peter Comestor, William de Montibus and Robert Grosseteste.

The location of other books around the monastery is also important, with A20.1 (a two-volume Bible) being kept in the Refectory. This is, yet again, presumably to aid the scriptures being read over the monks during mealtimes. The location records also list volumes in the scriptorium, the infirmary, and other locations around the house. Missals seem to have been placed at many of the altars around the church, as well as recording those texts kept "In primis ad magnum altare".<sup>32</sup> It would be expected that, as at St. Augustine's, these books represented valuable works with a symbolic rather than functional value to the community. However, one of the Gospels placed there was later recorded as containing notes in the hand of William Charyte, presumably his own annotations to the text.<sup>33</sup> Did William expect these annotations to be used for study? Maybe his position as the compiler of the catalogue led him to highlight

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<sup>31</sup> R. M. Thomson, 'The Library of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Speculum* 47 (1972), p. 627.

<sup>32</sup> *Augustinian Canons*, p. 382.

<sup>33</sup> This volume is A20.1704, cross-referenced at A20.1879 and again at A20.1899.

that his words were revered at the altar. That comment may be slightly cynical, but Charyte was a canon who made sure his additions to the collection were remembered - the final catalogue folios record texts he “caused to be made” as well as those in which he wrote notes and texts with his own hand.

The scriptorium is notable for holding those texts useful for education,<sup>34</sup> such as a *Liber grammaticalis*, a *Liber rethorica* and a biblical paraphrase.<sup>35</sup> In fact, many of these records are from the Grammar section and were evidently recorded together before their location in the scriptorium was noted. The one exception was a copy of sermons by an unidentifiable Odo.<sup>36</sup> Although unusual it is not remarkable, and the scriptorium collection is representative of the basic writing, grammatical and rhetorical skills one would expect. The functionality of such texts is therefore evident, whether it be the Missal by the altar ready for use, the Bible for reading throughout dinner, or the grammatical texts to be copied and studied by the monastic community. This shapes a vivid picture of frequent, if not daily, use of certain texts. The infirmary record is strikingly similar to the list of texts recorded as borrowed or owned by many of the monks, and the borrowing records further construct an image of every-day use of the collection.

### ***The Importance of Donors and Borrowers***

Borrowing records towards the end of the catalogue present a selection of standard texts in the possession of individual canons, showing a monastic way of life reliant on books for

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<sup>34</sup> *Augustinian Canons*, p. 105.

<sup>35</sup> A20.1684, 1689 and 1695 respectively.

<sup>36</sup> Recorded at A20.1698.



devotional purposes. [see Appendix C:i] This is a static borrowing record for the late fifteenth century generation of canons at Leicester Abbey, evidenced by the sporadic naming of individuals through this section of the catalogue rather than a running list. It highlights those key texts that every monk would have: an Antiphones, the Psalms, a *graduale*, a *portiforium*, a *iurnale* and a *processionale*.<sup>37</sup> These are, essentially, the liturgical toolkit, with many of these volumes seeming to overlap in their contents,<sup>38</sup> collectively containing those texts needed to complete the daily Office. Their apparent correlation under the care of the library, rather than the sacristan, would seem unusual. The purpose behind the catalogue may have led the compiler to overlook this in favour of recording the whereabouts of these texts.

The first three texts (antiphones, psalter and *graduale*) were most highly valued with just five of the twenty-three regulars not borrowing copies. Four canons are recorded as only borrowing one or two books, either a *portiforium* or a *iurnale*. The implication is that these monks either had their own copies for the daily masses and offices or did not need them at all. Harvey emphasised the importance of private collections when assessing the library at Westminster Abbey.<sup>39</sup> Equally, ‘the art of memory’ and oral/aural culture had an important

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<sup>37</sup> A20 does not distinguish between differing collections, for instance differing antiphons, it only gives details of the titles. The various different types of liturgical text are discussed in J.E.Krochalis and E.A. Matter, ‘Manuscripts of the Liturgy’ in T.J.Heffernan and E.A.Matter, *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church* (Kalamazoo, 2001), pp. 433 - 72.

Antiphonal [antiphones]: short prayers sung before each psalm during mass.

Gradual [graduale]: The prayer recited as the priest ascended the steps to the altar to say Mass.

Breviary [portiforium]: the monastic hours to be recited daily.

Calendar [iurnale]: essentially a calendar of saints days and feasts.

Processional [processionale]: collection of chants and songs for specific procession inside and outside of the monastic house. Krochalis and Matter highlight that this could also be a large volume but thin enough to carry so as to serve several regulars.

<sup>38</sup> R. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 7 - 8.

<sup>39</sup> B. Harvey, ‘A novice’s life at Westminster Abbey in the Century before the Dissolution’, in ed J.G. Clark, *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 72. Parrey explored the notion of private collections through wills, but this is problematic. Y. Parrey, ‘*Examples and instruments of Virtues*’: *Books and the Formation of English Nuns c.1380 to 1540* (Thesis submitted to Australian National University, Canberra, May 1996), p. 6.

role in the daily offices.<sup>40</sup> The abbot is unique in not borrowing a *graduale*, but this again does not imply a lack of ownership. Indeed, two of the other exceptions have positions noted in their records. I. Peny is listed as chaplain and John Whitley is followed by the position “subcellarius”, assistant to the cellarer. The latter is intriguing as the role does not imply another collection in the same way that either the chaplain or abbot might have. It is also of note that whilst the abbey clearly had several books dispersed within the community, it did not have large enough collections to fulfil all of the demand. There is a clear division between the holdings of the monks listed first and those listed last. Those lower on the list were not given the privilege of borrowing certain books. Either these texts were important in every-day use, and therefore it is implied they were shared when needed, or these collections acted as a sign of status as much as they were devotionally relevant. Either way, they offer a fascinating insight into the different texts used on a daily basis by this community.

This importance of who owned which books is illuminating, as can be seen with Abbot John Pomery (Abbot 1442-74). He was the owner or donor of eight books. These included copies of the sermons of Peter Comestor, three commentaries on Aristotle’s *Categoriae*, and a volume containing two more commentaries on texts of Aristotle.<sup>41</sup> John Pomery was evidently particularly interested in the works of Aristotle, and in particular the *Categoriae*. His ownership of a book of Peter of Blois’ *Letters*<sup>42</sup> is also pertinent considering Peter’s

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<sup>40</sup> This is discussed in G. McCracken and A. Cabaniss (eds. and trans.), *Early Medieval Theology*, Library of Christian Classics 9 (London, 1957), p. 16.

<sup>41</sup> A20.785 Sermons of Peter Comestor  
A20.1099 Thomas de Sutton commentary on Aristotles *Categoriae*  
A20.1100 Iohannes Duns Scotus *Quaestiones* on Aristotles *Categoriae*  
A20.1101 Robert Alyngton commentary on Aristotles *Categoriae*  
A20.1138 two more comms. on aristotelian texts

<sup>42</sup> A20.501

discussions on the dangers of an Abbot's position, with too much time having to be focused on the wellbeing of the other monks rather than on his own.<sup>43</sup> The text is significant for being in the possession of an Abbot rather than any other canon.

Pomery can be compared with Geoffrey Salow, who was treasurer at Leicester Abbey in 1357, and who is highlighted by Webber and Watson for being the donor of seventeen books. These included a Bible, a copy of the *Sentences*, Sermons of Peter Lombard, two unspecified works on Logic, and several unspecified *Questiones in theologia*.<sup>44</sup> This was an unusually large donation, but covers many of those texts that could be expected to be used in a canon's education and devotions, particularly by those who attended university. It demonstrates the same interest in logic that John Pomery developed, but Geoffrey Salow took this one stage further; he also appears within the catalogue as the author of a penitential *Summa*.<sup>45</sup> That large volume also included several well represented authors - Augustine, Robert Grosseteste - as well as the individually listed set of Anselm's *meditationes*.<sup>46</sup> It is an illustrious collection for Geoffrey Salow's text to be placed into and the compilation is difficult to explain. However, Geoffrey Salow's book collection is less problematic. Whilst no donation could ever truly be "typical", this one reveals a collection which reflects, or represents, those books held by the Leicester Abbey community in general. Perhaps this is what Knowles was referring to when he wrote of the "half theological, half logical" study permeating into the religious orders.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> E.C. Higgonnet, 'Spiritual Ideas in the Letters of Peter of Blois', *Speculum*, vol.50 no.2 (Apr. 1975), p. 222.

<sup>44</sup> A20.8, 510, 534, 1094, 1095, 572 and 573 respectively.

<sup>45</sup> A20.244e.

<sup>46</sup> A20.244t-ai.

<sup>47</sup> Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol.II, p. 75.

Five books were donated by Richard Barre (c.1130-c.1202), including glosses and Lombard's *Sentences*, and two works written by him are recorded within the catalogue, yet he was not a canon at the abbey. Instead, it is likely that these books came via his brother Hugh, who was.<sup>48</sup> Such a transfer is significant. It identifies the integration of texts from local sources outside the house much as copies of Richard Wetheringsett's *Summa* entered the library. Of the five recorded texts of Thomas Bradwardine (c.1300–1349), three were donated by Geoffrey Salow. This is the one peculiarity in Salow's book collection, but it also provided the collection with works it may otherwise not have obtained. Therefore, those the monastery provided for became the providers of intellectual resources for future generations of learning and devotion within the community.

This connection with learning outside the abbey is also particularly prevalent with those regulars who attended university. Perhaps even more so than at St. Augustine's, the university tie was crucial for the growth of Leicester Abbey's library. Abbot Repyngdon's connection with Oxford was central to his development as a scholar and regular. The chaplain Peny, mentioned above, may have been the John Peny who attended Oxford University, and was elected as Abbot at St. Mary de Pratis in 1496.<sup>49</sup> That Peny borrowed only one liturgical book suggests he already possessed the other necessary items, perhaps from his stay at Oxford. It is also of note that a student is noted for his borrowing rather than for his donations. Two other canons recorded in the liturgical borrowing list were possibly Cambridge University students, although the matching dates are circumstantial rather than conclusive evidence. These two

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<sup>48</sup> *Augustinian Canons*, p. 128.

<sup>49</sup> Emden, *BRUO*, p. 1458.

canons, John Darby and T. Browhton,<sup>50</sup> borrowed only three volumes each. This places them in a similar pattern to those canons recorded further down the borrowing list, yet could also reflect the resulting collections from university studies. Dobson highlights that it was only in the fourteenth-century that Augustinian canons started attending Oxford in any great numbers. Yet Augustinian university study was also an opportunity for escape from the daily life and routine of the abbey. These students would have found themselves in mixed halls as Oxford had no Austin canon halls until well into the fifteenth century.<sup>51</sup>

The donation of at least ten books by the Oxford University student Ralph Seyton (fl.1440) provided several interesting additions to the library [see Appendix C:ii]. His two volumes of works by Alexander Nequam, including his commentary on *Song of Songs* and his *De naturis rerum*,<sup>52</sup> were the only copies recorded in the collection, although there was a good selection of other Nequam texts. The commentary on Song of Songs was cross-referenced twice elsewhere in the catalogue, as well as both being in the same library stall, stall four, along with the sermon texts and aids.<sup>53</sup> Despite the *De naturis rerum* being the only copy catalogued, this volume was also deemed important enough for inclusion by John Leland during his inspections of monastic libraries c.1536-40, with just five other titles also being recorded.<sup>54</sup> Seyton is also the only donor of several other works, Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria noua* (just one of two Vinsauf texts recorded), and the only recorded copy of Ranulf

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<sup>50</sup> Emden, *BRUC*, pp. 97 and 177.

<sup>51</sup> R.B. Dobson, 'The Religious Orders 1370 - 1540', in eds. J. Catto and R. Evans, *History of the University of Oxford*, Vol.II (Oxford, 1992), p. 554.

<sup>52</sup> A20.466 and A20.467 respectively.

<sup>53</sup> A20.466 is also referenced at A20.84 and A20.1480, as well as appearing in the library contents at A20.1564. A20.467 is recorded as being in the library at A20.1556.

<sup>54</sup> This is recorded first amongst Leland's records, at A21.1.

Higden's *Polychronicon* in the surviving records for the Augustinian canons.<sup>55</sup> It is worth noting that A20.1330 and 1331 appear to be the same text, Raymond of Pennafort's *Summa de casibus poenitentiae*, a book ownership trait uncommon in Leicester's collection. There is no indication that this was a two-volume text, nor of any secondary texts in the volumes. The reason for this is apparently lost. Perhaps even a mistake in the catalogue led to the marking of A20.1331 as "per eundem". Seyton was clearly a man of broad taste, presumably due to his studies at university, with his ten-volume donation evidently helping to broaden the book collections at St. Mary de Pratis. This intellect is also displayed in the records of the 1445 General Chapter of Augustinian canons, where he read a sermon which was praised for its rhetoric as well as its useful nature.<sup>56</sup>

### ***The Contents of Volumes***

Unlike St. Augustine's, Leicester Abbey is more consistent in recording not just the title text of a volume, but its other contents as well. This offers a unique insight into volume construction as well as the popularity of certain texts, both of which have previously been demonstrated. The absence of a significant number of extant manuscripts (fewer than 20 books are known to survive from Leicester Abbey's collection)<sup>57</sup> places much emphasis on the usefulness of the catalogue. One of the abbey's particularly large holdings was of medical texts, spanning A20.1168-1250. This collection provides a good example of the construction of a volume and the volumes surrounding it. A20.1170 contained fourteen texts, yet the majority of these are also present throughout the medical volumes it precedes, with the

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<sup>55</sup> A20.1042 was Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *poetica noua*. A20.646 was Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon*.

<sup>56</sup> Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. 281.

<sup>57</sup> *Augustinian Canons*, p. 104.

exception of text k, Hippocrates' *Regimen acutorum (Management of Acute Diseases)* [See Appendix C:iii]. The *Regimen* would not have been difficult to obtain from elsewhere, although it is made notable in this instance by the absence of a second copy in the collection. A20.1195 can be seen to have seven of the same texts, A20.1174 has five, and A20.1241 has four. Yet crucially, both A20.1173 and A20.1195 also have several texts overlapping with A20.1171, and so A20.1171 would appear to represent a companion volume, complementing the contents of A20.1170. This suggests that these two volumes mark an attempt to compile the texts that follow them in one text, quite possibly in the same way as BA1.900 at St. Augustines.<sup>58</sup> If these volumes were compiled for posterity's sake then it demonstrates that to Leicester Abbey, or at least to those persons involved in this construction, these were seen as important texts. This becomes a reference collection - something which can remain constant in the library collection, freeing up the other single text copies for regulars to use as they wished. It is at this point that learning and the acquisition of knowledge encounter practicality as well; a practicality previously demonstrated by the lending of important liturgical texts to the canons.

A20.333 is an amalgamation of several different texts also present throughout the collection, much like A20.1170 or BA1.900. The exact order of texts in A20.333 is also repeated elsewhere. These are three Augustine texts, although one is actually pseudo-Augustine, which tie in neatly with several other Augustine and meditation texts found within the catalogue. The book is also ascribed to the ever-present Geoffrey Salow. Yet again, the interconnected nature of several volumes highlights how it is likely such texts entered and then multiplied

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<sup>58</sup> See p. 48.

within a monastic setting. Abbot Pomery's interest in Aristotle's works on logic was also echoed in the logic section. A20.1086-1121 are all copies of the *Logica uetus*,<sup>59</sup> therefore offering an insight into the canon's study comparable to that provided for their devotion by the liturgical books. The *Logica uetus* comprised works and translations of Boethius' works as well as Aristotle's *Categoriae*, with Makdisi placing emphasis on the Aristotelean components of the text.<sup>60</sup> With such a staple collection it would be expected, as with Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, to see a selection of donor and owner names to accompany the records, but this is not the case. Only Geoffrey Salow was a recorded donor.<sup>61</sup> Perhaps the use of these texts for learning meant that such volumes were obtained or copied for the use of many generations. The place of logic in a medieval curriculum became, according to Orme, a necessity for the ability to study theology beyond an elementary level. That Leicester also became a local centre for these studies could explain these donor-less collections.<sup>62</sup>

### ***The Surviving Manuscripts***

The problem with the surviving manuscripts from St. Mary de Pratis lies with their small numbers, making it more problematic to suggest a general pattern of use. Whilst the same is true of St. Augustine's, Leicester's comparatively low numbers exacerbate this. Yet the extant volumes do portray a similar use of books as at St. Augustine's. Most interesting is the reoccurrence of pointing hands, in copious numbers. A20.298 is a selection of texts,<sup>63</sup> beginning with William of Tournai's *Flores Bernardi* followed by several of Augustine's

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<sup>59</sup> *Augustinian Canons*, p. 307.

<sup>60</sup> G. Makdisi, 'The Scholastic Method in Medieval Education: An Inquiry into Its Origins in Law and Theology', *Speculum*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Oct., 1974), p. 643.

<sup>61</sup> BA1.1094-5 are listed as "for Geoffrey Salow".

<sup>62</sup> Orme, *Medieval Schools*, pp. 262 - 4. The medieval study of logic and Aristotle is covered throughout Orme, *Medieval Schools*.

<sup>63</sup> Now TCC B.1.8.



sermons. There are three distinctly different pointing hands within the manuscript, each highlighting certain areas of the text [see Appendix D:i]. The engagement with this particular text is all the more important considering the various authors the *Flores Bernardi* had already witnessed.<sup>64</sup> A20.504,<sup>65</sup> a copy of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, also contains faint pencil-drawn hands, most clearly visible at fol.36r [see Appendix D:ii]. Again, another style of pointing finger is present in A20.660, a collection of saints' lives, and in A20.222, a collection of sermon texts.<sup>66</sup> The latter includes only one pointing hand, at fol.98r, but this points towards an asterisk at the side of the text. Perhaps the same, or different, annotator felt the asterisk did not appropriately highlight the text. These extant volumes are from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. It is, however, the inclusion of different symbols within the extant Chronicle of Henry Knighton that is particularly interesting. A20.636<sup>67</sup> contains at several points within its folios the use of a simple flower symbol to mark places of importance. Fol. 38v has a flower which also seems to correspond to a section of underlined text. Yet fol.72r is the most curious, with these flowers having little dots placed on their leaves. Perhaps the annotator who sketched the flowers also did this, or perhaps it marks a section of text read by another, the dots being his addition to the markings. Whilst it is difficult to substantiate either of these claims, as with St. Augustine's these markings suggest the use of these books. That pointing fingers and hands were often used seems to denote a pattern to these annotations, especially considering A20.298's inclusion of several sketching styles.

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<sup>64</sup> See discussion in chapter 1 on the *Flores Bernardi* and the various stages the text passed through before reaching the library, p. 16.

<sup>65</sup> Now TCC B.16.5.

<sup>66</sup> A20.660 is Now BL MS Add. 57533. These hands are present on fol.9v and 10r. A20.222 is now TCC B.14.30.

<sup>67</sup> Now BL Cotton Tiberius C.VII.

As with the extant manuscripts from St. Augustine's, there also seems to be a use of monograms to mark texts deemed important. Whilst A20.660 and A20.504 both include monograms that are not exactly the same, the general shape of both of these, as well as their components, suggest that it was in all likelihood the same annotator who wrote in both [see Appendix D:iii]. It is not possible to draw a solid conclusion about the reading habits of an individual from just two texts, but if similar annotations were found it could help to build a clearer picture. A20.222 and A20.298 also share floral or spear-like markings. A20.298 has many of these, possibly in the same hand as the original scribe due to the use of red as well as black ink, sometimes combined. Two of these are exactly the same symbol, demonstrating a common symbol if not the same annotator. [See Appendix D:iv] The flower motif seems appropriate to the notion of a growth in knowledge; a sentiment which fits with the use of the flower symbol in Henry Knighton's *Chronica* too. A20.222 lacks symbols, but instead has several substantial notes around the text, as well as a correction to the original text's grammar on fol.10v. Some of the notes appear to be challenging, or at least discussing alternatives to, the text, such as at fol.124r where one note (now damaged due to trimmed pages) starts "quid, quod...", and fol.95v where a lengthy excursus begins with just the title "Quid".<sup>68</sup> A single line drawing is placed next to this, again floral in its style. Instead of just marking useful sections this demonstrates a mind thoroughly involved with the text, and so intellectually provoked to add its own thoughts and questions. That the corrections surround the text in a collection of sermons therefore places the annotator in discussion with the sermons previously recorded; a long awaited rejoinder to past learning.

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<sup>68</sup> The note from TCC B.14.30 fol.95v.

Therefore, the process of learning (understanding and engagement with a text) can be seen to have taken place. That these examples are difficult to place as representatives of the entire book collection does not remove the value in being able to trace their use. Instead, it offers a more individualistic history of these books' usage, but clearly reflects a wider pattern for how such books were used in the community. The inclusion of several records that seem to couple learning with the creation of original works or ideas, as with Geoffrey Salow's penitential *Summa* in A20.244e or the notes in A20.222, is also a demonstration of an individual's ability to take his understanding and preserve it. The intentions of William Charyte have also inevitably helped to shape the records in the catalogue, and one suspects an ulterior motive for his involvement, even though the extensive cross-referencing does also give the catalogue an element of functionality. Yet it is the university connection, coupled with the catalogue's concern with sermon texts and aids, that defines St. Mary de Pratis. The donations of Ralph Seyton, the involvement of Abbot Repyngdon and especially the inclusion of several copies of Richard Wetheringsett's *Summa Qui bene praesunt*,<sup>69</sup> designed specifically to aid preachers, are a neat summation of the importance of study outside one's own monastic walls. The influx of books from the canons' engagement with university study, and indeed these connections to a university learning in general, therefore led to a broad selection of texts, and Leicester's involvement with local education was another way that ideas could permeate through to the next generation of potential regulars and scholars. This is a more implicit use of these texts than was found at St. Augustine's, but takes their value beyond the manuscript pages and places it in the lessons and sermons of the canons.

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<sup>69</sup> Richard Wetheringsett's *Summa* is recorded at A20.746a, 747a and 748a.

*Appendices for St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester*

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## **Appendix C: Textual Information Pertaining to St. Mary**

### ***Appendix C:i. Borrowing Records of Standard Liturgical Texts***

*These borrowing records (over the next two pages) are unique in displaying the monastic use of liturgical texts, essentially offering a survey of a generation of St. Mary de Pratis' canons. see. p. 75.*

*N.B. All the numbers in the table overleaf refer to A20. # references.*

<b>Borrower</b>	<b>antiphonarium</b>	<b>portiferium (Breviary)</b>	<b>Psalms</b>	<b>iurnale / diurnale</b>	<b>processionale</b>	<b>gradale</b>
<b>Dominus Abbas</b>	1719 (with psalms)	1720, 1721, 1723 (an illuminated copy)	1722	1724		
<b>Prior</b>	1727	1731 1732	1729	1733	1730	1728
<b>Subprior</b>	1734	1738	1736	1739	1737	1735
<b>Frater William Charite (compiler of the catalogue)</b>	1740 (with psalms) 1741 (in two volumes)	1746	1744 1748	1747	1743	1742
<b>Frater Iohannes Grene</b>	1749	1753	1751	1754	1752	1750
<b>Frater W. Eyton'</b>	1755	1759	1757	1758		1756
<b>Frater Stephanus</b>	1760	1764	1762	1765 1766	1763	1761
<b>Frater Thomas Yngwardly</b>	1767	1771	1769 1773	1772	1770	1768
<b>Frater W. Stowton</b>		<b>1774</b>		<b>1775</b>		
<b>Frater T. Pynder</b>	1776	1780	1778	1781	1779	1777
<b>Frater Iohannes Whytley</b>				<b>1782</b>		
<b>Frater Iohannes Nores</b>	1783	1787	1785	1788	1786	1784

<b>Borrower</b>	<b>antiphonarium</b>	<b>portiferium (Breviary)</b>	<b>Psalms</b>	<b>iurnale / diurnale</b>	<b>processionale</b>	<b>gradale</b>
<b>Frater I. Talis</b>	1789		1791	1793	1792	1790
<b>Frater I. Peny</b>				<b>1794</b>		
<b>Frater I. hornyngwold'</b>		<b>1795</b>				
<b>Frater w. Fosbrok</b>	1796		1798	1800	1799	1797
<b>Frater W. Chaunce</b>	1801		1803			1802
<b>Frater Iohannes Darby</b>	1804		1806			1805
<b>Frater I. Twyforth</b>	1807		1809		1810	1808
<b>Frater T. Browhton</b>	1811		1813			1812
<b>Frater W. Frawnceys</b>	1814		1816		1817	1815
<b>Frater Nic'</b>	1818		1820		1821	1819
<b>Frater Ricardus Palet</b>	1822		1824		1825	1823
	<b>19 / 23 Monks [20 Overall]</b>	<b>12 / 23 Monks [15 Overall]</b>	<b>19 / 23 Monks [21 Overall]</b>	<b>15 / 23 Monks [16 Overall]</b>	<b>14 / 23 Monks [14 Overall]</b>	<b>18 / 23 Monks [18 Overall]</b>

**Appendix C:ii. Donations of Ralph Seyton**

*As a university student Ralph Seyton's donations introduce several previously unaccounted for texts to the book collections at St. Mary de Pratis. see p. 79.*

<b>A20.466</b>	Nequam comm. on song of songs
<b>A20.467</b>	<b>a-b</b> Nequam, <i>de Naturis rerum</i>
	<b>c</b> <i>de laudibus divinae sapientiae</i>
<b>A20.480</b>	Iacobus de Voragine, Sermones de Tempore
<b>A20.646</b>	Ranulf Higden, <i>Polychronicon</i>
<b>A20.1009</b>	<b>a</b> Alexander de Villa Dei, <i>Doctrinale magnum</i>
	<b>b</b> Eberhard of Béthune, <i>Graecismus</i>
<b>A20.1042</b>	Geoffrey of Vinsauf, <i>poetica noua</i>
<b>A20.1043</b>	Alanus de Insulis, <i>Anticlaudianus</i>
<b>A20.1045</b>	Alanus de Insulis, <i>De planctu naturae</i>
<b>A20.1330</b>	Raymond of Pennafort, <i>Summa de casibus poenitentiae</i>
<b>A20.1331</b>	Raymond of Pennafort, <i>Summa de casibus poenitentiae</i>



***Appendix C:iii. A20.1170 as a Reference Text***

*The catalogue records suggest that A20.1170 and A20.1171 were compiled as reference texts. see p. 81.*

*N.B. In the table overleaf, where a letter is used it denotes the text within that volume. Where a number is used it denotes that the volume only included that one text.*

A20.1170	A20.1173	A20.1174	A20.1176	A20.1188	A20.1192	A20.1193	A20.1195	A20.1196	A20.1197	A20.1170	A20.1205
a		f					f				
b		e					b				
c							c				
d							e			c	
e							d				
f							a				
g	d									a	1205
h				b							
i				c			i				
j			a	d	a	1193			1197	b	
k											
l	a	c									
m		b						a			
n		d	b		b+d						

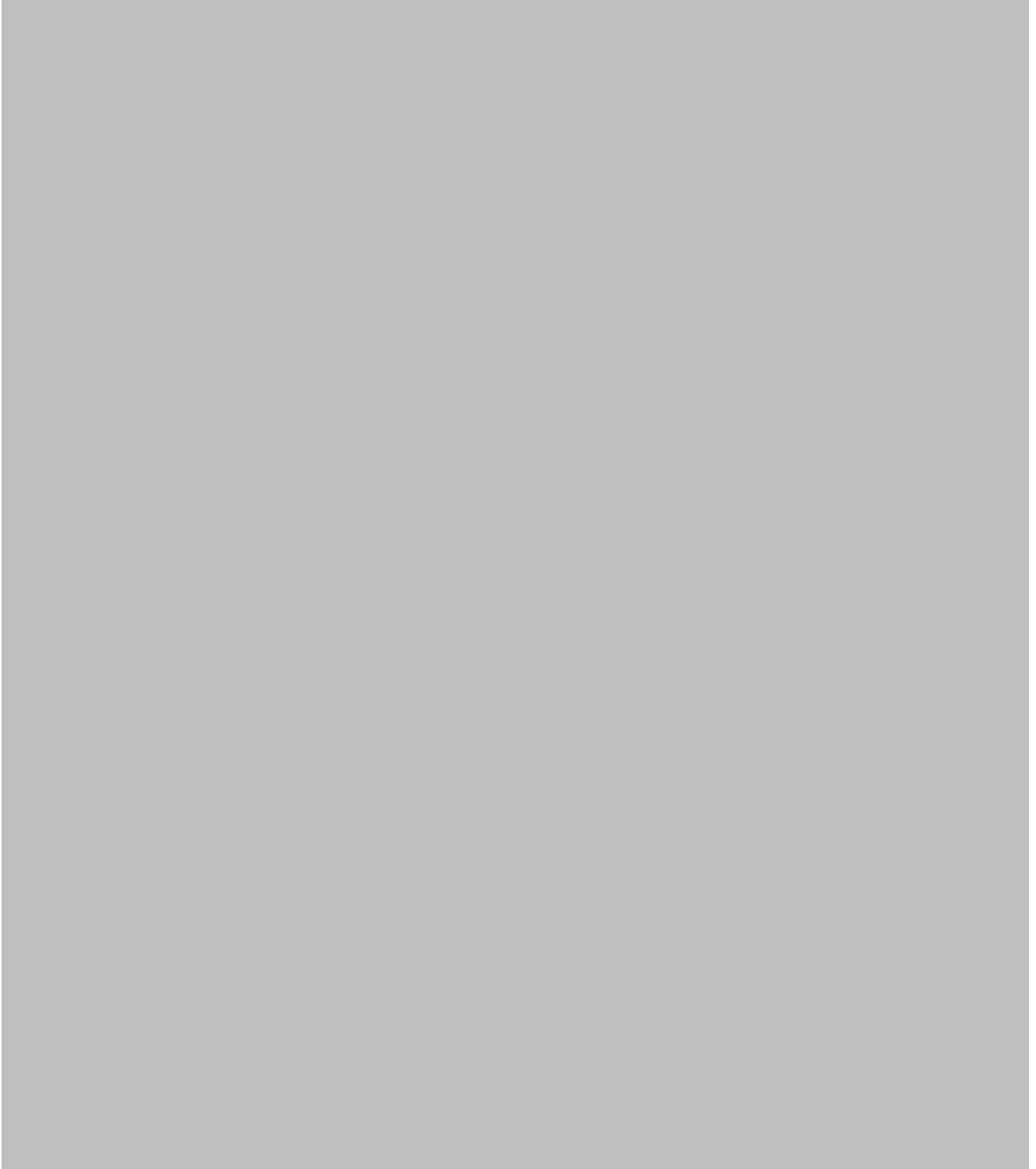
A20.1170	A20.1206	A20.1207	A20.1209	A20.1210	A20.1212	A20.1221	A20.1226	A20.1228	A20.1235	A20.1241	A20.1243
a											
b						1221					
c											
d											
e											
f											
g	1206	1207			c		1226			d	1243
h									c	c	
i											
j									b		
k											
l										b	
m								1228			
n			1209	1210						a	

## Appendix D: Images from Manuscripts once present in Leicester Abbey

### *Appendix D:i. TCC B.1.8 Three Different Pointing Hands*

*The use of several different styles of pointing hands to select text suggests a widespread use of these symbols within the community. see p. 83.*

*[Top left: Fol.79r. Top right: Fol.132r. Bottom: Fol.10r.]*



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***Appendix D:ii Now TCC B.16.5, fol.36r***

*The faint pencil marked hand can be seen in the left margin. see p. 83.*



Image copyright The Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge.

***Appendix D:iii.The Monograms of A20.660 and A20.504***

*The similarity of these monograms can be seen with the image of A20.504 (Left: TCC B.16.5 fol.87v) and a notebook mockup of A20.660 (Right: BL MS add. 57533 fol.56r). see p. 84.*



Image copyright The Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge.

***Appendix D:iv. The Markings in A20.222 and A20.298***

*The similar markings in these two manuscripts again suggest that the same annotator was present in both. see p. 84.*

*[Top: a notebook mockup of A20.222, now TCC B.14.30, fol.33r. Bottom: A20.298, now B.1.8, fol.20r.]*



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**IV. Conclusion:**  
***A Monastic “Cultus” of Learning at St. Augustine’s Abbey and St. Mary de Pratis***

This thesis has explored how regulars formed, kept and used their library collections. Within the two book collections of St. Augustine’s Abbey and St. Mary de Pratis it is possible to discern a monastic “cultus” of learning - with all that this entails with respect to worship, maintenance and order, cultivation and growth - and gain a greater understanding of these communities and their inhabitants. Traditionally the studies of large book collections have focused on the institution rather than on the individual.<sup>1</sup> The libraries of St. Augustine’s Canterbury and Leicester Abbey show how important the individual is to these libraries too. These two catalogues offer differing examples of the regulars’ involvement with books and therefore say much about how each house encountered reading. However, this should not diminish the importance of understanding each of the two collections as a distinct whole. Instead, these examples of use should improve upon the understanding of such monastic collections.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 8.



The ability to study the book collections of two distinct houses in such detail is not often possible, and makes any conclusions all the more relevant for understanding a monastic culture of learning as a whole; a topic so vast that there will be no attempt to conclude that discussion with just two houses as centrepieces. Instead, this chapter will focus on the varied stages of a monastic culture of devotion and learning as outlined in Chapter I,<sup>2</sup> and aim to develop where the two houses and their inhabitants differ and coincide in their approaches to their own advancements.

### ***Monastic Learning and Devotion: I. II. & III. Listening, Reading and Understanding***

The regulars' most important and frequent interaction with their books was inevitably through the liturgy, followed closely by their respective Rules. Here the line between listening, reading a text and understanding is blurred. The reading of holy writings during mealtimes,<sup>3</sup> in particular the Rule and biblical texts, provided daily reminders to the regular of his position in the monastery as well as encouraging a religious atmosphere. That St. Augustine's and Leicester Abbey record the keeping of certain books, including a Bible, in the cloister or in the refectory for use at mealtimes is testament to this.<sup>4</sup> Whilst both catalogues recorded numerous Bibles within their collections, this daily (almost forced) listening to scripture is a

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<sup>2</sup> See p. 23 for the previous discussion of Bell's stages of literary, and an extension of these for monastic learning. As the discussion here is structured around these stages, they are recapitulated here:

- I. *Listen to* or read text in latin (without comprehension).
- II. *Listen to*, or read and understand common liturgical texts.
- III. Read and understand less common non-liturgical texts.
- IV. *Make brief notes around texts.*
- V. *Make extensive notes around texts that guide others in their study.*
- VI. *Commission and oversea creation of book for personal use.*
- VII. Write one's own text.

<sup>3</sup> *The Rule of St. Benedict*, pp. xxiv and 93.

P.J. Greene, *Medieval Monasteries* (London, 2005), p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> A20.1 is a Bible located in the Refectory. BA1.REG3-4 is a Bible kept close to the refectory in the cloister.

clear representation of a literate culture impacting on the lives of the regulars. It is, after all, a fascination with these initial texts that would lead them to desire a further understanding, and the inquisitive to their houses' book collections.

Knowles described the twelfth century life of boys in the monastery with grammatical and calligraphic training, years spent memorising the psalter, lessons and practising the chant. Those especially gifted progressed to literary study or manuscript illumination.<sup>5</sup> The standard of study desired before entrance into the monastery increased into the fourteenth century but knowledge of the liturgy would still be important for the novice.<sup>6</sup> The recording of the liturgical book collections is therefore surprising considering these texts would not necessarily be in the care of the library. At St. Mary de Pratis this is perhaps due to the initial reason for compiling the catalogue, to act as an audit,<sup>7</sup> whereas St. Augustine's only recorded some scattered examples. Yet these volumes are notable for their recorded borrowers. The borrowing record of an unknown fourteenth century monk at St. Augustine's includes three liturgical texts.<sup>8</sup> These texts also have previous owners ascribed to them, suggesting a sustained use. The use of the texts is implied due to their liturgical contents; the borrowing of such a book would imply a need to use it for the daily functions of the monastery. The borrowing records of liturgical texts at Leicester Abbey provide an exceptional example of a monastic house and its supply of liturgical texts to the canons. The sheer number of borrowing records present within this list marks it as a valuable snapshot of a monastic house

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<sup>5</sup> Knowles, 'Some developments in English Monastic Life', p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> For new entrants and changing standards see p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> *Augustinian Canons*, p. 105.

<sup>8</sup> BA4.6 is an Ordinal for the performance of Mass, BA4.7 is a Psalter for liturgical use, BA4.9 is a *Diurnale*. See p. 45.

and its liturgical borrowings in the late fifteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Yet as much as this denotes the use of such books, it is impossible to determine the level of understanding regulars had of their liturgical texts. The daily cycle of services demanded an involvement as far as reading, but their listening to and understanding of the contents is difficult to demonstrate, however high the likelihood.

It is particularly evident that both houses contained relatively small vernacular collections, with English texts a minority among the catalogue contents. BA1.1504-36, in St. Augustine's later miscellaneous additions, records vernacular texts with just one volume in Middle English, *Ayenbite of Inwit* - a Kentish version of Laurent d'Orléans' *Somme le roi*.<sup>10</sup> This volume is given an intriguing provenance with Michael de Northgate recorded as the donor, and even possibly the translator of the work for St. Augustine's holdings.<sup>11</sup> That such a text was important for Michael de Northgate demonstrates an attempted patronage that in this instance, due to the catalogue position and lack of borrowers, was unsuccessful. Salomon of Ripple, out of three volumes, donated two French texts.<sup>12</sup> BA1.1522b is a French text to aid in learning French, but is again belittled in this function for all but its unidentified donor by its obscurity within the catalogue.

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<sup>9</sup> See Appendix C:i for the list of liturgical texts borrowed by these monks.

<sup>10</sup> BA1.1536; *St. Augustine's*, p. 1440.

<sup>11</sup> *St. Augustine's*, p. 1440.

<sup>12</sup> BA1.1505 and 1508.

Despite many extant examples<sup>13</sup> of a general growth in vernacular texts in the fifteenth-century<sup>14</sup> it is evident that the notion of literacy was firmly rooted in the notion of a Latinate education; that the term ‘literatus’ was only applicable to those with a knowledge of Latin.<sup>15</sup> The prominent position of two Leicester Abbey psalters, with parallel Latin and French text, provides an exception to this.<sup>16</sup> Yet even these volumes cement a latinate culture, possibly used as Latin study devices. This learning inevitably must also go further than a simple understanding of the language and manifest itself in a more solid way.

#### ***Monastic Learning and Devotion: IV. & V Making Notes Around Texts***

Building on the earlier stages of monastic formation, it is the features of monastic learning and devotion from stages IV. to VII. that truly demonstrate the regulars’ grasp of their studies. These are witnessed in the library records in different ways. Annotated texts are an obvious demonstration of use, but it almost goes without saying that they are not traceable in the catalogues at all. Both catalogues record an abundance of glosses, but a gloss was a more methodical enterprise than highlighting or making brief notes on fragments of a text. The survival rate of these annotated manuscripts is sporadic, so the extant manuscripts on their own cannot portray an entire picture of a monastic house. Instead, they offer specific insights into those making the annotations. St. Augustine’s Clement Canterbury is of obvious interest as his annotations, scowling faces and pointing hands, are firmly attributable to him. Yet his

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<sup>13</sup> Many of the vernacular texts are extant, and this survival is of importance for understanding the libraries. However, there has not been the space to develop this discussion within this thesis, particularly as the likelihood is that such survival is a comment on these collections after the dissolution, rather than the regulars who originally held the books.

<sup>14</sup> S. Lerer, ‘Medieval English Literature and the Idea of Anthology’, *Periodical of the Modern Language Association*, 118 (2003), p. 1251.

<sup>15</sup> M.B. Parkes, ‘The Literacy of the Laity’, in M.B. Parkes (ed.), *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991), p. 275.

<sup>16</sup> A20.68-69.

involvement in the library room far surpasses this. The probability of his being the catalogue's Hand C, coupled with his addition of contents pages to many of the extant manuscripts, shows a functional role to his involvement as well.<sup>17</sup>

Despite the small number of extant manuscripts from St. Mary of the Meadow, those that do survive offer a similar pattern of use, as in the inclusion of pointing fingers.<sup>18</sup> Whilst Clement Canterbury may have used pointing fingers, the use elsewhere of a flower to mark important passages,<sup>19</sup> including those underlined next to the flowers, raises numerous questions about the symbols themselves. The flower as a symbol of growth - a flowering of knowledge, the growth of knowledge - could be the reason why this was specifically chosen. The use of monograms places a specific individual's interests with the relevant texts.<sup>20</sup> Webber noticed comparable markings and symbols in twelfth century Christ Church, Canterbury volumes,<sup>21</sup> as did Clark at St. Albans with the notes of Walsingham.<sup>22</sup> Clement Canterbury would have perhaps found his match in William Charyte, the compiler of Leicester Abbey's catalogue. The inclusion, towards the end of Leicester's catalogue, of lists of volumes Charyte had annotated and copied in his own hand is a tantalising glimpse of manuscripts, now lost, which if extant could have illuminated the workings of Leicester's most prolific bibliophile.<sup>23</sup> Whilst an intense study of annotations could lead to a greater understanding of those individuals, and

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<sup>17</sup> *St. Augustine's*, p. 1839.

<sup>18</sup> Present in several manuscripts, including St. Augustine's Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 300, and St. Mary de Pratis' BL MS add. 57533. esp. fol.9v, 10r.

<sup>19</sup> A surviving copy of the Chronicle of Henry Knighton includes simple flowers to draw the eye towards certain texts. Now BL MS Cotton Tiberius C.VII.

<sup>20</sup> Present in BL MS add. 57533. esp fol.56r, fol.61r.

<sup>21</sup> T. Webber, 'Monastic and Cathedral book Collections, in the Late Eleventh and Twelfth centuries' in E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Vol.I, to 1640* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 123.

<sup>22</sup> Clark, *St. Albans*, p. 154.

<sup>23</sup> A20.1878-1958.

therefore their experiences within their monastic houses, this would be a lengthy exploration in its own right. That it is difficult to find a volume without at least some markings and that this is clearly a widespread practice demonstrates entire communities interacting with their volumes in similar ways.

### ***Monastic Learning and Devotion: VI. Creating a Volume***

Whilst annotations around well-used texts are one visual way of drawing the reader to key passages, the creation of a volume solidifies the presence of those texts within the library. This creation represents an individual's interaction with the collections and an attempt to make more readily available texts deemed as important. This was not only an individual endeavour, but also appears to have been a communal effort. Leicester Abbey's medical texts demonstrate this, with several large volumes most likely acting as compilations of the selection of texts they precede.<sup>24</sup> This function is emphasised by the number of single texts not compiled into volumes, suggesting a specific purpose for those that were. That such practice is visible elsewhere within the catalogue, not to mention also at St. Augustine's with its collection of Anselm texts,<sup>25</sup> would suggest a generalised trend to make those important, or well used, texts more readily available, as well as to protect against their possible loss. These author grouped collections have the hallmarks of *opera omnia*, demonstrating the attempts of scribes to create complete works of particular authors for their houses.<sup>26</sup> The inclusion of several different versions of the logic texts at both houses provides a more general comment

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<sup>24</sup> A20.1168-1250 records the medical volumes, with A20.1170 and 1171 acting as compilation, or reference, collection.

<sup>25</sup> A20.333 depicts a similar pattern. Anselm's texts were compiled in four sizeable volumes BA1.455-8.

<sup>26</sup> Hudson discusses *opera omnia* before the printing press made such an endeavour easier to complete. A. Hudson, 'Opera Omnia: Collecting Wyclif's works in England and Bohemia', in eds. M. van Dussen and P. Soukup, *Religious Controversy in Europe, 1378-1536: Textual Transmission and Networks of Readership* (Turnhout, 2013), p. 31.

on the way that such textual collections were adopted extensively after their initial compilation. The popularity of the Aristotelian *Logica uetus*, *logica noua*, *corpus uetustius* and the later *corpus recentius* portrays a universal and sustained use of the texts in these volumes.<sup>27</sup>

Yet it is the differences in those texts chosen for such treatment that differentiates between the two houses. St. Augustine's had a large sermon collection from BA1.656 to 731, yet many of these were single works or small volumes of texts. In comparison, there seems to have been a concerted effort at Leicester Abbey to record sizeable collections of sermon texts. A20.780 was a collection of Augustine's sermons, A20.781 and 782 a collection of Peter Comestor's sermons, and A20.783 Peter Lombard's sermons. The difficulty in demonstrating the creation of these volumes at Leicester does lessen the impact of such collections, but there was evidently still a purpose even if only in the acquisition of these texts. The same is true for St. Augustine's 'Devotionalia' records. Some, like BA1.798 and 799 were relatively large compilations, the latter with evidence of creation at either St. Augustine's or originally Christ Church,<sup>28</sup> despite hostility between the two houses. Of the records from BA1.772-810, 26 have donor records, including many of the larger collections such as the two above. While this can only imply creation of these volumes for such a purpose, it certainly offers a comparison to the Augustine collection at St. Mary de Pratis. John of London's compilations, however, establish him as thoroughly involved with passing down texts to the next generation of

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<sup>27</sup> *Logica uetus*: BA1 witnesses 10 copies. A20 witnesses 9 copies.

*Logica noua*: BA1 witnesses 8 copies. A20 witnesses 4 copies.

*Logica uetus* and *logica noua*: BA1 witnesses 10 copies.

*Corpus uetustius*: BA1 witnesses 11 copies. } A20 witnesses 4 *libri naturales*, which could imply either of these

*Corpus recentius*: BA1 witnesses 5 copies. } collections.

see *St. Augustine's*, pp. 2086-7; *Augustinian Canons*, p. 492.

<sup>28</sup> *St. Augustine's*, p. 843.

monks. It is in the nature of manuscript survival that examples like this are few and far between, but with 83 donations and 14 extant volumes John of London is likely to be well represented by the catalogues as viewed today.<sup>29</sup> Benedictine spirituality has been referred to as a life of patience and prayer, and mendicant spirituality as focused on poverty and preaching.<sup>30</sup> These collections of volumes confirm such Benedictine dispositions, and perhaps suggest an Augustinian spirituality based upon preaching and prayer.

### ***Monastic Learning and Devotion: VII. Writing a Text***

There is something about the writing of a text that is set apart from all the other exploits discussed so far. Meier wrote that writing during the medieval period was “considered not only the soil and the seed but the flower and the fruit of culture.”<sup>31</sup> The writing of a text is the ultimate manifestation of one’s study, thought, research and recordings. Indeed, the latter is the most prominent form of textual creation for both St. Augustine’s and St Mary, as it is the work of their chroniclers which have survived. Yet these often say little of the house itself. Henry Knighton’s *Chronicle* says more about monastic learning and devotion through the annotations left among its leaves than it does in the text. St. Augustine’s prayerful commendation of those who had improved the library, as recorded by William Thorne,<sup>32</sup> does provide insight into the house’s view of the importance of its book collections, as do Thomas Elmham’s records of the nine volumes central to the cult of St. Augustine<sup>33</sup> and those books kept at the altar. The ability to write such works is evidence of a culture of study encouraged

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<sup>29</sup> *St. Augustine’s*, p. 1841.

<sup>30</sup> L. Little and B. Rosenwein, ‘Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities’, *Past and Present*, No.63 (1974), p. 7.

<sup>31</sup> H.H. Meier, ‘Writing and medieval Culture’, in B. Engler, *Writing and Culture* (Tübingen, 1992), p. 32.

<sup>32</sup> Davis, *William Thorne’s Chronicle*, p. 392.

<sup>33</sup> *St Augustine’s*, p. 1650 - 1652.



within the walls of both houses. Yet it is difficult to do anything other than infer the actual motivation behind book creation from the catalogues. Instead, what is evident from the catalogue is the way these texts were used by their communities, holding more or less importance as the cataloguers saw fit.

St. Mary de Pratis' recording of two texts probably written by Richard Barre<sup>34</sup> is noteworthy, even though he was not a canon at Leicester. Whilst William Charyte's recorded scribal efforts are impressive they do not have the same importance as an original written text. However, St. Augustine's Abbot Nicholas Thorne appears to have been a regular who put ink to parchment as well as being recorded in the catalogue, with the possible authorship of a collection recorded as "sermons of the cloister".<sup>35</sup> It is also important not to forget the very foundation of this discussion, the catalogues themselves. They mark a considerable achievement on the part of their compilers and echo several generations of regulars, particularly at St. Augustine's, where it is likely the extant manuscript was a transcript from an earlier version.<sup>36</sup> St. Augustine's creation by five hands makes the catalogue's overall coherence all the more impressive, whereas William Charyte's largely solitary effort at Leicester Abbey depicts a character of extraordinary patience. Whilst the catalogue might not have the literary style demonstrated by a prose work, its construction and overall awareness of the included texts must have been the result of a thorough study of the library room and book collections.

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<sup>34</sup> *Augustinian Canons*, p. 128, see p. 78.

<sup>35</sup> BA1.674.

<sup>36</sup> *St. Augustines*. p. 3.

### ***Monastic Learning and Devotion: Nurturing a Collection***

There is one element which appears to be missing from the listed stages of monastic culture, and that is the way in which a collection was managed and enhanced. Whilst it may be true that a regular would receive within his house what those more experienced had to offer,<sup>37</sup> it is equally true that the extent of their educational ability was also directly attributable to book collections, both personal and corporate. To return to sermon texts, Barker-Benfield noted the lack of order to be found in the sermon collection records at St. Augustine's.<sup>38</sup> Leicester Abbey was, however, more organised. Whilst the sermon listing is itself largely comprised of cross-references, there was an intentional grouping of authors alphabetically. For example, A20.787-790 saw other copies of Augustine's sermons and A20.809-11 John of la Rochelle grouped together, despite these cross-references not correlating in their original catalogue positions. The sermon section, running from A20.780-895, was also furnished with sermon aids, such as concordances and tables.<sup>39</sup> Again, these were purposefully ordered. Yet both collections, diverse as they may be, were organised along broadly similar lines. It was inevitable that the order of the catalogue would be similar; any workable collection starts with its most important and most used texts, in this case Biblical and those immediately relatable.

The popularity of works by Peter Comestor and Peter Lombard has also been extensively noted, and it is their texts which find their way into small collections in accessible places like the cloister. The inclusion of Bibles, *Postille*, a copy of the *Historia Scholastica* and a glossed Psalter amongst the 16 books recorded in St. Augustine's cloister is therefore not a surprise.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, p. 72.

<sup>38</sup> *St. Augustine's*, p. 776.

<sup>39</sup> These run from A20.877-887.

<sup>40</sup> See Appendix A:ii.

Neither is the presence of a Bible in the refectory of St. Mary de Pratis. This is fitting as the cloister would have been the most likely location for the first books in the houses' collections, and the refectory a space used daily for reading to the regulars.

Tracing the movements of books can also shape an understanding of those who managed the libraries. The glossed Psalter BA1.REG71 was supposed to be in the cloister, but by the time it was catalogued it had evidently found its way back into the library for a time. The cataloguer made that quite clear in his description of the volume,<sup>41</sup> presumably so that the book could eventually be returned to its correct location. This type of movement was also seen in Durham where books of Prophets were moved from the spendement to the cloister and finally placed with the reference collection in the Library.<sup>42</sup> The movement of Bede's *Vita s. Cuthberti* between the different 'distinctiones' at St Augustine's shows indecision, or perhaps disagreement, among monks charged with the collection. Yet it was the author's name that eventually proved decisive, the volume being placed with Bede's other texts at D.6 G.1.<sup>43</sup> This last recorded move placed BA1.433 in the library next to those Bede texts that surrounded it in the catalogue. Whilst the structure of the records for Leicester Abbey does not permit the historian to see such moves, the inclusion of many cross-references, such as with the sermon texts, allows an understanding of the various categories that one text could be placed among.

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<sup>41</sup> BA1.REG71.

<sup>42</sup> A. Piper, 'The Monks at Durham and the Study of Scripture', in J.G. Clark (ed.), *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 88.

<sup>43</sup> See p. 36. BA1.433 started at D.9 G.3, moved to D9. G.5, then finished at D.6 G.1.

The movement of books on a grander scale is also key for the integration of texts within the collections. Much has already been written on the role of regulars at university, and in particular their resulting book collections. Even leading up to the dissolution, between 1500 to 1540 there were 324 monk graduates at Oxford from as many as 42 different houses.<sup>44</sup> It is therefore unsurprising that many of the regulars discussed by name in Chapters II and III were university students. This might suggest that these collections were essentially the working papers of student monks; but this probably places too much emphasis on those university attendees. After all some, like William de Clara of St Augustine's, who studied at Paris, did so before entering their abbey. This offered different possibilities for the eventual donation of their personal book collections. The role of a university as a focal point is crucial, as it provided a stable and continuous ground for each generation of regulars to encounter, discuss and share new ideas and texts. Such contacts and activities filtering back into monastic book collections was a clear means of influencing learning. That some, such as John of London, felt the need to actively place works they considered important into the library highlights this. Indeed, such a tie is solidified with Leicester Abbey by Richard Wetheringsett's status as the first identifiable Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, as well as Abbot Repyngdon's well recorded relationship with the University of Oxford.<sup>45</sup> Yet the monastic libraries were shared by both those with and without university connections, all at varying stages and abilities in their studies. It cannot be assumed that the libraries and their contents remained closed to all but those studying in higher education, but rather that these catalogues record a

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<sup>44</sup> J.G. Clark, 'The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England, in ed J.G. Clark, *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 20.

<sup>45</sup> Goering, 'Wetheringsett, Richard of (fl. c.1200–c.1230)'.  
 Forde, 'Repyndon, Philip (c.1345–1424)'.

place where all of the regulars could participate in the bibliocentric culture that shaped their monastic experiences.

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Based on the surviving evidence it is difficult to conclude any historical account, let alone one on a subject so broad and challenging as the use of medieval library catalogues. Indeed, the endless permutations for exploration of extant catalogues will always provide a seemingly endless web of available discussions. None the less, this thesis offers an insight into the ways in which such sources can be explored; from the catalogue and library organisation, to donor and borrowing records, to extant manuscripts, that all help to bring a closer understanding of the medieval regulars exposure to literature. Whilst St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester, may have found subtly different foci for their libraries, it is critical that both seem to have been cultivated in similar ways; in a cloister-centric world, concerned with study, reading, meditation<sup>46</sup> and (particularly at Leicester Abbey) preaching. There is little doubt that the regulars' interactions with their book collections were nothing short of a devotion. That these collections were in themselves also a key part of their daily devotions and acts of worship only strengthens their dependence on them. However, an undercurrent of learning can also be seen to be present within these two communities, and it is in the devotional use of these texts that this undercurrent is properly witnessed. Yet without the catalogue to emphasise the numerous levels of involvement with such a collection, the extant manuscripts alone would fail to bear witness to the fuller picture. So when two escapee monks wrote of their overly comfortable brethren "What do they for it, anything?... Truly nothing but read and sing",<sup>47</sup> they missed the most important detail; that reading can lead to

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<sup>46</sup> Boggis, *St. Augustine's*, p. 161.

<sup>47</sup> See p. 4. Heale, *Monasticism*, pp. 223 - 4.

study, and study to meditation and an understanding which, finally, can manifest itself in the will and desire to pass on this learning so that those who follow can acquire for themselves their own comprehension of their “cultus”.

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