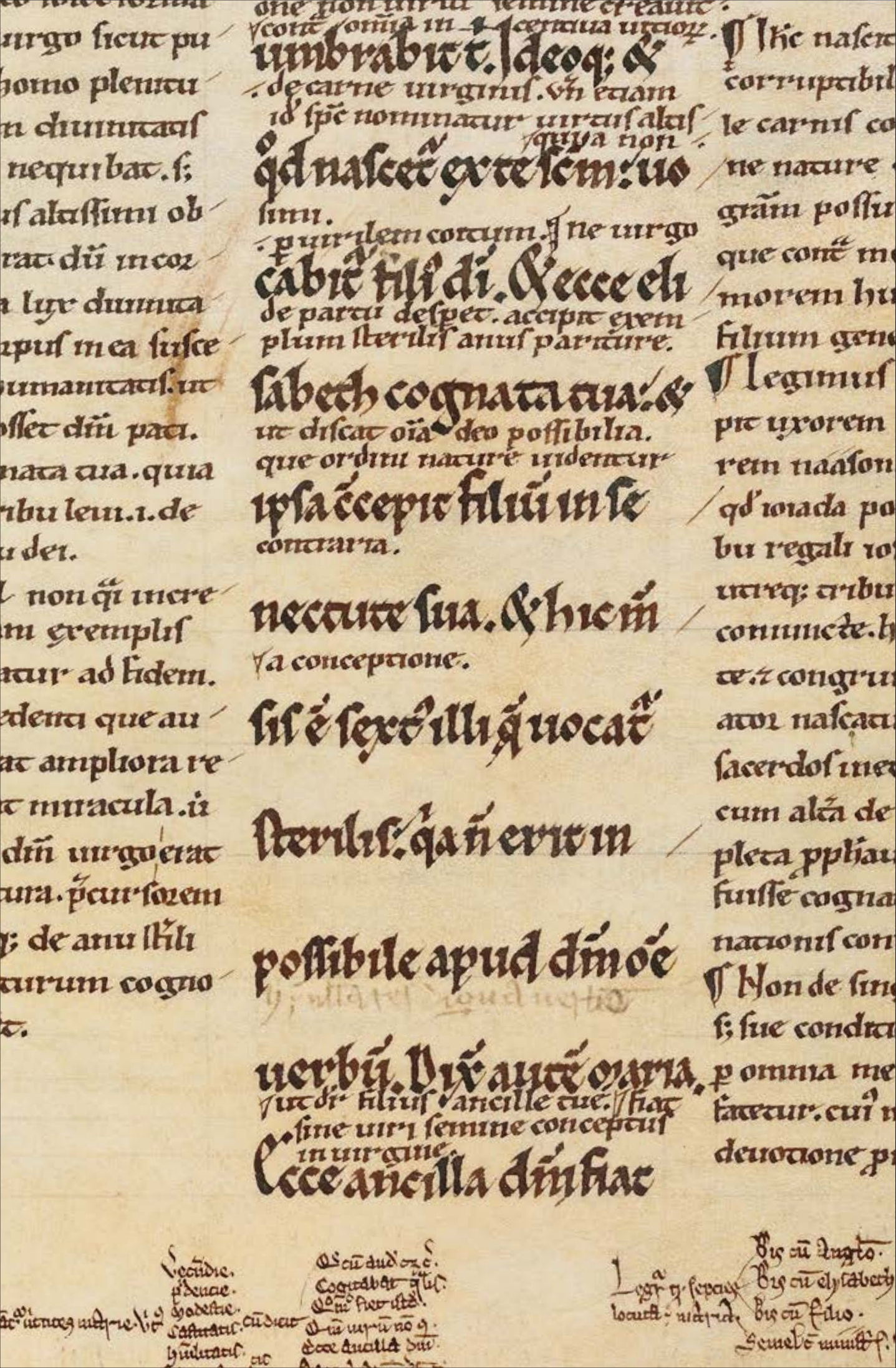


A

THE GLOSSED LUKE WITH THE LETTER A



THE GLOSSED LUKE WITH THE LETTER A

*A manuscript from St Augustine's Abbey
Canterbury*

Bruce Barker-Benfield

with an essay on the binding by Andrew Honey
and an introduction by
William Zachs

Blackie House

EDINBURGH
MMXX

Lucas. glo. en. A.

INTRODUCTION

WILLIAM ZACHS

THE BOUND MANUSCRIPT DESCRIBED AND ILLUSTRATED IN the following pages comes very close to my idea of a perfect old book: a Gospel of Luke produced in Canterbury nine centuries ago and given the name *Lucas glosatus cum A*, the ‘Glossed Luke with the letter A’. Unlike the majority of surviving manuscripts from the medieval period, the volume remains in its first binding. This particular feature first drew me to it when the book appeared at auction in 2009. A tactile skin, which we now know to be roe deer, covers a pair of solid oak boards. Together, this skin and wood protect 156 parchment leaves. On these translucent pages are written in Latin both the gospel text and an extensive commentary, later to be absorbed into the *Glossa ordinaria*. This commentary, a new text at the time, had come to England from France in the wake of the Norman Conquest. Its appearance in the manuscript, written between the lines of the main text and in the margins, speaks to the *mise en page* of a book at the time of its production nearly a millennium ago.

When my friend John Jeffrey, a bookbinder and Greek Orthodox priest, first held the book, I was taken aback to see him kiss it. Gradually, however, I began to understand the reverential aura a sacred object of this kind can transmit. I re-read Luke’s Gospel and tentatively dipped into the *Glossa ordinaria* (available online). A specially designed box was made by James Brockman to house this venerable yet vulnerable codex.

A manuscript of this age is a rare survivor in any condition. One so well preserved is, perhaps, little short of miraculous. Benedictine monks at St Augustine’s Abbey most likely made this glossed Luke. Unlike such monumental works as the Book of Kells or the Lindisfarne Gospels, which are a few centuries older, this copy is not illuminated. Even the

decoration is limited to a few initial letters in green, red and ochre on the first leaves. Paleographers refer to the style of the main script as 'prickly'. To my eye this characterful handwriting, like the ink itself, possesses an organic resonance. Extensive markings of different readers in the margins of many pages offer evidence of its thoughtful devotional use over the centuries.

More than an artefact, and more than a sacred biblical text, this book is a window into the English monastic world. The book remained at St Augustine's from the time it was made in the early Norman period until the Dissolution of 1538 when that way of life quite suddenly came to an end. From that event until 1800 the volume's location and owners are not known. If nothing else, we can speculate that it was benignly neglected. In the early twentieth century, the Glossed Luke was acquired by George Dunn, a distinguished English collector. A letter from Dunn to Sydney Cockerell of 6 February 1905 (unearthed by Bill Stoneman) amusingly refers to the book: 'I raided Quaritch's the other day with poor results. Only four things that suited my fancy and purse – not one among them that you would envy, except a downright ugly Lucas glossatus ... in its original binding.' (Houghton: MS Eng 1106/16).

Books of such quality – 'downright ugly' or not – rarely come on the market. Though known to scholars since Dunn's time, this manuscript had last appeared in public in 1968 at the sale of the books of Sir Alfred Chester Beatty – apparently a cast-off from his remarkable collection. It then passed to Sir Alfred's friend John Galvin, an Australian-born newspaper, mining and cattle baron. Galvin died in 1994, and in 2009 one of his heirs consigned the book to Sotheby's in London.

Once acquired, it was my desire to learn more about *Lucas glosatus* and share its story with others. To this end, I asked Bruce Barker-Benfield, a senior curator at the Bodleian Library, to write the principal essay in this booklet. An authority on medieval manuscripts, he is the editor of the three-volume catalogue of the library of St Augustine's Abbey in the *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues* series. When I brought the book to Oxford, Bruce examined it from cover to cover, educating me along the way. His close inspection revealed features that had previously eluded scholars. One of these, a shadowy letter A on the spine, may relate to the last part of the book's name, '*cum A*' [plate 21]. The essay Bruce has written, sprinkled with humour and speculation, evinces his quiet enthusiasm for this book and his deep knowledge of the world it once inhabited. Bruce's fellow medieval scholar Christopher de Hamel remarked to me after reading the essay, 'I know of no other account of a single manuscript which so comprehensively encompasses the history of monastic life in England'.





Bruce begins with an account of St Augustine's Abbey, its extensive library and late medieval catalogue, describing what is known of its other seventeen copies of the Gospel of Luke text. Significantly, none of these is known to have survived. He then turns to the production of the book itself in the Abbey's scriptorium, analysing the respective roles of the four scribes who wrote out the main text and gloss, and of the maker of the elegant, though unfinished 'arabesque' decoration. Bruce's story continues with an account of the gloss and the tradition from which this commentary emerged. From these original textual elements, he turns to the annotations of three of the book's monastic readers. After considering the reading and borrowing of books at St Augustine's, Bruce takes us into the library room itself, speculating on its layout and reconstructing the arrangement of the volumes on the shelves. Concluding with an account of the more recent history of *Lucas glosatus*, he offers a telling observation: 'Just as one stray leaf carries the DNA of its parent book, so one book can represent a library'. In a manner that is no less engaging than scholarly, Bruce has hit precisely on my idea of the perfect essay about this perfect old book.

I am grateful not only for his contribution but for his patience with the delay in publication. To this, I add my thanks to Andrew Honey, Bruce's Bodleian colleague. A member of the Library's conservation team and a highly regarded bookbinding historian, Andrew produced a detailed description of the binding on *Lucas glosatus*, and oversaw the book's photography. When further conversations led to the plan that Andrew's account might be expanded for inclusion in this booklet, I also welcomed his idea to prepare a parallel description of another twelfth-century St Augustine's volume (MS Bodl. 826) also in its original binding. While necessarily technical, these descriptions make an important contribution to the scholarship on medieval bookbinding. Detailed photographs of the bindings' components, along with Andrew's skillful drawings of sewing and other generally hidden features, complement his insightful observations.

Since acquiring *Lucas glosatus*, I had been curious to know if there was a scientific technique that could, in a non-invasive way, determine what animal's hide covers the volume. Until the autumn of 2012 I made little progress. Then a contact at the National Museum of Scotland put me in touch with Professor Matthew Collins at the University of York, who reported that his colleague Dr Sarah Fiddyment had developed 'a non-invasive analysis to enable identification of animal skin'. In December 2012 I brought the book to York. The method, developed from traditional conservation techniques, involved lightly applying a PVC eraser to the skin's surface and collecting the waste eraser fragments from which minute amounts of collagen could be

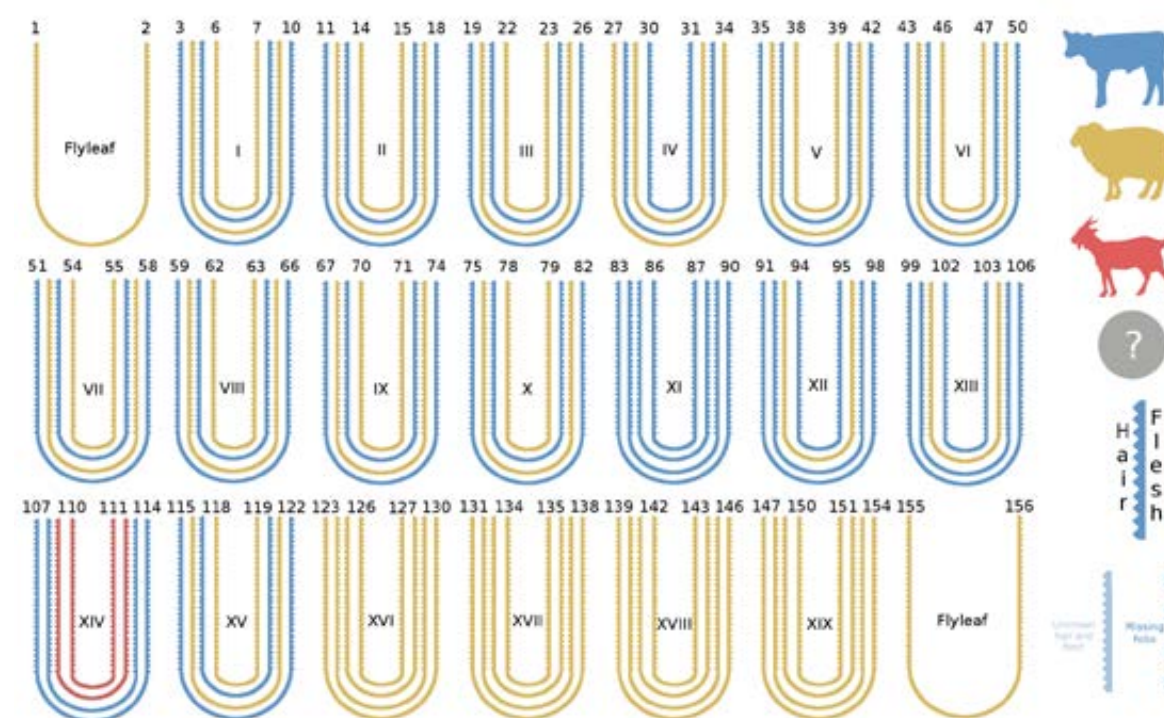
extracted. While it was designed primarily for parchment rather than an alum-tawed skin, such as is on the Glossed Luke, it transpired that there were sufficient quantities of the collagen protein on the surface to obtain a sample for analysis. The multi-step method, which used a rather large machine called a Matrix-Assisted Laser Desorption/Ionization Time of Flight Mass Spectrometer, can be seen in a five-minute video by searching the terms ‘University of York, parchment, archaeology, ZooMS’ and scrolling down to the YouTube link. A few days after my visit to York, Sarah and Matthew shared the results. The book was bound in deerskin, specifically roe deer. The small strap, which at one time connected the boards, was thought to be from a red deer or fallow deer. A more detailed exchange of information with Dr Naomi Sykes, director of the Fallow Deer Project at Nottingham University, provided context and interpretation to the identification of roe deer. These results were first reported in an article entitled ‘Holy Roe!’ in the journal *Deer* (Summer 2014).

I now had the answer to my original question about the skin of the binding. However, the scientific investigation did not end there. On a visit to Edinburgh, Sarah Fiddymment and her colleague Jiří Vnouček (a conservator at the Royal Library in Copenhagen) used the method, as well as photography and close visual inspection, to analyze all of the manuscript’s parchment leaves. Each of the nineteen quires, the primary binding unit, consists of four folded parchment sheets (bifolia), or eight leaves – thus sixteen pages to a quire. The results were surprising. They reveal a complex arrangement of the quires, represented in the diagram opposite.

The first ten quires are composed of equal numbers of interleaved calf and sheep bifolia. (The order reversed in quire 4.) Quire 11 is made entirely from calf parchment, while 12 and 13 each have a single sheep bifolium. Quire 14 then presents something unexpected: two goatskin bifolia (comprising half a goat) within two of calf. While goats were not an animal at all removed from the environs of southern England, it was not expected that any had wandered into the St Augustine’s scriptorium in Canterbury – even if briefly. It may be a coincidence, but it is in the same quire (14) as the goatskin leaves that the single reference to a goat (hædum – or more properly ‘kid’) is found in the gospel text (Luke 15. 29, ‘and yet thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends’, on fol. 107r). Continuing the sequence: quire 15 looks back to the earlier calf-sheep arrangement of quires 1–10, while the final four quires (like the front and back flyleaf bifolia) are sheep parchment.

Jiří Vnouček’s analysis of the markings of each bifolium to determine the part of the respective animal from which it comes, concludes that

Lucas glosatus was made from twelve sheep (4 bifolia per sheep); seven calves (4 bifolia per calf); and a goat (or rather half a goat). Adding in the roe and red deer, we have quite a zoological array in a single volume. The detailed results of the work of Collins, Fiddymment, Vnouček and their colleagues is published in *Bioinformatics* (2020), ‘How to Get Your Goat: Automated Identification of Species from MALDI-ToF Spectra’ (available online: <https://doi.org/10.1093/bioinformatics/btaa181>).



[PLATE 3] Diagram devised by Jiří Vnouček and Sarah Fiddymment of the quire structure of *Lucas glosatus*, indicating species identification and hair and flesh sides of the parchment bifolia.

Courtesy of Sarah Fiddymment, Jiří Vnouček and the ‘Beasts to Craft’ Group

As this was the first time the parchment of a medieval manuscript had been so systematically scrutinized in this way, the significance of these findings, however surprising or however random, remains a matter of current discussion among scholars. Until further codices are analyzed much necessarily remains speculative.

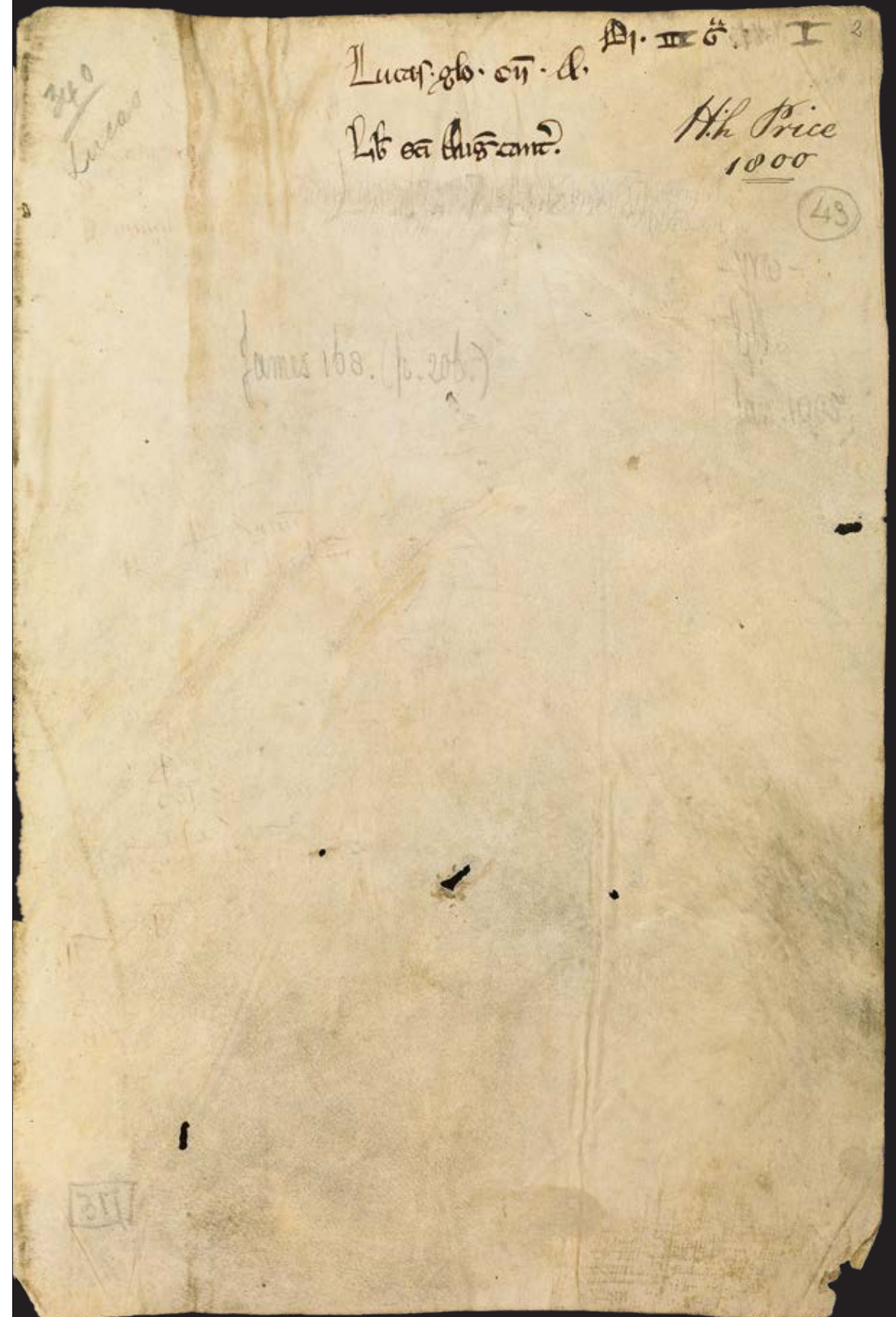
In any event, the results were of enough interest to announce them at a gathering of medievalists, book historians, scientists and others which took place in May 2017 at the Bodleian Library. It was led by Professor Peter Stallybrass, director of the ‘Beasts and Books Project’,

a collaboration between researchers at the universities of Pennsylvania, York, Manchester, and Virginia. The Project combines archaeobiology and codicological, historical and literary analysis to discover what we might learn from working on parchment manuscripts using every possible means now available. Building on these approaches, the general aim is ‘to analyze individual books in as much detail as possible, to provide a model for the 360° study of any book.’

Once again, I took the *Lucas glosatus* in its protective box down to Oxford. What followed were two fascinating days of talks, discussions, and above all close inspection by expert eyes not only of the Glossed Luke but also of a dozen or so other downright wonderful manuscripts from the Bodleian’s collections, including ms Bodl. 826 – the St Augustine’s manuscript in Andrew Honey’s comparative article in this booklet.

Writers and photographers from magazine *Science* covered the symposium and produced articles both in print (Gibbons, ‘Biology of the Book’, *Science* 346–9, 2017) and online (search the terms ‘sciencemag, goats and bookworms’). These pieces, and the symposium itself, brought the story to a far wider audience than I might ever have imagined. Nevertheless, it is in the pages which follow that the best account is to be found. Having said that, it only remains for me to invite you, after reading this booklet, to come to Edinburgh to see this ‘down-right ugly’ *Lucas glosatus cum A* for yourself.

Edinburgh, May 2020



[PLATE 4] Fol. 2r (front flyleaf): medieval and later inscriptions

overleaf

[PLATE 5] Fols. 92v–93r (Luke 13. 1–4, 4–7, parable of the barren fig tree): full view of open book, written by main Scribe I and Gloss-scribe iii, with book-mark of braided green silk

36
 Solent impia ⁊ scelata morte scelerum
 suorum penas solvere. q̄b; cū ip̄a mors
 obfuit, ut in solam mortē intrārent. s;
 impia uita. Penas se autē ad conuersionē
 uocantū. ut flagellati pestilentie. illi
 ē sapiens fuit. ul' ad preceptū corrigi
 nolentū. iog; pestilentie p̄torq;

miscuit cū sacrifici
cū eor. Et respon



THE GLOSSED LUKE WITH THE LETTER A

BRUCE BARKER-BENFIELD

Lucas glo(satus) cum A, ‘The glossed Luke with the letter A’, is the unique Latin name of a medieval manuscript which has survived in near perfect condition for over eight and a half centuries. Its Latin Vulgate text of St Luke’s Gospel was copied out by English scribes towards the middle of the 12th century, along with a Latin interlinear and marginal commentary compiled only recently in the French schools. The manuscript belonged to and was most likely written at St Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury, an ancient Benedictine community where, like family pets, every book had its own name. The glossed Luke was tagged with a large ‘A’ on its spine, and its full name and address – title ‘cum A’, and the abbey’s *ex libris* and library shelfmark – were inscribed by a later medieval librarian on the front flyleaf (pl. 4).

The manuscript is a typical product of the century after the Norman Conquest, when English monastic scriptoria were producing some of the finest books ever made. It shows the sombre strength and noble character of its period: text handsomely written, decoration restrained, binding solid as oak. It is written on stout parchment in early Gothic script, partly in the ‘prickly’ style used in Canterbury during the first half of the 12th century. The principle of its design is the contrast, standard for a glossed book, between the large and small scripts used for text and commentary. Otherwise, its decoration comprises just three larger painted initials at the start of the text, modestly decorated in the style known as ‘arabesque’ (pls. 9–11), and an unfinished scheme of small coloured initials (pl. 18). The manuscript is bound in oak boards covered with plain alum-tawed leather (pls. 19–22 and pp. 77–88), with the flat spine and tab endbands which identify this as the original Romanesque or ‘monastic’ binding, of superlative quality and condition.

ST AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY, CANTERBURY

The Luke's Latin *ex libris* reads 'Lib' Sc'i Aug'. cant.': that is, with abbreviations expanded, *Liber Sancti Augustini Cantuariensis*, 'The book of St Augustine of Canterbury' (pl. 4). As standard in medieval formulations of this kind, saint and community are one. St Augustine was both the patron and the embodiment of the abbey: his body lay enshrined in the Abbey Church as the reason for its existence and its constant focus. The librarian who added this inscription on the flyleaf around the late 13th century or early 14th century is thus asserting, consciously or unconsciously, that the book belongs to the saint as much as to his monks.

Augustine had been sent from Rome by Pope Gregory I at the end of the 6th century to convert the pagans of Southern England to the Roman version of Christianity. He inspired the local king, Æthelberht, to establish the abbey as one of two religious communities serving major churches at Canterbury, chief town of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Kent. As Augustine lay dying, in or around AD 604, the Abbey Church was being built just outside the city walls. It was sited there to be the burial church, dedicated first to the patrons of Rome, Saints Peter and Paul, and intended to receive his own body and those of succeeding archbishops and of the kings of Kent. For over 900 years, the monks' prime duty was to tend the shrines of St Augustine and his 'companions' – a numinous, intergenerational band of early archbishops, whose tombs came to be laid out in a semicircle in the Abbey Church. Meanwhile, within the city, the living archbishop occupied the throne of St Augustine at Christ Church Cathedral, which was served by its own religious community, later a Benedictine Priory. To this day the Cathedral still stands as the seat of an archbishop, albeit Anglican; but St Augustine's Abbey was dissolved by King Henry VIII on 30 July 1538, its buildings soon reduced and left ultimately to ruin. The abbey's best surviving monument is the residue of its religious and intellectual life: around two hundred manuscripts, now scattered but together comprising about one tenth of its once magnificent library.

THE ABBEY LIBRARY

Gregory the Great had sent books through Augustine to the first abbot, Peter. The most important, according to the later monastic chroniclers, was a two-volume bible which was revered at the medieval abbey as *Biblia Sancti Gregorii* or *Biblia Gregoriana*. Its decoration had included some purple-dyed leaves, the bibliophile's ultimate luxury. Other book-relics were similarly named after early patrons – a *Psalterium Augustini* after the saint, and a *Textus Adriani*, probably a Gospels from a learned immigrant abbot of the late 7th century, St Hadrian the African.

Another Gospels was called *Textus Sanctae Mildredae*, an association with St Mildred (d. 732) which suggests that it came from her abbey of Minster-in-Thenet when this was annexed to St Augustine's in the 11th century. This book came with its own harsh miracle: a peasant in Thanet who used it to swear a false oath had been struck blind. All these books named after saintly owners are now evidently lost, though Gregory's Bible was invoked one last time in the early 17th century, by English Catholics as provocative testimony that 'what Scriptures we have, we had them from *Rome*'. A 6th-century Gospels still surviving from the abbey – though its modern nickname 'The Gospels of St Augustine' has no medieval basis – is brought to Canterbury Cathedral from its present home at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS 286), to be kissed by every Anglican archbishop at their enthronement. On 17 September 2010 it was taken to an evening service at Westminster Abbey, to be kissed almost simultaneously by the visiting Pope Benedict XVI and Dr Rowan Williams, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Thus the abbey's books continue to exert their power.

In the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods, St Augustine's Abbey was home to one of England's finest and most influential scriptoria. From the 9th to the 12th century, generations of expert scribes used the successive and overlapping styles of insular, square minuscule, English Caroline and early Gothic scripts to write out books not only for the abbey's own library but also for outside clients. In the world before printing, their professional output of handwritten, decorated and sometimes illustrated books made the abbey both a storehouse of knowledge and a centre for the wider dissemination of texts, ideas and images. After the 12th century, however, the abbey library came increasingly to rely on outside sources for accessions, more randomly obtained, and its external influence waned.

Although a monastery naturally had its own communal library, the Benedictine Order also allowed its monks their own books, at least in the later Middle Ages, to be treated in practice if not in theory as entirely theirs during their lifetimes. As individuals, they might still copy these out for themselves; but they came to rely increasingly on the professional book-trade of the cities and universities for commissions of new books or for second-hand purchases. A few monks even had themselves portrayed in the margins or initials in their black robes, sometimes by the finest lay illuminators of their day. This apparent deviation from the monastic ideal, in the comfortable Benedictine manner so deplored by other Orders, had a practical and beneficent result. At St Augustine's, most books acquired from the 13th century onwards were made outside the abbey and reached its library piecemeal, through gifts

(mostly posthumous) from its own monks and a few secular friends. A book obtained in this way usually took its name ‘de accessione fratris ...’, from the brother who had first acquired it. At the death of any monk, the Precentor (the monastic officer in charge of books and the conduct of church services) is instructed by the abbey’s 14th-century Customary to gather up his books, inscribe them with his name, present them at the next Chapter-meeting and add them to the library. Thus the dead monk was automatically recognised as a donor, to be commemorated in the annual mass for library benefactors; and his name was incorporated into the book’s own volume-title for future readers to see and remember.

The library’s chief function must always have been to provide mostly biblical and theological texts to the average monk for his daily duty of study in the Cloister. Standard books might have remained viable over several centuries, for cohort after cohort of reading monks. This is attested in the Luke by its later annotations. Fragments reused in other medieval bindings from St Augustine’s indicate that some older books were discarded and recycled as waste parchment. Other losses may have been caused by a fire in the abbey in 1168, said to have destroyed many old *codicellae*, ‘little books’ (more likely documents). However, much dead wood was allowed to remain. Shelved amongst the staples of monastic reading were school texts, past and present; university books brought back from Oxford; old homiliaries and redundant prayer-books; scientific, astrological and magical handbooks; and even French romances. Read or unread, such books accumulated in the Library Room or in other nooks and crannies until, by c. 1500, the monks had built up a library of around two thousand manuscripts, dating from the 6th to the 15th centuries. These books were nearly all written on parchment, not paper, and the absence of printed books seems telling, if unexplained: although the monks of the 1530s had access to a local printing press, there is little or no evidence that printed books were ever allowed to infest their Library Room.

THE MEDIEVAL LIBRARY CATALOGUE AND ITS TRANSCRIPT
Around the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries – under one of the three abbots who reigned between 1375 and 1420 – a catalogue of the library was anonymously compiled. It may well have been the work of a team, given the huge number of books catalogued. Its systematic subject-arrangement was facilitated by elaborate cross-referencing of the secondary texts from multi-text volumes, and there was an alphabetical Index of text-titles. The Catalogue-entry for each book started with its own proper name (main title, with donor’s name and/or letter) and continued with any secondary texts. When a manuscript like *Lucas*

glo. cum A still survives from the abbey library with all endleaves intact, the wording of its Catalogue-entry usually finds an exact match in an inscription or contents-table on its flyleaves. The cataloguers’ method is thus revealed: rather than fully redescribing each book, they could draw on the work of predecessors who had first individually named the books and analysed their contents.

Each Catalogue-entry ended with the book’s *secundo folio* reading, a sophisticated medieval device for identifying an individual copy of a given text. The trick works only for manuscripts, not printed books, for it relies on the principle that every scribe writes at a distinctive pace. Copyists transcribing the same text are very likely to have reached different points already by the top of the second leaf (folio 2 recto = page 3). Later medieval catalogues routinely record the first word or words of the second-folio reading, thereby preserving to this day prime evidence to match the manuscript if it is still extant. Identification by second-folio reading alone is not infallible, but decisive (as with the Luke) if supported by any other clue to the same provenance. At St Augustine’s, the books’ individual names already distinguished multiple copies of the same text, so the Catalogue’s inclusion of second-folio readings was a belt-and-braces approach.

In its subject-arrangement, the Catalogue followed but did not exactly reproduce the arrangement of books in the Library Room. *Lucas glo. cum A* is catalogued amongst the biblical texts and studies of the first subject-division, which starts in grand style with the entries for the two-volume *Biblia Sancti Gregorii* on the first shelf of the first book-press. Like the capacious shelves of the Library Room itself, the Catalogue allowed plenty of room for expansion, for it listed copies of the same text together in blocks and left a space for additions after each block. Its Index was similarly spaced with gaps for expansion. Over the following decades, the spaces in both main Catalogue and Index gradually clogged up with added volume-entries and text-titles for newly acquired or newly catalogued books, until by the 1470s the working copy of the Catalogue needed to be replaced.

At some time between 1474 and 1497 the Catalogue was re-transcribed on paper by a team of five copyists. Hand A started by copying out the Index, omitting any page-references to the old copy. Hand D was the project’s director and principal corrector, most likely the current Precentor. There is some slight evidence to identify him as John Dygon I, before the latter’s election as Abbot in January 1497. As an innovation, the director asked the scribes copying each entry to include spaces labelled with the ablative forms *D(istinctione)* and *G(radu)* for the shelfmarks, but to leave these initially unfilled. He paginated the new transcript, numbered the entries on each page, and continued to add

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1	libra	libra				☉
2	libra	libra		in opus		☉
3	libra	libra	libra	libra	libra	☉
4	libra	libra	libra			libra
5	libra	libra	libra	libra		libra
6	libra	libra		in organum		libra
7	libra	libra		libra		libra
8		libra		libra		libra
9		libra		libra		libra
10	libra	libra	libra	libra	libra	libra
11	libra	libra		libra		libra
12	libra	libra		libra		libra
13	libra	libra		libra		libra
14	libra		libra	libra		☉
15	libra		libra		libra	
16	libra	libra	in p[ro]hemio	libra	libra	
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[PLATE 6] Dublin, Trinity College, MS 360 (St Augustine's Library Catalogue, late 15th-century transcript), fol. 1 verso: Locations Register, second page, locating *Lucas glo. cum A* at col. 7 no. 12, in the Library Room. By kind permission of the Board of Trinity College Dublin

further new or replacement entries. He added page-references sporadically to the Index; and in front of the Index he laid out a Locations Register in grid form, keyed to the transcript's new page- and entry-numbers. He there recorded either the locations where he found the books – usually the *libraria*, the Library Room – or the names of the monks who had borrowed them. These borrowers, totalling 23 individuals, are nearly all identifiable elsewhere in the ordination records of the archbishops, being first listed (mostly as acolyte, the lowest of the four orders of priesthood) always between 1450 and 1475. Other physical locations stated in the Locations Register or occasionally in the main Catalogue included the Cloister, the Vestry, and various chapels in the Abbey Church.

As Hand D checked the books on the shelves of the Library Room, he entered their shelfmark-numbers into the blank slots of the Catalogue's main entries – though he did not complete this process. He filled in the numbers for over a thousand volumes, but still left several hundred entries with shelfmark-slots still blank – mostly for books presumably shelved in the book-presses with higher numbers or kept elsewhere. Later, the original Catalogue of 1375–1420 was discarded or lost, for only the late 15th-century transcript survives (Dublin, Trinity College, MS 360) to record the library's books, their pet names and locations. The full entry for the glossed St Luke reads there (fol. 30r) as follows:

Lucas glo cum A. 2^o fo. in prohemio. qui p(er) Dauid D' 3^a G^a 1^o

The shelfmark-numbers (thus expandable to the ablative *Distinctione tertia, Gradu primo*) were added by Hand D, who also numbered the entry itself as no. 12 on Page 7 of the transcribed Catalogue (pl. 8). It is numbered [BA1.]168 in the modern editions of the Catalogue, published 1903¹ and 2008² (where 'BA1' is the code for this catalogue in the British Academy's Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues).

So, to correlate the extant book with its medieval cataloguing history, the volume-name 'Lucas glo cum A' was copied by a cataloguer of 1375–1420 directly from the earlier inscription, 'Lucas.glo. Cu(m).A.', on the book's front flyleaf (pl. 4). The Catalogue's wording is identical, though lacking the stops which appear in the inscription, somewhat unclearly spaced, between each word. The cataloguer then turned two leaves forward to the top of the second leaf of the Luke's written text (fol. 4r, pl. 15), where the original scribe had arrived near the end of the Preface at the words '|| q(u)i p(er) dauid'; these first three words of the page were duly catalogued as the book's second-folio reading. The words 'in prohemio' ('in the preface') were included as part of that reading, to indicate that the second leaf was to be counted from the start of the Preface (fol. 3r, pl. 9), not 'in textu' from the start of the Gospel

	Jerisio cū dā j'adnos Imonit poeta 100 Imonaliu poeta 101 M¹⁷ 90 Affnomia 109
Gerarchie sū dionisi 20 Iohēd cōstomū sū yathe. Iohēd de belet de mystiū Iohēd de garlandia de miza cūlū bēe vgnū Iohēd dānastemū 22 Iohēd de ponderibz Iohēd mēfuo de medi. Iordanū de ppealio Iosephū hystoriogpandū mē 61 Iph dūmū sup dūmū 24	
Innocētiū sū de cētā Innocētiū de mīfōmā cōdūp gmmāno Innocētiū sū vīi p'salmū 39 nemt oualēd Innocētiū de mīfōmā mīfō 20 Iusticiū q'stoppērga q'fū 23 Iusticiū p'ligiosoz i ordm Iudicētoz Alfabūp Iudicētoz zaelū Iusticiū Iustitū	alendāro apū p'etū de dācū alendāro vōbū lucolmēd M Polwarbū 22 Exramū 92
stenāzū p'anoz 22 Ienāpū hōmū p'etū 20 Ienāzū Ienādi	1 Quētiū glosatū 2.12 Lucū cūm glosatū 1 lectūza contōne sū sūmā 22 lectū alia sū sūmā 22 lib q' dē p'it cōnū lib de cōfessibz nomēd lib q' dē philomēna de cūca p'astorali 40 libell de doctina cordis lib oēmū lib denocēmū 42 lib cōtemplacōmū lib meditacōmū 43 land bēe ayape dūpū de vīi p'salmū leo p' de cōflictu vīcū 44 4 p' virtutū lib thōmē bradwēdū de cū dei Lucidū 110

[PLATE 7] Dublin, Trinity College, MS 360 (St Augustine's Library Catalogue, late 15th-century transcript), fol. 18v: alphabetical Index, with titles under 'L' (col. 11) starting with 'Leviticus glossed', then 'Luke the Evangelist glossed' citing page 7 of the Main Catalogue. By kind permission of the Board of Trinity College Dublin

1	Lucas glo. dūpū 20 fo. cōpōst d' 3 6¹⁰ 1A
2	Lucas glo. cū 23. 20 fo. m. tōpū p' 18 gmmū quomām. d' 3 6¹⁰
3	Lucas p' Iohēd glo. hēp dō 23¹⁰ 19 p'etū. 20 fo. m. tōpū sū. d' 3 6¹⁰
4	Lucas glo. non hīc qz sup m. 20 chiel. glo. h. de p'arnomplū.
5	Lucas glo. sūmōm dē cōmbrēg 21 20 fo. m. tōpū p'etū. d' 3 6¹⁰
6	Op lūcā p'p' 11
7	
8	Iohēd sūmōm glo. Salomōm cū 22 20 fo. 13¹⁰ p'etū. d' 3 6¹⁰
9	Iohēd sūmōm glo. cū 23. 20 fo. 23 m. tōpū quāst. d' 3 6¹⁰
10	Iohēd sūmōm glo. p'adūpū 20 fo m. tōpū p'etū m. p'etū p'etū
11	Iohēd sūmōm glo. p'etū 20 fo. 24 tōpū p'etū m. sūmōm dē cōmbrēg
12	Iohēd sūmōm glo. cū 23. 20 fo. 26 tōpū p'etū. hōc antē. d' 3 6¹⁰
13	Iohēd sūmōm glo. m. quāst. 20 fo. 2A m. tōpū p'etū. dēcū. d' 3 6¹⁰
14	Iohēd sūmōm glo. p' m. eodē libo 28 p'etū dūlēs Gregorū et cōctū tū super mīssū q' sū p'etū
15	Iohēd de p'arnomplū 20 fo. m. 27 p'etū. p'etū. d' 3 6¹⁰
16	Iohēd sūmōm glo. p' m. q' qz sū 29 p' m. ayatō glo. mag' cūcūlū
17	Iohēd sūmōm glo. nō q' qz sup 30 Iohēd glo. h. de p'etū p'etū
18	Iohēd sūmōm glo. nō q' qz sup 31 ayatō glo. h. de p'etū p'etū
19	Iohēd sūmōm glo. nō q' qz sup 31 ayatō glo. h. de p'etū p'etū
20	Iohēd sūmōm glo. nō q' qz sup 31 ayatō glo. h. de p'etū p'etū
21	Iohēd sūmōm glo. nō q' qz sup 31 ayatō glo. h. de p'etū p'etū
22	Iohēd sūmōm glo. nō q' qz sup 31 ayatō glo. h. de p'etū p'etū
23	Iohēd sūmōm glo. nō q' qz sup 31 ayatō glo. h. de p'etū p'etū
24	Iohēd sūmōm glo. nō q' qz sup 31 ayatō glo. h. de p'etū p'etū

[PLATE 8] Dublin, Trinity College, MS 360 (St Augustine's Library Catalogue, late 15th-century transcript), fol. 30r: Main Catalogue, page 7, with entry for Lucas glo. cum A at no. 12 amongst the other glossed Lukes. By kind permission of the Board of Trinity College Dublin

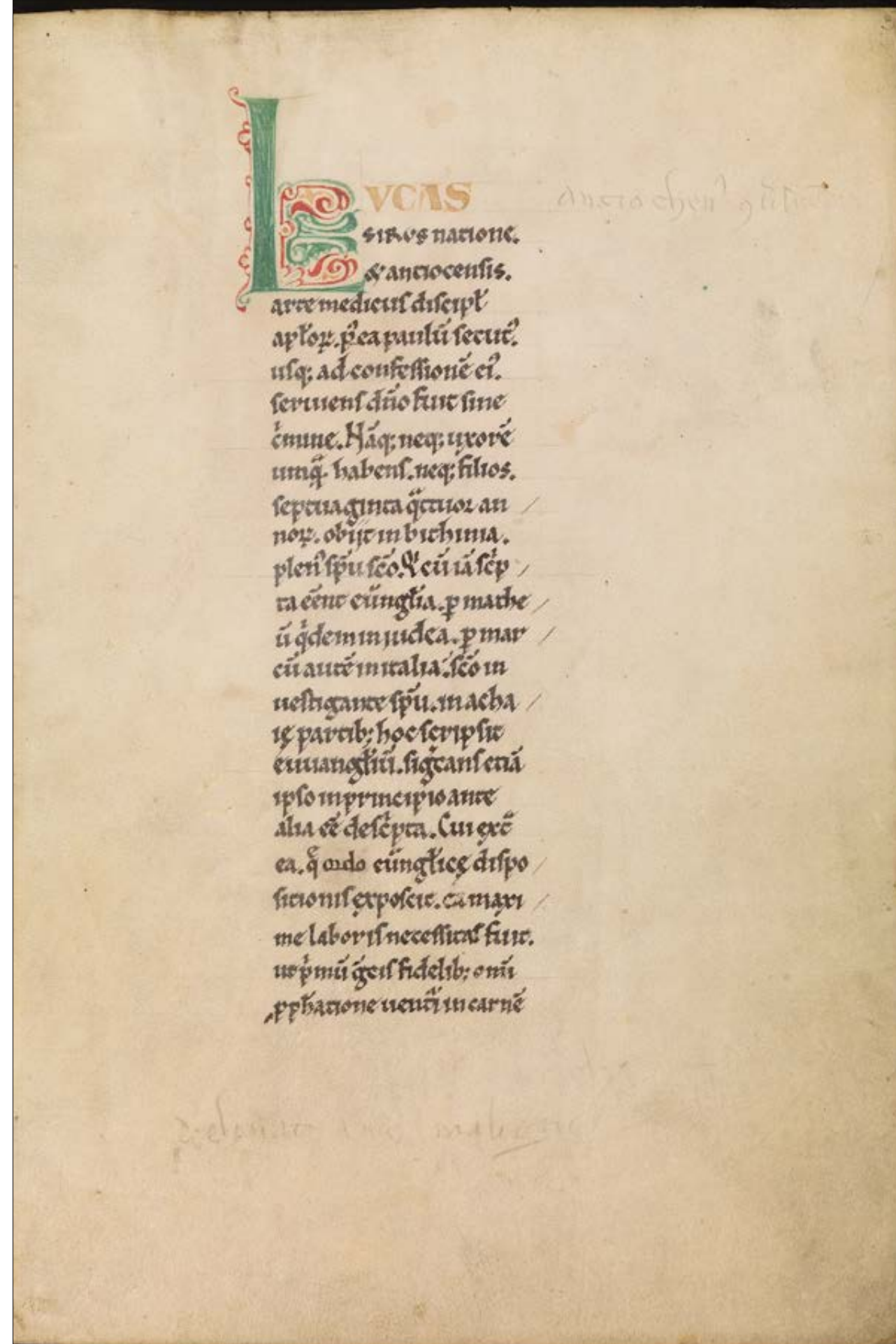
(fol. 4v or 5r, pls. 10–11). Finally, decades later, the entire Catalogue-entry was recopied sometime after 1474 into the Catalogue's surviving transcript. Hand A duly incorporated blank shelfmark-slots, into which the director Hand D inserted the numbers for D.3 G.1 when he made his shelf-check. He had found the book shelved there in place in the Library Room, for he also wrote the word *libraria* as the corresponding grid-entry for Page 7 no. 12 in his added Locations Register (TCD MS 360, fol. 1 verso) (pl. 6).

The library history of *Lucas glo. cum A* thus locates it physically in the hands of at least four abbey librarians, each most likely the Precentor of his time: the monk who first added the book's name and library markings on its flyleaf in the late 13th or early 14th century; a successor who, sometime later, altered the flyleaf's shelfmark numbers; the original cataloguer, between 1375 and 1420; and the director of the transcribed Catalogue, after 1474, who located the book on its library shelf. This last might have been John Dygon I, the future abbot of 1497–1510, whose tomb was excavated in modern times beneath the floor of the lost Lady Chapel in the Abbey Church.

MULTIPLE DUPLICATES

If the great library had not been recorded in skeletal outline by its Catalogue, one of its defining features would have been lost to sight. The letter 'A' of the glossed Luke offers an immediate clue that it might not have been the abbey's only copy. Without the Catalogue, however, there would be no way to guess that it had been one of the library's ten separate manuscripts of the same text, or one of as many as eighteen or nineteen duplicates if the secondary copies in multi-text volumes are also counted.

Multiplication of duplicates – all handwritten, not printed, so each still uniquely individual – was due largely to the later policy of acquiring books from recently dead monks. The very fact that these donors had taken the trouble to acquire personal copies of common texts reveals a need for duplicates within the abbey, for its self-renewing community of several dozen regular readers. All the monks needed books for serious but standard reading and meditation, whilst a few might also pursue more advanced research. The later medieval library of St Augustine's was rich enough to serve both functions. It could offer academic high-flyers all the resources they needed to read their way through the *trivium* (grammar, logic, rhetoric) and *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy), and upwards into the higher university disciplines of theology, medicine, civil and canon law. From such a base, the brightest of them might be sent to Oxford as student-monks. Yet the same library could also supply standard texts simultaneously to readers at all levels.



[PLATE 9] Fol. 3r (first page):
Vulgate Preface (start), with arabesque initial 'L'

Quoniam qui incipit, nec proficit, qui finit
in tribus non gratia dei que irrigat ostendit, quod
quod ab aliis dictis videtur, abolere mandatum
non coronatur qui diuino spiritu res et dicta
ministrante cepta complet.

Vitulus, sacerdotalis hostia. Per vitulum et
hoc euangelium figuratur. In quo a sacerdotibus
inchoatur, et in vitulo consummatur.

Gemma uirginitatis est in homine perfecta, in
etio et actio, utique; notat apostolus fuisse, et uisio
nem, i. intentionem, et ministerium, i. actionem.
ut per id quod uiderunt diuine cognitionis
intelligatur intentionis. Per id quod ministr
fuerunt: eorum actio declaratur.

Hoc uerbum non placuit sed substantiam in
ori mente uidetur. Unde moyses dicit, quia
populus uidebat uocem, que non solet ui
deri sed audiri; audiuit per uerbum, quoniam dictum
est ei. Ueni per me, f. te, p. h. ministrum, quoniam collat
crucem, et sequi.

Theophilus amicus domini, et amicus a deo.
Qui deum amat, et a deo uult amari, ad se
puerum euangelium scribi, et ut bonum depositum
sibi commendari, non noua theophilo prae
cuntur, sed ea de quibus est eruditus, ut quod
quid ordine de domino. Per ad dominum gestum dictum
ue sit agnoscat, quia perfectus non solum et illi
credere, sed et fidem proprietate diuinitatis et am
poratione dispensationis illius debet ordi
nem nosse.



Quoniam multi conati
sunt ordinare narrati
onem que in nobis co
plet sunt rerum.

Sicut tradiderunt no
bis qui ab initio ipsi
uiderunt, et minist
fuerunt sermonis: ut
sum est et in assecuto

A principio omnia:
diligenter ex ordine

Tibi scribere optime
theophile, ut cognos

A principio omnia:
diligenter ex ordine

Tibi scribere optime
theophile, ut cognos

Multi non tam nu
merose scate quam hiesi
diuinitate.

Redundant, per uni
usum mundum men
ces fidelium rigant et
firmant.

Non solum marcus
et lucas auditi didice
runt, que scriberunt;
sed et iohannes et mattheus multa
denuntiant, pueritia,
genealogia saluatoris
aliis narrandis; didis
cerunt.

Prolytorem, notat
hunc euangelium librum
qui aliorum euangelistarum
et per paulo laudat;
quia omnia assecutus
est, non quod omnia scri
psit, que nec mundus
capit.

Academically gifted or not, the 15th-century monks could draw on 36 duplicate copies of 'Priscianus minor' to learn their Latin grammar, 34 copies of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* for essential theology, and 20 copies of Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* for biblical history.

No wonder, then, that each book had to have its own name, to distinguish it from other copies of the same text. The volume-titles catalogued for the ten glossed Lukes (BA1.167-76) reveal that seven came from named donors, across a period of some two hundred years. Five of these former owners are identifiable elsewhere as St Augustine's monks: Prior William of Wilmington (d. 1289), John de Barneville (fl. 1293-4), Roger of Thanet (13th century?), Henry of Bishopstone (fl. 1312?) and Simon Tonbridge (fl. 1375). The remaining two donors both lack surnames, an immediate clue that they were earlier rather than later. Ralph, a major donor of the late 12th century, was not a monk of St Augustine's and probably a secular, but closely associated with the abbey as the uncle of Abbot Roger I (reigned 1175-1213). The seventh donor, an unidentified 'Wybertus' (BA1.173), could have been a St Augustine's monk of the 12th or 13th century; but Canterbury's best-known Wibert was a Prior of Christ Church (c. 1152-67), from whom a cross-community gift might not have been impossible.

Besides the ten separate glossed Lukes, the Catalogue cross-references one more copy (BA1.175.1), bound up as a secondary text with a glossed Ezekiel (BA1.150), also from John de Barneville. Further copies, not individually specified, were also present in the seven or eight fatter volumes recorded as each containing all four glossed Gospels (BA1.184-91). Two of these came also from Prior Wilmington, and others from four further named donors, probably all monks: Henry of Cockering (fl. 1272-91), William of Tickenhurst (ordained deacon in 1283), Thomas of Selling (fl. 1293-4), and an unidentified J. of Thanet. To sum up, the grand total of eighteen or nineteen glossed Lukes included donations from eleven named donors of the 12th to 14th centuries, of whom one owned two copies and the most senior owned three. About half of these donors cluster around the late 13th century, the library's period of greatest expansion, during the long reign of Abbot Thomas of Findon (1283-1310).

However, three of the ten individual Lukes were identified not by donor but by letter: 'A', 'B' and 'C'. Two copies of the Four Gospels with gloss are similarly marked 'A' and 'B' respectively. All these seem more likely to have been long-established stock, probably already belonging to the abbey at a time before its books came to be acquired mostly from named donors. The 'B' and 'C' Lukes are now lost, like all the other glossed copies both primary and secondary, but *Lucas glo. cum A* survives alone to support the theory. Its manufacture can be dated from contents,

script and decoration to no later than the mid 12th century, well before any of the identifiable donors of the other glossed Lukes (discounting Wibert) or Four Gospels. In the middle of its spine it still retains faint traces of a large letter 'A', apparently later erased (pl. 21). It may well have been the abbey's first, oldest and even best copy of this text.

THE MONASTIC SCRIPTORIUM AND THE SCRIBES OF THE GLOSSED LUKE

From the late 11th century onwards, the monasteries of Britain and the continent were systematically stocking or restocking their own libraries, with an emphasis on biblical, patristic and theological texts. Scribes, illuminators and binders would have been drawn primarily from an abbey's own monks, and trained to make books of broadly uniform standard, if not necessarily of uniform style. These workers might be joined by lay professionals, or even by visiting monks from other communities. A skilled illuminator might be in demand, say, at both St Albans and Winchester. At a more basic level, the texts themselves were the travellers: the inescapable need for exemplars to copy must have required constant sharing between communities, in movements of books or of scribes. Textual affiliations between copies of the same works may be the only surviving evidence for this intellectual and physical traffic. Echoes of inter-communal activity across England may also be seen in distinctive groupings of patristic texts – 'collected works' of Jerome, Augustine or Ambrose – surviving in manuscripts of the Norman period or recorded in library catalogues, from communities as widespread as Exeter and Reading, Canterbury and Durham.

Senior monks must have chosen the texts, located the exemplars and overseen the production of new copies; but these managers rarely reveal their personalities. Sometimes a scriptorium's surviving products may be datable to the reign of a learned abbot or bishop, to suggest a period of high-level encouragement: Bishop Osbern at Exeter, Abbot Simon at St Albans, Abbots Serlo and Andrew at Cirencester. *Lucas glo. cum A* was most likely made during the quarter-century when Abbot Hugh II of Trostlescliffe (Kent) presided at St Augustine's (1126–51). Not much is known of his personality. However, he is described at his election by a later chronicler as 'a man equally erudite in both monastic and secular disciplines',³ and the abbey scriptorium continued to produce fine books during his reign. Its reputation even reached Pope Innocent II (1130–43) in Rome, for a papal letter of 20 Nov. [1139–41] requires Abbot Hugh to cause to be made a 'bibliam manualet parui uoluminis' (a small bible of handbook size) suitable for a Roman pontiff, for the pope's personal use.⁴ For the Luke, it is possibly significant that the preceding abbot, Hugh I de Flori (?Fleury) (c. 1108–26), came from

Docet diuina scriptura in his quos commendare uolumus. non solum mores. sed et parentes oportere laudari. ut qui hereditario iure puritatem habent indeantur illi quos laudamus. Nobilitatem itaque ipsius lapidista: parentibus. miracul. moribus. inuit. passionis. Sic samuel. sic ysaac a parentibus nobilitatem pietatis accipit. quam posteris relinquit.

Plena laudatio que genus in maioribus. mores iniquitate. officium in sacerdotio. factum in mandatis. iudicium in iustificationibus comprehendit.

Zacharias memor domini. cui apparet angelus a deo. et altaris. quia ei qui memor domini est demonstratur milium.

et propriis quibusdam singulis casus eorum uerborum de quibus libri inferiorum quibusque miraculis eminent.

F*uit in diebus herodis regis iudee. sacerdos quidam nomine zacharias de uero herode. et a parentibus nobilitas baptismi monstratur. in seclari potestate sublimis. et religionis talis.*

ce abia. et uxor illi de filiabus aaron. et nomine eius elisabeth.

erat autem iustus et timens deum. et in lege et in mandatis domini incedens in omnibus mandatis et iustificationibus.

Cum esset cultus domini domini ampharet. in uero sacerdotum in xxiiii. sortibus diuisus. In quibus familiam abia de qua zacharias. sortis octaua sortitur. ut pro noui. et mochaue sortis uice nascatur. quia per octo nouum. sicut per. vii. uetus. et sepe declamant.

Abia pater domini. et apertum fuit ut in epre officii patris domini. conceptus est ille qui patrem domini predicaret.

Quinnem peractum est ut de pueris duos fructu unguis pueris ipsius nasceretur. ut in opmato ore ipsius. ipsos domini gratia afficeret. et eos stupor miraculi pararet audientium futurum populi. Unde postea subdit. Posuerunt omnes qui audierunt in corde suo dicentes. Quis putas per. i. e.

Impleuit ordinem. dixit regem et regionem in qua fuit. sacerdotum et genus ei et uxorem illius indicat.

Elisabeth. dei mei sacras. hec significat mariam que plena deo fuit.

Primum mandatum. Secundo est iustificatio. cum et mandatis celestibus obedimus. in mandatis dei incedimus. Cum recte et agere iudicamus. tunc domini iustificationem uideamus. Sine. quod ecce separata iusticia. Plerumque durior iusticia hominum querelam prouocat. Vnde apostolus. Pudentes bona. non cum coram deo. sed et coram hominibus. et ecclesiis. ne sit multum iusticia. et incedentes in. in. i. sine querela. et conscientia uane laudis.

the abbey of Bec in Normandy, like Archbishops Lanfranc and Anselm earlier.

A manuscript may contain contemporary corrections of scribal omissions and errors, a task most naturally performed by the project's director(s) in checking the scriptorium's output to ensure its accuracy. Such a process may be seen throughout the glossed Luke. It contains a number of contemporary corrections, mostly supplying omissions both short and long, in main text (pls. 12–13, 15) or gloss (pls. 10, 15). A few examples in the extreme margins must have been entered before binding, since they are partly trimmed away (pl. 14), along with the more deliberate removal of the prickings for the lines of horizontal ruling (pl. 12). The emendations are usually in ink, mostly of similar tint to what they are correcting, but occasionally different enough (e.g. fol. 136r, main-text corrections in darker ink) or in lead-point (pl. 17) to show that they were not made at the same sitting. These early corrections most likely belong to an original stage of post-production quality-control within the scriptorium.

Each page of a glossed book is typically laid out in two sizes of script, the larger text on wide-spaced lines and the smaller gloss written between the lines and in the margins. The glossed Luke has some pages where the ink-colour of the gloss is uniformly lighter or darker (pl. 17) than the Gospel text. Such differences in tint were evidently not intended here as a deliberate feature of the design: at fol. 14v, the gloss (but not the main text) turns to a lighter brown only for the lowest marginal and interlinear glosses of that page and throughout the following pages (pl. 16). The discrepancies confirm that main text and gloss were not being copied in tandem, line by line and page by page. The main text was copied out first, not necessarily all at once but probably some pages or quires ahead of the gloss which was later copied around it. At least four scribes were involved in the manuscript's production.

The Gospel text was allocated to two scribes: Scribe I (fols. 3r–115r, pls. 9–12) and Scribe II (fols. 115v–154v, pls. 13–14). The hand-over takes place at the turn of a page (115r/v), but on a leaf which is the first of its quire: Scribe I writes just the first recto of quire XII, as though to give his successor a head start. The manuscript's structure is regular throughout, with 19 quires of eight leaves each (fols. 3–154) and an extra bifolium of similar parchment at each end to provide the original endleaves of pastedown and flyleaf: nothing has been lost. These 2 + 152 + 2 leaves comprise 78 bifolia, probably of calfskin to judge by the thickness of the parchment. The leaf-measurements (252–7 × 173–8 mm., max. and min.) suggest that either two or maybe four bifolia could have derived from one skin, so either 39 small or 20 larger animals (plus one

¶ Nota qd dicitur ille
aliquid boni hunc. qd q
boni enitiorum in hac
uita recepit. et lazar
aliquid mali hunc. si q
ut mox purgaretur.

recordare qd recepistis

bona in uita tua & laza

rus similit mala. Hunc

autē hic consola

ū cruciaris. & in his oī

¶ hic pauperem & diu
tem chaos. qd p mor
tem nequeunt me
rita mutari.

b; inter nos & uos chaō

magnū firmatū ē. ut

hi q uolunt hinc enire

n possē neq; huc enī

meare. Et ait illi. Rogo

q te pāc ut mittas laza

rū in domū patris mei.

habeo enī qnq; frs ut

testet illis ne & ipsi ue

niant in locū hē corū

¶ Nota qd ap ammiū iustoz non
fiscat beatitudinē aspecta pena
rephoz. qd ū iā cōpassio mīserie
non erit. minuerē leticiam be
atoz n ualebit. et licet. nullis sua
gaudia sufficiant. ad maiore cū
glām uident penā maloz. qm p
grām euasēt. qd q claritatē dei ui
dent nich in cāsa agūt. q. uidere
n possunt.

¶ Sic rephī a penis ad glām scōz
enire uolēt. ita nulli p mīām mīce
ire uolēt. ad positos in cōmūis ut
eos libent. si n possunt. qd nulloz aīe.
si in natē sue bonitatis mīā hūt.
iā cū auctori sue iusticie mīce
Ad uos tanta rectitudine alstringunt. ut
nulla ad rephos passionē moueant.

¶ Rogo. Postq in ardenti de se spēs
collocat. ammi ad ppinqf recurrat.
qd rephoz. mīce pena sua qnq; mu
alit erudit ad caritatē. ut iā cū
suos spūali diligant. qui dū pec
cata diligēt. nec se amabant. Ser
uat q diuici ad penā. et cognitio pau
pis quē despect. et memoria frīm qf
reliq. et de mīā glā despecti.
et de pena mīce amatoz ampli
torqueat.

for the binding-leather) gave their lives for this book. To avoid waste, the scribes accepted minor original skin-defects such as holes (pl. 11) and edge-faults (pl. 12); the occasional split (e.g. fol. 24 and lower paste-down) was neatly stitched to prevent further tearing over time. The Gospel ends on the last line of the last verso of the last regular gathering (quire XIX, fol. 154v, pl. 14), overrunning the regular 15-line format by just one extra line – surely not a coincidence, but a triumph of scribal practice or divine blessing.

The gloss was written throughout in small, fairly rounded versions of early Gothic script, by three main hands. Gloss-scribes i (fols. 4v–81r, pls. 10–11) and iii (fols. 91r–154v, pls. 12–14) write similar, no-nonsense styles, with iii less squat than i. The hand of Gloss-scribe ii (fols. 81v–90v, pl. 17) is fussier, more angular and less legible, and his stint is full of mistakes. He takes over towards the end of quire X at the turn of a page (fol. 81r/v), and goes on to write all the gloss of quire XI. His successor, Gloss-scribe iii, starts from fol. 91r exactly at the change to quire XII – the classic symptom of task-sharing in a well-run scriptorium, as the unbound quires are allocated to different workers. Further contemporary hands supply a few longer glosses, to remedy omissions: a taller, more elegant book-hand inserts one at fol. 33r, but most are by the ugly, confident, left-slanting hand who may well be the director himself (pls. 10, 15).

Scribe II writes the main Gospel text from the top of fol. 115v until the last page at fol. 154v in an upright, fairly rounded style, which seems in effect simply a larger and more formal version of the surrounding gloss. Any small discrepancies in the letter-forms are attributable to the difference in grade. Accordingly, it seems that Scribe II was one and the same person as Gloss-scribe iii, even though the latter also took over the gloss for the last three full quires of Scribe I's stint.

Assuming that main text and gloss were simply allocated as separate tasks proceeding at different paces in the scriptorium, the campaign to copy out the glossed Luke may be summed up in three stages:

- ¶ The two initial workers are Scribe I and Gloss-scribe i. Scribe I writes from quire I to the first recto of quire XV, and Gloss-scribe i follows behind him from quire I to the seventh recto of quire X.
- ¶ A third worker, Gloss-scribe ii, completes the gloss in quire X and throughout quire XI. The shortness of his stint and frequent later corrections to it (e.g. pl. 17, omissions supplied in faint lead) may suggest that his work was soon judged less than satisfactory.
- ¶ A fourth, perhaps senior worker takes over and finishes both tasks. As Scribe II, he completes the Gospel text in the larger script for

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¶ Consultate p̄tuncam
tur noīa l' hantū aq
l' dñi donū. ut oīb; uo
lentib; mibui sacmē
x qd = pascha celebrē.
xp̄m q; sue mēt' hōspī
cio suscipe. querentib;
facultas danda signet.

¶ Sine noīe designat
ut paup' rignobilitat
mēt'. qui a dñō eligit.
ē scilicet mli apparet
qd mltitudo ei dñi cū
discipulis ē sublimiū
utitū delectatōe re
quiescat.

¶ Hora. i. xiiii. die
m̄sis ad uesp̄ā ē dies
xv. luna iā ē r̄is appa
rente iuxta legis edic
ta mltabat.

occurreret uob hō amphorā
aque portans. sequimini eū
inquā
in domū mērat. & dicetis p̄ri
familias domi. Dīc ē magister.
Ubi est dñs v̄strū ubi pascha
cū discipulis mēis manducem?
uobis
& ipse ostendet cenaculū
magniū itatū. & ibi parate.
Euntes autē inuenerē sic dñs
illis. & parauerē pascha. &
cū facta ēēt hora discubunt.
& duodecim apli cū eo. & ait
illis. Desidio desiderāui hoc pas
cha manducare uobiscum
anteq̄m patiar. Dico enī uob

¶ Sic dñs cunctoz p̄sē cū discipulis
loq̄r de his que alibi gerunt. & bene
paratū pascha amphorā aq̄ portans
occurrit. ut ostendat qd h' pasche
m̄ltū. p ablutione mundi p aquā
baptismi sic celebrandū. ū ūi pasche
culcorib; capie de lumine cruoz au
fertur. ad collenda peccata unius
ci fontis baptisma dēctur. ampho
ra sigt p̄tēam m̄sura expleti sp̄it.
q̄ dignū hēnt geri.

¶ Cenaculū lex sp̄ital' ē. que de angu
stis lītē egrediens in sublimi loco
recipit saluatore. q̄ mltā rema
net. in m̄s pascha facit. s; q̄ aque
baptis. i. q̄r p̄tēam in domo ecclē sigt.
ēscendens lītē sup̄ficiē. in m̄s so
lū refectionē parat. & dñ cuncta l'
pasche sacmēta. l' cetā legis decreta
intelligit scripta de eo.

¶ Desidio. Desidat p̄mo apicū pascha
manducare. & sic passionis sue mun
do. mltā declarare. ū & antiq̄ pas
che plūtoz existat. & h' ad sue dispen
sationis figurā p̄misse demonstrat.
iā adueniente ueritate unūm cessa
re doceat. In ē rei figā desicet man
na. p̄q̄ comederē filiū isrl' de frū
tib; ēre. nec usi sūt ulē cibo illo.

a loco passionis fecit. ut omnes p se v mori. v uiuere cupientes. et pmo quiescendi p mortem et in fine a mortuis resuscitandi desidio parit et amore firmaret.

¶ **O**portebat ut ministris q penitentiam et remissionem peccatorum erant in omnes gentes predicaturi ab ierosolymis inciperent. n solu quia illi credita se eloquia dei. et qd eorum adoptio filiorum. et glia. et testamenta. et leges. et iusticia. et qd idem etiam ut gentes uariis erroribus et facinoribus implicare. h maxime iudicio diuine pietatis ad spem uenire prouocaret. qd eis q filium dei crucifixerent uenia relaxaret.

¶ **I**n templo. ut in loco orationis me laudum et deuotiones pmissi scilicet spem aduentus cordibus et expectant. sic nos p celebrauit in ierosolymis. i. uisione pacis. passionis et resurrectionis sollempnia dno duce petunt beathaniam. ut nunc deca corpus et sanguinis ei faciant imbuiant. et domi obedientie et current. qd sic cotidiana ei benedictione sublimant. coriche triumphalis ascensionis memores. laudantes et b. d. in ierlm. i. in spacia pacis uisione qd sentit. similes hominibus. e. d. f. q. reuerat a nuptiis.

¶ **L**ucas q sacerdotum xpi ceteris amplius exponendo suscepit. et id euangelium suum a ministerio templi p sacerdotum zacharie cepit. pulchre hoc in templi deuotione copleuit. et apostolos in ministerio. s. noui sacerdotum fueros. n in uictimay sanguine. s. in laude dei. et benedictione geludic.

sic oportebat xpm pati et re

surgere a mortuis die tertia et

predicari in nomine ei penitentiam

et remissionem peccatorum in omni parte terrarum.

¶ **I**ncipientibus ab ierosolyma.

et qd uidistis et audistis. qd predicanda sunt.

uos autem estis testes horum et ego

ut sufficiatis ad testandum. mittam uos apostolus. spem scilicet gratiam.

mittam pmissi patris mei in uos.

¶ **V**os autem sedete in ciuitate q ad uos

q. iudicamini uirtute ex alto. et

dux autem eos foras in bethaniam

et eleuatis manibus suis. benedixit

eis. et factum est dum benediceret eis

recessit ab eis. et ferebatur in celum.

¶ **E**t ipsi adorantes regressi sunt in ierusalem cum gaudio magno. et erant

semper in templo laudantes et benedicentes dno amen.

¶ **I**n pmissione patris iussu sunt expecta. endo.

¶ **I**n pmissione patris iussu sunt expecta. endo.

¶ **I**n pmissione patris iussu sunt expecta. endo.

¶ **I**n pmissione patris iussu sunt expecta. endo.

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¶ **I**n pmissione patris iussu sunt expecta. endo.

¶ **I**n pmissione patris iussu sunt expecta. endo.

¶ **I**n pmissione patris iussu sunt expecta. endo.

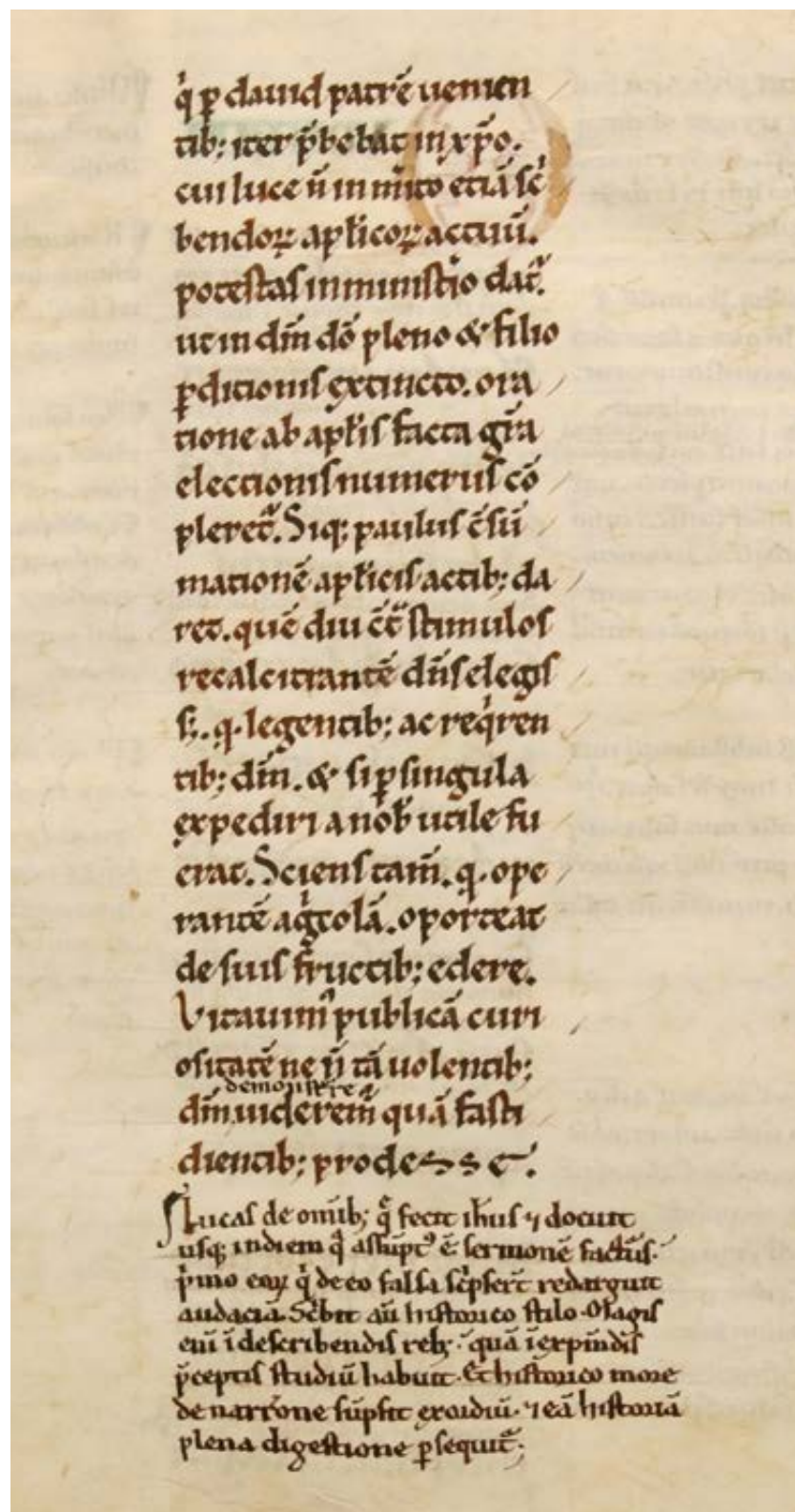
¶ **I**n pmissione patris iussu sunt expecta. endo.

the rest of quire XV and quires XVI–XIX, and as Gloss-scribe iii he inserts the gloss for quires XII–XIX in a smaller version of the same script.

Whilst the quires are still unbound, the new copies of both Gospel and gloss are carefully checked against their exemplar. Omissions, ranging from single letters to words and entire glosses, are supplied mostly by one hand, probably the project-director, though also by others (including Scribe II in I's stint at fol. 95v). The larger decorated initials are inserted as part of the main campaign, but gaps left for smaller initials are mostly left unfilled. Not long afterwards, the book is sent to the binder and its margins trimmed flush with the boards.

Scribe I provides the most telling evidence for the origin of the book. He writes in the distinctive style named by modern palaeographers colloquially as the 'prickly script' of Canterbury, or more formally as the Christ Church style. This subtype of early Gothic – bold, angular, spiky, English – was first developed in the scriptorium of Christ Church Cathedral Priory by the end of the 11th century. It melded the tight, pointed script of recent imports (books and scribes) from abbeys in Normandy such as Fécamp, Préaux, Flaix and Bec, with the bolder spirit of Anglo-Saxon calligraphy. The result was a formidable hybrid – not an easy script for the modern eye, perhaps, but at its best possessing a *gravitas* which seems well suited to the new monastic output of theological texts. The style is written with a thick, chisel-cut pen, held or cut at a decisive angle. The 'prickly' appearance is achieved largely by the uniform treatment of the thin finishing strokes and end-line hyphens, all flicked sideways and upwards in the same defiant diagonal, in contrast to the thick, stiffly angular, pulled strokes of the letters themselves.

Around the same period in the late 11th century, a large influx of monks from Christ Church was imposed into St Augustine's for reasons of church politics. The effects of this emerge more clearly in the scripts of the surviving manuscripts than in the historical accounts. In the abbey scriptorium, older scribes trained in the rounded style of English Caroline minuscule were already working alongside others trained in or influenced by Norman style. The newcomers from Christ Church began to write manuscripts in their own prickly style, but also influenced at least some of their new colleagues. The result was a 'mixed' style, not adopted by every worker: it was practised in the early 12th-century scriptorium of St Augustine's alongside both the pure Christ Church style and the traditional English Caroline. The Christ Church style was also exported not far away to Rochester Cathedral, where it developed its own sturdier variant. However, it remained almost entirely local to these major scriptoria of Kent, and was fading out even there (with its



[PLATE 15] Fol. 4r:
'second folio', with end of Preface, and gloss added by the director at foot

[PLATE 16] Fols. 14v-15r:
opening, showing change of ink in gloss from black to brown,
and sewing and endband thread

sata sibi uxore p̄gnan
te. factū ē autē: cū ēēq;
ibi: ipleri sē dies ut pa
reret: & peperit filiū su
ū p̄mogenitū. & pan
is ei inuoluit in p̄se
pio & reclinauit eū
q̄a si erat eis loc' in di
uisorio. & pastores
erant in regione eadē
uigilantes & custodi
entes uigiliis noctis
sup̄ gregē suū. Et ecce
angls d̄m sterio uir
ta illos: & claritas di

Gloss:
in uia na
m q̄i male
potellatū.
si sup̄ altare
i m̄moria
des l̄trangi
opandū.
p̄cur; par
i sumus.
sc̄it: qui ar
un uer̄ta
ic. d̄m ci
des sustine
impēdāt.
Locus in d̄i. i. domi
nē duos muros. du
as ianuas h̄c. signat
eccliam m̄e paradisu
& mundum.
In diuisorio loco op̄t
ut nos plures in oclis
habeam; manifestos.
Vixer: popls. Mer:
sc̄tin. Pastores: sacer
dotes. l' & angli.
Blato s̄c̄mo pastore:
pastores ab inuidis
noctis genitū gregis mo
re p̄cudū p̄ uincit
uigilando defendunt.
i. aulā dei aḡgunt. q̄
bene uigilantib; appa
ret. angls. uos clari
tas circūfulsit. quā
illi p̄ cētis sublimia
unde m̄entur. q̄ h̄c
libi. solliciti plures su
p̄ quos diuina gr̄a lu
gus choruset.

circūfulsit illos. & a
muerē timore magna
ce d̄p̄ illis angls. Noli
te timere. ecce enī cūm
gl̄io uob; gaudiū ma
gnū q̄d erit cō poplo.
q̄a n̄ ē uob; hodie sal
uacor: q̄ ē x̄p̄s d̄ns in
ciuitate dauid. & h
uob; signū. Inuenietis
infantē pannis inuolu
tū: & positū in p̄sepio.
Et subito facta ē ciuitas
gl̄io multitudo militū
celestis laudantiū d̄m

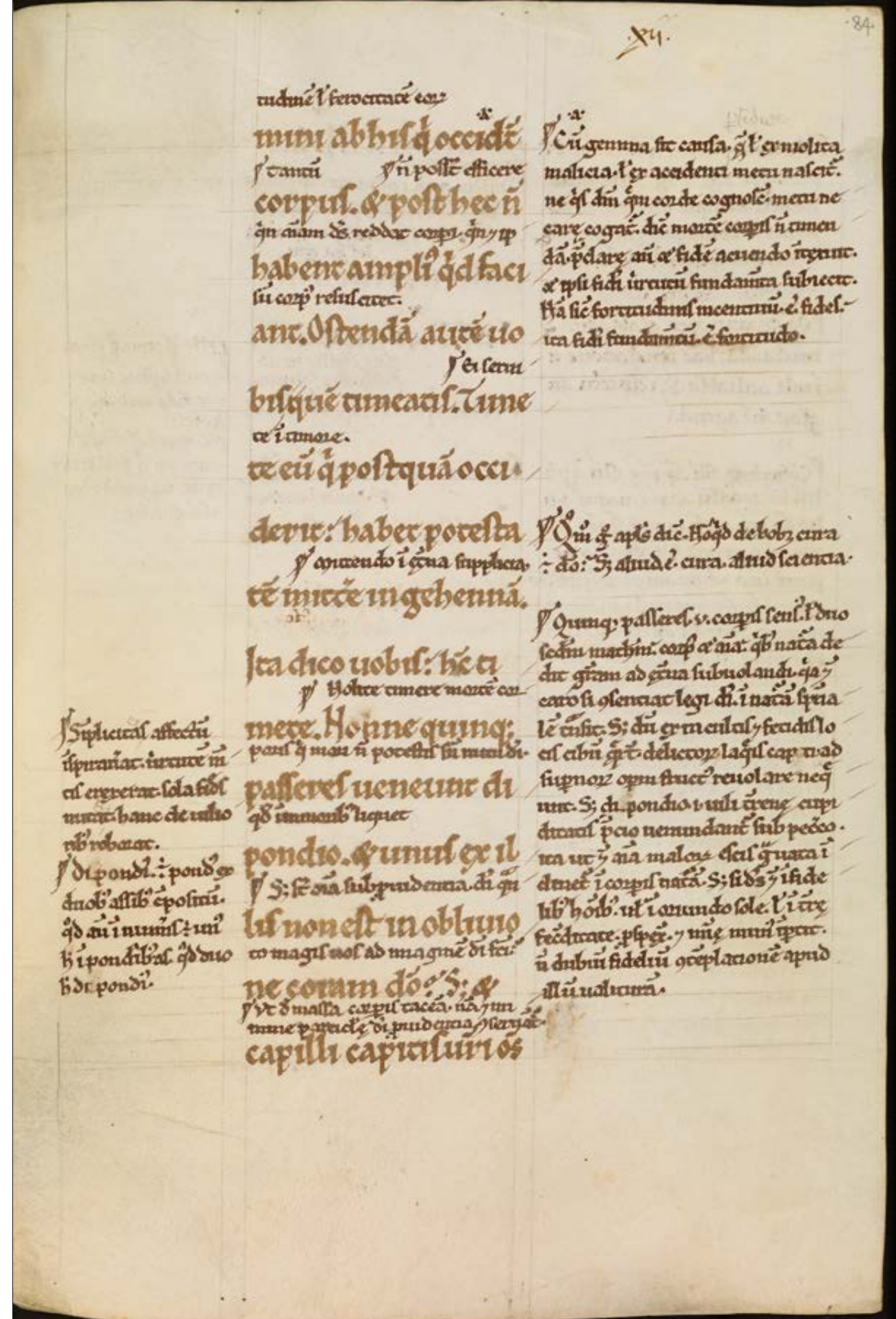
Gloss:
circūfulsit. i. ex oī parte co
lominis aspl̄it. q; in ciuitate
serre n̄ mouit. sonat autē
p̄cellit. d̄es autē appropinq̄
Cū n̄gr̄ ē. n̄ aut hac no
sc̄bet gaudiū uenerit
ciuitas gerunt. noctis tim
ut scandalū hac nocte p
Vobis salua salua
cori angls. actum
uol & uigilantib; est
manifesta. ut uob;
uol alii uigilantib; q̄ p̄
nob; fac. in q̄ h̄m
l̄at nocte. q̄ cū d̄m
ē. p̄ nob; fac. i. p̄p̄
ut uos ei nos d̄m
Vno euangelizante mu
laudem p̄cipit. ut i. offit
dat. & nos instruac. ut q̄
onē geone f̄r̄s audiat. u
ore. ope. reddam. quā uo
hominib; par cū ip̄s ang
qui ab angls p̄ m̄ā rader

derivatives) within a couple of generations, not much after the middle of the 12th century.

In *Lucas glo. cum A*, Scribe I's prickly script is literally encompassed by the less distinctive style of the other three workers who supplied the gloss, and yields to it completely before the end of the book. These three colleagues show no great affinity with the other styles still used at St Augustine's in the earlier 12th century, unless perhaps Gloss-scribe ii shows some clumsy echo of the prickly style. Overall, the date of its scripts, as supported by the presumed date of compilation for the gloss on Luke, may be placed probably towards the end of the period when the prickly style was in use. If so, Scribe I could have been an older monk, whose earlier training was still tolerated amongst younger colleagues; perhaps his eyes could no longer strain for the gloss, or his spirit for anything other than the word of God.

Few English manuscripts of the early Norman period carry scribal colophons to provide contemporary proof of origin. Far more often, a manuscript is assigned to its medieval home only on the basis of a later *ex libris* or catalogue-record. In these cases, there is a temptation to argue back from provenance to origin, which may or may not be correct. The Luke shares this familiar break in the chain of evidence: its definitive St Augustine's *ex libris* was added on its flyleaf some 150 years later than its approximate date of manufacture. Nevertheless, Scribe I's prickly script is proof enough that the book was made by scribes trained in Kent and surely therefore at Canterbury.

It is harder to say for certain whether it was written at Christ Church or St Augustine's. Scribe I writes the Christ Church style, not the St Augustine's variant, but this purer style is found in manuscripts which later belonged to either community. It has been claimed that the Luke's prickly hand is identical or near-identical to that of Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 2. 34 (77), a patristic miscellany later belonging to Christ Church.⁵ However, the latter's script looks if anything slightly less compressed than Scribe I's, the similarity may be more of style than of scribe, and in any case the contents of B. 2. 34 prove the potential for fluidity between scriptoria. It contains a standard corpus of texts by or attributed to St Jerome, of which other early Norman copies also survive from communities as distant as Durham and Reading. A copy of it by Rochester's most prolific prickly scribe⁶ is said to derive directly from B. 2. 34, a claim which should give both manuscripts a *terminus post quem non* not much after c. 1120. However, a lost copy of the same corpus recorded in the St Augustine's Catalogue (BA1.328) must also be taken into account. Its absence makes it harder to calculate the exact relationships among all three Kent copies, or to work out which scribe(s) or which manuscript(s) travelled where, to enable the copying.



[PLATE 17] Fol. 84r (Luke 12. 4-7):

contrasting ink colours between Scribe I's main text and Gloss-scribe ii's darker gloss

As a general illustration of movement between communities at this time, it may be noted that Hugh of Trottiscliffe was elected Abbot of St Augustine's in 1126 from Rochester Cathedral Priory.

A further manuscript for comparison is the St Augustine's book, *Matheus glo. cum C* (BA1.157), which survives as Canterbury, Cathedral Library, MS Lit. D. 6 (34). Its latest cataloguer, Richard Gameson, suggests an origin in England or Northern France in the second quarter of the 12th century, but also notes contemporary corrections on two pages (fols. 39r, 41r) by a prickly hand which must place it 'in Kent at a very early date'.⁷ Gameson's plate of fol. 41r shows the correcting prickly hand, similar but probably not identical to the Luke's Scribe I. The correction supplies an omission in the larger Gospel text by trespassing into the outer gloss-column, and was already in place before it and the rest of the page received the gloss. The Matthew's prickly correction here was therefore integral to the production of the book, a fact which should rule out the possibility of a Northern French origin unless the prickly scribe had travelled there from Kent to snatch the pen for a few lines before glossing. More revealing still is the hand of this page's surrounding gloss, which seems very close, possibly even identical, to the Luke's Gloss-scribe i, and certainly in the same style. The similarity is less clear in the gloss reproduced in Gameson's other plate of the Matthew, fol. 6r, though perhaps its gloss-scribe (if indeed the same hand as at 41r) had not yet settled by then. The Matthew has the St Augustine's *ex libris* and other library markings on its front flyleaf (fol. 2r), added by the same librarian of the late 13th or early 14th century as in the Luke.

In conclusion, the later presence of *Lucas glo. cum A* in the abbey library makes it inherently more likely to have been made at or for St Augustine's than Christ Church, wherever its prickly scribe was sitting when he started the book. The similarities with *Matheus glo. cum C*, if valid, make it all the more likely that both glossed books were made at and for St Augustine's Abbey.

DECORATION

The Luke's decoration is original, but unfinished. On the opening pages, two or three lines of the main text-column were left for each of the three major initials and their following word(s). The opening 'L' of the Preface (pl. 9) is technically a five-line initial, occupying the three lines at the top and another two indented. The body of the letter is green, with arabesque decoration in the same green, red and off-yellow ochre; the remaining letters for [L]VCAS fill up the third line in plain versal capitals of the same ochre. For the start of Luke's own prologue (pl. 10), the two-line initial 'Q' is in ochre, infilled with a simple red pattern;

[Q]VONIAM follows in green versal capitals. The Gospel proper (11) has a two-line red 'F' with decorative foot-extension and simple patterning of the same red and green, then [F]VIT IN in green versal letters and DIEB(VS) in red. The illuminator here made a mistake by first writing 'VIT' in green on the second blank line; this is erased and rewritten on the first blank line above, with the red DIEB(VS) below to overwrite the mistake. The error may suggest that scribe and illuminator were not the same man, since Scribe I should have been more alert to the text. There are also faint signs of erasure of more than one line under the [Q]VONIAM on the previous page, though the sequence is less clear. Possibly the initial layout had been lightly sketched to allow for more words in capitals, e.g. [Q]VONIAM | QVIDEM MVLT, before Scribe I began with 'quidem multi' in his normal minuscule below. A further oddity is that the ochre of the 'Q' seems clearly overwritten by the ink of the gloss, to suggest that the 'Q' was by then already in place (unless the gloss was re-inked). However, the reverse is true for the Gospel's 'F', where the red goes over the gloss. Even more unaccountably, the 'Q' has received a strong (wet?) offset of ink from the main text of the facing page. At any rate, these arabesque initials are clearly part and parcel with the book's original making.

Scribes I and II leave spaces for smaller one-line initials throughout their work, usually in mid line. In a few instances, mostly at the start, these have been filled in with plain coloured initials, without decoration: in ochre (fol. 9v), purple (fol. 11r, pl. 18) and green (fol. 75v). Small initials were allowed for at some chapter-starts (e.g. at fols. 14r and 20r for Luke 2. 1 and 3. 1), but not all – for example, Scribe I supplies the initial for 'Jh(esu)s' at Luke 4. 1 (fol. 26r) without interruption and in his own normal ink. Gaps for small initials are also left in mid-chapter at the starts of significant passages such as the Sermon on the Mount (fol. 40r, Luke 6. 20) and the Parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man (fol. 110r, Luke 16. 9). Occasionally, some letters after the gap are written in capitals (e.g. fol. 42r, '[E]STOTE' at Luke 6. 36). However, most of the gaps were left unfilled. It is hard to explain why, except that they are unobtrusive and hard to spot. A space for a larger, two-line initial 'A' at the start of the Passion narrative (fol. 135r, Luke 22. 1) might have been intended for another arabesque initial, but was also left unfilled.

The style of the arabesque initials may not be sufficiently complex to be indicative of a house style. Those of *Matheus glo. cum C* are of the same general aspect and intention, but not of identical style. The Matthew was also designed to include small coloured capitals throughout, there completed. In the Bodleian's groups of 12th-century manuscripts from Christ Church and St Augustine's, the closest match for the Luke's decoration (including the use of the ochre colour) is probably in the

simple arabesque initials of MS Laud Misc. 300, a copy of *ps. Jerome, Breuiarium in Psalmos*, written in the St Augustine's 'mixed' version of prickly script in the second quarter of the 12th century. This also carries later proofs of ownership by the abbey (= BA1.325).

BINDING

To modern eyes, the manuscript's most striking feature is its contemporary binding (pls. 19–21 and pp. 76–88), especially since it has escaped any modern repair. The thick, lightly bevelled oak boards are covered by plain alum-tawed leather, left unstained. The edges of the text-block were cut flush with the boards. The lacing of the two sewing-thongs and two endband-supports of alum-tawed leather, through tunnels cut into the thickness of the boards, ensures the characteristic flat spine of a Romanesque binding. Equally characteristic are the half-moon-shaped tab endbands which protrude at head and foot of the spine. To offset the plainness of the cover, it was finished with brightly coloured textile and thread, still visible in the linings and green sewing of the tabs and in a braided green book-mark (pls. 5, 38).

The binding retains most of the original metal-tipped strap of thick tawed leather which once passed from the centre edge of the front cover to a central pin at the back (pl. 20), to keep the book tightly clasped and its parchment flat. All that is missing (along with the pin) is the final hinged metal hasp which would have fitted the strap-end onto the pin, and a further pull of leather or textile beyond. The bare wood of the inside lower cover (now visible under its lifted pastedown) shows the remnants of two successive pins, to suggest a medieval(?) replacement when the strap was still intact. The surviving fragment of the strap's copper-alloy fitting is engraved with an eight-petalled flower, and its leather was once covered with textile, probably also green to complete a coordinated colour scheme. This type of clasping mechanism, here original, was often replaced in the later Middle Ages with less elaborate clasps, attached only at the edges of the boards and usually in pairs.

Although many medieval books were once further protected with chemises (over-covers), there is no evidence that *Lucas glo. cum A* ever had one, to conceal the large 'A' which is still faintly visible at the centre of its spine (pl. 21). There is also a curved mark or stain, visible towards the foot of the fore-edge of the text-block when the book is closed (pl. 22): if this were a deliberate marking, e.g. possibly an upside-down 'G' for 'Gradus', it would further suggest that the book had no over-cover.

Bindings of such strength and quality were made to last for centuries of monastic reading. Their later destruction may often have owed more to human folly or mistreatment than physical decay, so that despite a

^{ps. 10.}
Tam diu mansit
donec uidet pcur
soris naturam.
pp qm magis ueniat.
nec sola ea familiar
catil tam diu mansit.
si ut tanto qm reli
sabet et iohis cresce
pfectus nam si in pri
mo aduentu marie
spu sco sunt repleti.
multu est enim sup
additum illis tanta
mora mansionis. Oh
lice. ad casta que
spual ubi desideriu
concepit. necesse est
ut alta exercit cele
stis iuga subeat. et q
crum mensium di
et ibidem demorata.
quousq; fidei spes
caritatis luce radie
tur. p seuerare non
desistat.

sede & exaltauit hu
miles. & surientes ipse
uit bonis. & diuites
dimisit manes. Susce
pit isrl pueru suu.
[i. ut memoi eet.]
memorari misericordie sue.
Si locus e ad patres
nos. abraham & sem
mei in sela. Mansit au
maria cu illa qm mib;
eb. & reuerla e in do
mu sua. Elisabeth
impleti e tempus parien
di. & peperit filiu. & au
dierit uicini & cogna

Vbi in implecionis sacra scriptura in
bonoy em ortu l'obitu. l'actu. ponere
confueant. qm una plenitudinem psec
tionis h're signific. Ut impleti sunt di
es marie ut pareret. Impleuit salo
mon edificare domu. defunctus est
abraham plenus dierum. Cu uenit
plenitudo tempis misit ds f. s. l'etra.
die impioy manes. et uacui.

Vbi scōy edictio letitiam pluri
moy. quia omne bonu est. iusticia
etiam gmnis uirtus est. et ideo in oi
cu uirtu fuit uice insigne p'mittitur.
et g'm secutur uirtutis exultatione
uicinoz p'figantur signatur.



surprising quantity of survivals it is rare to find examples which are completely intact. This is one of the best preserved of a number of medieval bindings or binding-remains to survive from St Augustine's. These range in date from the Anglo-Saxon period to the early 16th century, but many of them have been obscured or ruined by later repairs. Sometimes the earlier boards and/or sewing-structure may survive under later leather. For fully intact Norman bindings from the abbey, the Luke has only two rivals: a Romanesque binding, not so well preserved, on a manuscript of similar date, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 826 (= BA1.364); and a slightly earlier binding of the late 11th century, bridging the transition from Anglo-Saxon to Romanesque styles, on Canterbury, Cathedral Library, MS Add. 172 (= BA1.205).⁸ The latter may owe its preservation to a history of careful private ownership, like the Luke, since it returned to Canterbury only in 1979 through the bequest of Major J. R. Abbey. A 10th-century manuscript containing Adrevald of

[PLATE 19] Upper cover at an angle, showing strap-attachment, fore-edge, lower tab and lower edge



Fleury, *Translatio S. Benedicti*, now Cambridge, St John's College, MS F. 27 (164),⁹ was rebound in the 12th century, but then again so heavily in the 20th century that its Romanesque binding cannot be counted as intact. All these books once had single clasps, now lost, and none show obvious traces of over-covers.

GLOSSED BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

Lucas glo. cum A is truly a product of the 12th-century Renaissance, for as a glossed book it represents a major recent development in the way the Bible was studied. A gloss (from Greek γλῶσσα, tongue) is an explanation intended to help the reader towards further understanding of a word, passage or text. An individual gloss might here range from a single word or Latin synonym to a paragraph of theological discussion, adjacent to or linked with its target. Sometimes a marginal gloss is linked to its main text with paired signs (*signes-de-renvoi*) and/or by the

[PLATE 20] Lower cover at an angle, showing strap, spine, tabs and lower edge



initial repetition of the relevant word or phrase. Across a whole book, the patchwork of individual glosses, short and long, is still referred to collectively in the singular – ‘the Gloss on St Luke’s Gospel’.

The roots of the method lay far back in the ancient world and in the very concept of a school text, to be used as the basis for study. The scholar-librarians of Alexandria were already annotating papyrus rolls of Homer in Hellenistic times. Exposition through glosses was to become a standard method of study in the medieval universities, not confined to the biblical text. Authoritative commentaries were compiled, often by major individual scholars, to accompany and encircle the fundamental texts, in disciplines from canon law to medicine. Such glosses were closely allied to or even assembled directly from the oral teaching of lecturers, as they worked their way through the base texts with their students.

In the Latin West, the tradition of biblical commentary goes back to the church fathers – saints and scholars such as Augustine of Hippo, Ambrose, and Gregory the Great – and to the main translator of the Vulgate, St Jerome himself. The format favoured by patristic writers was continuous commentary, in which a snippet or ‘lemma’ of the biblical text (perhaps highlighted in some way) is followed by its exposition. Early medieval and Carolingian theologians such as Bede, Walafrid Strabo and Hrabanus Maurus used the same mode to continue and extend the patristic heritage.

By the later 11th century, teachers in the cathedral and monastic schools of France felt the need for a synthesis as they expounded the biblical texts to their pupils. The oldest of the surviving glossed books from St Augustine’s Abbey is Canterbury, Cathedral Library, MS Add. 172 (= BA1.205), written either at the abbey by a scribe trained at Mont St Michel, or imported from there with the first Norman abbot, Scolandus (Scotland) (1070/72–87). It contains the oldest surviving copy of the gloss on the Pauline Epistles compiled by Lanfranc at the Norman abbey of Bec in the later 1050s, before his arrival in England as first Norman archbishop of Canterbury (1070–89). This book sums up the direct intellectual sources and connections of the abbey at this earliest period in the development of the biblical gloss.

However, the leader of the movement to develop the gloss is recognized as Anselm of Laon (*d.* 1117), who taught there at the cathedral school, along with colleagues and successors such as his brother Ralph (*d.* 1131/36) and Gilbert de la Porré (1076–1154). Another, Gilbert (‘the Universal’) of Auxerre, moved to England to become Bishop of London from 1128 until his death in 1134. Their genius was to crystallize oral teaching and traditional commentary in the distinctive layout of the glossed book. The shorter, interlinear notes might be composed

[PLATE 21] Spine: full-on view, showing tabs and erased ‘A’ at centre, with possible traces of a (post-medieval?) label below

[PLATE 22] Fore-edge, book closed, showing a curved mark near foot

directly by Anselm or his colleagues, but supported by a mosaic of larger marginal extracts selected from the earlier commentators. Without the distancing effect of a separate commentary, the reader has the full biblical text immediately present. Meanwhile, the clear contrast in script-size and style leaves no danger of confusion between commentary and the word of God.

Such a layout takes up enough space to make a substantial volume from just one biblical book. This was in fact the standard working unit, rather than the whole Bible. The original compilers took several decades to gloss all the Bible's books. Even when their task was completed, by the 1130s, a complete glossed bible filling some twenty or more stout volumes could be the aspiration of only the richest scholar-collectors or communities. The proud owner of such a set could justifiably call it by its own collective noun, of similar Greek etymology to the word for bible: not just a *biblia* but a *bibliotheca*, a library in itself.

The overall gloss naturally continued to enlarge, its layout ever more refined. Longer glosses on Psalms and the Pauline Epistles were compiled by Peter Lombard at Paris around the middle of the 12th century, and influenced the further elaboration of both content and form. By the end of the century, the individual glosses had usually coalesced into a continuous frame of smaller writing around the biblical text. This effect was achieved by sophisticated scribal techniques: calculated variations in the width of the main column on each page, depending on the extent of the gloss, or interruptions in the flow of the main text itself. By this final stage the text was becoming fixed as the *Glossa ordinaria*, the standard official gloss on the Bible which remained influential for centuries. The *editio princeps* of the *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria* was printed at Strasbourg by Adolph Rusch for Anton Koberger by 1480/81.

At the time when individual glossed books were coming into vogue, complete bibles without gloss were still found more commonly on public lecterns than on personal desks. Huge 12th-century manuscripts such as the Winchester or Bury Bibles, or the two-volume Lambeth Bible¹⁰ which may have belonged to St Augustine's, were made for public reading and display in church or refectory. Their large format, often in more than one volume, made them far too cumbersome for private study. Pope Innocent II's special request to Abbot Hugh II of St Augustine's to make him a small bible of handbook size only proves the rarity of that format around the time when the Luke was written. Meanwhile, a complete glossed *bibliotheca* was more convenient for scholarly consultation, but out of reach for most communities and individuals. By the early 13th century and the rise of the universities, there was an evident gap in the market for plain Latin bibles: so the commercial book-trade at Paris and elsewhere developed a new one-volume format,

closely written on fine parchment which seems often as thin as modern India paper. Many 13th-century bibles are pocket-sized, written in script so tiny that they are clearly personal books, handy for reference but less so for prolonged reading.

THE TEXT OF THE GLOSSED LUKE

The task of assembling glosses for the entire Latin Bible proceeded book by book, with various compilers over several decades. In that process, it remains unclear who compiled the gloss on St Luke, or when. An occasional modern attribution to Gilbert the Universal seems unsubstantiated. A negative argument is provided by the later 12th-century writer, Petrus Comestor, when he notes that the brothers Master Anselm and Ralph of Laon did not get around to glossing St Mark's Gospel, since it was subsidiary to St Matthew's. The inference is that they had indeed glossed the other Gospels, perhaps all three, and this is supported by other clues (though not for Luke) that Anselm had glossed St John and Ralph St Matthew.¹¹ A survey of the earliest glossed manuscripts, starting naturally with manuscripts originating at Laon and associated French centres, was published by Patricia Stirnemann in an article of 1994. In contrast to the glossed Matthew and John, she was unable to find any manuscript of the glossed Luke which could be dated with certainty before AD 1140.¹² Her earliest Lukes, datable on either side of that year, are Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1214 (from St Stephen's church, Troyes) and Soissons, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 78, both with stylistic affiliations to Laon. For the next decade, around 1140–50, she lists four further glossed Lukes of Parisian origin. The medium was the message: once established, the new format continued over the following century to spread and evolve across Europe, with Paris as the centre of diffusion from the 1140s onwards.

For England, Richard Gameson dates the increasing availability of glossed books to just a little after the period covered by his survey of early Norman manuscripts (c. 1066–1130), which indeed includes no glossed manuscripts of the Gospels.¹³ Whilst the presence of the prickly scribe dates *Lucas glo. cum A* probably in the second quarter of the 12th century and certainly not much later than 1150, the pattern suggested by the French glossed Lukes might tend to place it towards the end of that quarter-century, say around 1140–50. The date of c. 1120–40 suggested by the 2009 Sotheby's cataloguer thus seems too early for the text. A date in the 1140s or around the mid century still makes this one of the earliest surviving manuscripts of the glossed Luke, but already a fine and typical example of the international genre of glossed biblical books. A glossed Matthew, such as *Matheus glo. cum C*, might have better textual parallels to allow a slightly earlier date within the same quarter-century.

Amongst the named donors of the abbey's other glossed Lukes, the earliest certainly identifiable was the late 12th-century associate of the abbey called Ralph. However, the Wibert who gave another copy could possibly have been the Christ Church Prior of that name who reigned c. 1152–67. The library of Christ Church itself owned at least seven separate copies of the glossed Luke (discounting copies of the Four Gospels) by the time it was catalogued for Prior Eastry (d. 1331).¹⁴ These are all from named donors, mostly identifiable to the 12th and 13th centuries. One copy, Eastry no. 998, came from Walter Durdent, Prior of Christ Church from c. 1143 until his election and consecration as Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in 1149. His death in 1159 provides an ultimate terminus for his copy of the glossed Luke (now lost); and if he acquired or commissioned it during his reign at Christ Church, it must have been of much the same date as *Lucas glo. cum A*.

The format of *Lucas glo. cum A* places it still at a relatively early stage of development in the genre. Its shorter and longer glosses are already standard and transcribed as a group, but their layout remains simple. The Gospel in its larger script is written in a central column of more or less fixed width. The plummet ruling allows 15 lines of main text, generously separated, but so narrow (46–57 mm.) that many words of the Gospel are split with end-hyphens across lines. Columns on each side of the main column were designed from the first to accommodate the gloss. The inner gloss-column is narrower than the main column and the outer one wider, yielding a satisfying page-design and a combined written space of c. 177–180 × 151–2 mm. The two gloss-columns did not immediately have their own horizontal rulings, which were inserted as extensions or additions by each Gloss-scribe to allow approximately three lines of gloss to each line of Gospel. Gloss-scribes i and iii tend to rule the entire columns (pls. 18, 13), but ii leaves a larger proportion of unruled gaps (pl. 17, top left). Crucially, there is still enough space in each gloss-column to allow a horizontal gap or at least a new line for each marginal gloss, which is usually preceded by a paragraph mark and often linked to its Gospel text with a paired sign.

It is instructive to compare the glosses of *Lucas glo. cum A* with a printed text of the *Glossa ordinaria*. A spot check of the first two and the last pages of the manuscript's gloss (fols. 4v–5r, 154v) against the equivalent pages of the six-volume Venice edition of 1603¹⁵ (Tom. 5, cols. 667–74, 1005–8) shows a remarkable degree of overlap. All the manuscript's glosses for this sample, both interlinear and marginal, find their matches (with only minor variants) in the printed text, which however also offers additional glosses. Just one gloss is interlinear in the manuscript but marginal in the printed text. A gloss at the manuscript's fol. 4v (pl. 10, outer margin, third one down, *beg.*

'Notat ea maxime causa ...') is squeezed in, clearly as an afterthought, by a different but contemporary hand. Its text too is present in the printed text (there attributed to Bede), to suggest that its omission here was an accident by Gloss-scribe i, speedily remedied by the main corrector, most likely the project-director himself. This gloss happens to include the words 'ewangelium' and 'ewangelistis', to indicate how the corrector pronounced the Latin 'v's in these words. Another gloss initially omitted was the very first one, the description of St Luke's subject-matter and 'historical style' beginning 'Lucas de omnibus que fecit Ihesus ...'. This was inserted by the same early corrector on the preceding page (pl. 15), at the foot of the main column after the Preface. It is printed as the first gloss of the *Glossa ordinaria*, with an attribution to Bede.

A striking feature of the manuscript is the complete absence of gloss, interlinear or marginal, on the manuscript's first three pages, fols. 3r–4r, where the Vulgate's standard Preface is written out in lonely splendour in the central column: 'Lucas Sirus natione, et Antiocensis, arte medicus discipulus apostolorum, postea Paulum secutus ...', 'Luke, a Syrian by nation and of Antioch, by training a doctor, a disciple of the apostles, afterwards a follower of Paul ...'.¹⁶ The inside and outside columns are measured out but left unruled and unfilled; perhaps the makers hoped to add glosses one day, but had not found them present in the immediate exemplar. On the other hand, they already seem to have abandoned hope of any interlinear glosses, for the Preface's ruling is more compressed, allowing for 27 lines (with little interlinear space) rather than the 15 of the Gospel itself. Although the Preface seems at first sight to be written in the same large script as the Gospel, the letter-size is in fact slightly smaller, though all in the prickly script of Scribe I. The Preface is printed in the 1603 edition (Tom. 5, cols. 663–8) with a number of interlinear glosses but with no marginal glosses for the *Glossa ordinaria* at all (in contrast to the Prefaces of Mark and John): so their absence in *Lucas glo. cum A* seems to be a defect of the textual tradition or original composition, not an omission in this particular copy.

The printed *Glossa ordinaria* names the theological sources of most of the longer glosses at the start of each, predominantly Ambrose and Bede in the first few pages. By contrast, this manuscript omits nearly all the names. The occasional surviving attribution – 'G G' for Gregorius at the start of one gloss at fol. 119r – indicates their presence in this copy's ancestry, so a deliberate decision to omit them has been made at some stage of transmission. Other glossed manuscripts may or may not name the sources of the larger extracts. The absence of theologians' names was felt here by at least one later annotator, perhaps Reader B, who added a

small ‘beda’ in crayon to identify the source of a longer gloss on fol. 10r as Bede. Although the manuscript’s glosses are usually left anonymous and without specific authority, they implicitly carry the weight of many past centuries of Christian teaching.

GLOSSED BIBLICAL BOOKS AT ST AUGUSTINE’S

By the late 15th century, the St Augustine’s Catalogue could list some 35 one-volume bibles and register 21 of them simultaneously out on loan to individual monks. Of these 35, the eight certain survivors all date from the 13th century – an inheritance from that century’s layer of biblical scholarship and book-production. However, the library also retained a large stock of glossed biblical books in the earlier format. The Catalogue lists 124 or 125 glossed volumes in its main section for such books, some covering more than one biblical book and including many duplicates; a few more glossed texts were also available as secondary items in multi-text volumes elsewhere. All these would still have been on tap for cloister reading and as a class were surely more legible and more rewarding for close study and contemplation than the pocket bibles. Of the 124/5 volumes, some thirteen are still identified as surviving, including the Luke – at just over ten per cent, the usual survival rate for this library.

With ten individual copies, St Luke’s Gospel was the library’s third commonest glossed book of the Bible, after the Psalms with at least eighteen separate copies and the Pauline Epistles with seventeen. The acquisition-pattern for the Lukes – three identified by letters, the rest from named donors of the 12th to 14th centuries – turns out to be typical. Some donors of glossed biblical books gave only one or two volumes each. Nine donors gave personal but incomplete collections of several glossed books, between three to seven volumes each, but only one further person had anything like a complete *bibliotheca*. Ralph, not himself a monk but the uncle of Abbot Roger I (1175–1213), was formally honoured in the abbey’s Martyrology as the donor of 23 volumes covering ‘the Old and New Testament glossed, except for Chronicles and the Books of Maccabees and the Apocalypse’. Of this original gift, 21 volumes were still credited to Ralph in the later Catalogue. Another near complete *bibliotheca* escaped the abbey, when a ‘Master Gervase, the Englishman, of St Augustine’s, Canterbury’ made a deathbed bequest to the Abbey of Saint-Victor, Paris, of a set covering the entire Bible except Chronicles. He may have been the secular lawyer who acted for St Augustine’s in 1201–2, in a transaction which involved bribing King John with the gift of a palfrey. If so, this rich lawyer must have gone off later to Paris to pursue his studies, taking his *bibliotheca* with him.¹⁷

Despite the honour still properly accorded by the Catalogue to each donor, volume by volume, even Ralph’s *bibliotheca* did not remain shelved or catalogued together as a set. Instead, all the glossed books were sorted by biblical text – all the Lukes, all the Isaiahs, all the Deuteronomies – in a way which must have been more convenient for comparison and selection. For practical purposes, the working unit is clearly the individual glossed volume. For the Gospels, alongside the ten Lukes, there were seven separate Matthews, six Marks and seven Johns, as well as the seven or eight complete Four Gospels and further individual Gospels elsewhere as subsidiary texts in composite volumes. Occasionally (though not for the Lukes), a volume is categorized as ‘cum minori glossa’, with smaller or lesser gloss. For a few biblical books such as Psalms or Pauline Epistles this has a precise meaning, to distinguish the early gloss or *glossa ordinaria* from the more elaborate glosses composed later in the 12th century by scholars such as Peter Lombard. Otherwise, however, it may simply designate the early form of layout. The surviving 12th-century manuscripts of Matthew ‘cum B’ and ‘cum C’ (BA1.156–7) are both designated ‘minori glo.’ in their earliest inscriptions, but simply as ‘glo.’ in their Catalogue-entries; both show the early layout of the *glossa ordinaria*, exactly as in the Luke.

The St Augustine’s Catalogue records eleven glossed volumes, including the Luke, which were marked ‘cum A’ without a donor’s name and shelved variously from D.1 to D.3. The others are BA1.106 (Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy), 139 (Song of Songs), 144 (Isaiah), 147 (Jeremiah with Lamentations), 152 (Minor Prophets), 155 (Matthew), 165 (Mark), 190 (Four Gospels), 197 (Pauline Epistles) and 204 (Pauline Epistles ‘with minor gloss’). Possibly some of these might have belonged together, in one or more subgroups; more likely, however, their shared ‘A’ is just a coincidence, as simply the first available letter to help distinguish multiple copies of the same text. The Pauline Epistles at BA1.197 survives (London, British Library, Harl. MS 1524) to show that it is around a century younger than the Luke. The other Pauline Epistles ‘with minor gloss’ at BA1.204 (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.4.40) is close to the Luke’s date and of identical leaf-height, but with somewhat broader pages. The Four Gospels at BA1.190, if correctly identified with the surviving ‘Royal Bible’ (see further pp. 69–70 below), was a much older book and not even glossed. The Catalogue marked the lost Matthew and Mark at BA1.155 and 165 as each ‘in quaterno’, ‘in quire(s)’ – bound in limp or light covers, not in wooden boards – and the extant Pauline Epistles at BA1.204 as ‘in nigro coopertorio’, in a black cover (now gone). These bindings, then, were not uniform with that of *Lucas glo. cum A*. Although shelved alongside many books of the same glossed format, and quite similar to some of the other survivors in

general size and appearance, it was most likely always a one-off volume, not part of a set.

READING AND BORROWING BOOKS AT ST AUGUSTINE'S

The arrangements for the issue of books from the abbey library to its readers are nowhere fully explained. Scattered clues from St Augustine's, along with parallels from other monasteries, suggest that a monk could consult library books in two ways, in parallel with modern libraries. He might borrow one or more books – maybe even up to a dozen or more – for which he would be formally registered as the borrower, for an extended period of months or years. Archbishop Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* of c. 1077 provided for the annual distribution at Christ Church of one book to each monk at a chapter-meeting on the first Monday of Lent, from a selection laid out on the carpet. A St Augustine's monk of the later 14th century borrowed the surviving 'Pauline Epistles with minor gloss with the letter A' (BA1.204, see p. 55 above), and listed it with eleven other miscellaneous volumes in an added note. His heading provides a glimpse of the procedure then current at the abbey: the note lists the books 'pro quibus scribor in tabula', 'for which I am written in the table'.¹⁸ Such borrowed books might come to be regarded almost as a monk's own property: he might cover their pages with notes, have them rebound, or even carry them off to Oxford to be pawned in a university loan-chest. Pledge-notes in Hebrew in the surviving *Matheus glo. cum C* suggest that it was pawned more than once with the Jews of mid 13th-century Canterbury, by named individuals who were most likely monks of St Augustine's.¹⁹

However, a monk would also have read books regularly in the Cloister, where a seat and separate carrel were at his disposal for set hours of study. At first he might have had no desk at all, for the St Augustine's Customary instructs the novice to read when by himself in Cloister or Church with the book held on his knees and to turn the pages with his right hand. The Cloister had its own book-cupboard, for which the volumes recorded there in the Catalogue and its Locations Register suggest a selection of outsize reference works. Seats and carrels next to the book-cupboard were allocated to the Precentor and his deputy, the Succentor, from where 'these two, or at least one of them, can always be ready to respond to brothers seeking service'.²⁰ It would be hard to find a better description of duty-librarians. A major part of their duty must have been to fetch books either from the nearby cupboard or down from the Library Room, at the request of their readers. The Cloister thus served as the community's reading-room. Readers could also find an indoor (night-time?) refuge in studies off the Dormitory Chapel, specially built by Abbot Nicholas Thorne (1273–83) for personal prayer,

contemplation and reading; artificial lighting there was permanently financed in 1289 by his successor Abbot Findon with the annual income from one acre of land 'for the lamp'.

The Register's snapshot of borrowing in the late 15th century reveals formal loans of glossed biblical books still in evidence. Three borrowers are named. The Prior, William Shrewsbury, is reading a glossed Apocalypse (BA1.224.7 = 814b). Thomas Hampton, now a young monk but a future Doctor of Theology and abbot (1510–22), has out a one-volume collection of glossed Acts, Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse (BA1.221). Finally, an unidentified 'H. Burton' has borrowed two volumes (BA1.72 and 194), the familiar pairing of glossed Psalms and Pauline Epistles which traditionally provided the ideal theological grounding from both Old and New Testaments. Otherwise, most of the glossed books are located in the *libraria*. A glossed Psalms 'belongs to the Cloister but is [temporarily] in the Library' (BA1.71): this volume survives as London, British Library, Add. MS 54229, and its large format (363–6 × 256–8 mm.) may explain why it was normally kept for reference in the Cloister.

READERS OF THE GLOSSED ST LUKE

Written near the top edge of the book's first page (pl. 9) is an inscription in grey hard-point, now very faint. On the basis of one or two legible words, it may be read with fair certainty as 'Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia, quae corda nostra sibi faciat (h)abitaculum', 'May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with us, to make our hearts its own habitation'. This is the start of a liturgical Sequence for Pentecost attributed to Notker of St Gall (*d.* 912). Its first phrase, 'Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia', is often used by scribes as an invocation to bless the start of a project. The script is a neat, early cursive. It may have been added by a reader as he began his studies, or possibly even as an initial prayer by one of the book's original makers (though, if so, not in their formal script) when work began in the scriptorium. It survives here so dimly that it may have been deliberately erased.

At the foot of the same page, the manuscript's most assiduous annotator, Reader A, adds a more defiant opening motto: 'Depart from me, ye evildoers'. The Latin phrase, 'Declinate a me maligni', is scrawled grandly but faintly across the lower margin in light brown 'crayon'. Later readers would have recognized it as a quotation from the longest Psalm, 118 (119) verse 115, and recalled the rest of the verse: 'for I will study the commandments of my God'. On the front flyleaf (fol. 2v) he wrote a now largely illegible list headed perhaps 'p[ec]catus', 'sins'.

Reader A's script is large, angular and almost misformed, perhaps due to the use of a clumsy writing implement: maybe a stylus, but otherwise any hard point which would leave a light brown mark. On the first

page, he uses the same implement to add a short gloss, ‘antiochenus conuersa[cione?]’, in the upper right margin opposite ‘LVCAS’, the Preface’s first word. ‘Antiochenus’ is immediately intelligible as a variant for the fifth word of the text, ‘antiocensis’, but the final letters of the second word are now so faint that its meaning is less clear. One explanation might take ‘conuersatio’ in its less familiar meaning as ‘frequent abode in a place’: that would make a reasonable comment on the Preface’s description of St Luke as ‘Syrian by nation, and of Antioch’, i.e. ‘of Antioch, by reason of his frequent abode there’.

The faintness of the word, like the clumsy script, is unfortunately all too characteristic of this reader, despite his sporadic persistence in the first forty per cent or so of the book. His faint brown scrawls are visible on a number of pages up to fol. 62r (Luke 9. 13–16) and on the endleaves at both ends, sometimes several lines long – but often affected by rubbing or fading, and always hard to read. The notes are plainly theological and doubtless relevant to the adjacent Gospel text or gloss. Occasional citations of other parts of the Bible by book and chapter may be discerned, e.g. Jeremiah 4 and Matthew 19 at fol. 32r, and Job 15 at fol. 50v. At the foot of fol. 36r he adds two lines, ‘p(rim)a conuersione de aqua lacrimarum | debet homo facere domino conuiuium in domo sua’, ‘at his first conversion from the water of tears, a man ought to make a feast for the Lord in his own house’, drawing the moral from the Gospel text above (Luke 5. 28–32, elaborated in the gloss) where the tax-collector Levi makes Jesus ‘a great feast in his own house’.

The notes by Reader A were presumably more visible when first written. Given their frequent illegibility now, it remains possible that some of the crayon notes might have been added by more than one reader, though when visible the clumsy hand is usually distinctive. Another short, legible example is perhaps his, though written in smaller script than usual because it is interlinear. It appears at fol. 9r (pl. 24), below the well-known phrase at Luke 1. 37, ‘quia non erit impossibile apud Deum omne uerbum’ (‘For with God nothing shall be impossible’, or, more literally, ‘For with God every word shall not be impossible’). The crayon annotation reads ‘hoc est nulla res digna nesc(ientia)e’, ‘this is, no thing [is] worthy of not knowing’ – a thoughtful inference from a difficult Latin phrase.

Reader B writes in a smaller, neater and more legible cursive style of the later 13th or early 14th century, also in light brown crayon. His notes are much less frequent than A’s. His identity as a separate hand emerges clearly in the lower margin of fol. 8r, which carries notes by both A and B, with occasional overlapping to confirm B’s smaller script as the later of the two. B’s additions seem more coherent than A’s in content as well as in script. Occasionally (e.g. fols. 37v, 39r) he adds

the equivalent chapter numbers for St Matthew and St Mark, as the synoptic concordances with St Luke. The lower margins of fols. 86v and 91v have respectively five-line and four-line additions evidently in B’s small, neat crayon, but too faint to be fully legible. At the lower margin of fol. 35v (Luke 5. 24–28) he writes four neat lines of rhyming Latin verse:

*Si paribus uel disparibus constant elementis
Nomina pignantum, pars uincitur aggredientis.
Sed si disparilitas paritati asocietur,
Haec tibi sit signifer quod defensor superetur.*

These lines are also found beyond the abbey in several other manuscripts of the 13th and 14th centuries, sometimes at the starts of collections of proverbs.²¹ Loosely translated, the short poem seems to offer a test to predict the outcome of a challenge-contest from the relative number of letters in the names of challenger and defendant: ‘If the names of the combatants agree in both having either even or uneven elements [i.e. in their number of letters], the challenger loses. But if it is odd against even, let this be your sign that the defendant may be conquered.’ Provided that challenger and challenged are clearly distinguishable, this should work in practice about half the time. The poem seems here to be a random jotting, with no obvious link to the Gospel text or glosses above.

Readers A and B both tend to lay out each Latin note in tabular form as a *distinctio* or *divisio*, the standard logical device of a trained medieval mind to break down any subject into its constituent parts. St Luke’s special attention to the Blessed Virgin Mary attracts a good example by B in the lower margin of fol. 8v (pl. 23). The Gospel has reached the story of the Annunciation, as Mary responds to the angel Gabriel (fols. 8v–9r, Luke 1. 29–38). Reader B takes Mary’s responses in turn, lays them out in a six-line column, and analyses them as representing the ‘Six virtues of Saint Mary’. Centred at far left is that title, ‘Sex uirtutes sancte Marie.’, followed by the word ‘Virtus’ which is linked with six pen-strokes to each line of the table. The top line starts with another ‘uirtus’, which is to be understood with each virtue as it follows in the genitive. These lines read, in translation:

<i>The virtue of truth.</i>	<i>which when she heard</i>
<i>of prudence</i>	<i>she reflected</i>
<i>of modesty</i>	<i>how shall this be</i>
<i>of chastity</i>	<i>since [I know not a] man</i>
<i>of humility</i>	<i>behold the handmaid of the Lord</i>
<i>of magnanimity of faith</i>	<i>let it be for me according to thy word</i>

overleaf
[PLATE 23] Fol. 8v (Luke 1. 29–34):
Reader B’s crayon *divisio* on the virtues of Mary
[PLATE 24] Fol. 9r (Luke 1. 34–8):
Reader C’s ink *divisiones* on the virtues of Mary,
with less legible crayon glosses by Reader A

Vat. curbatum insolita salutatione
quasi familiaris notam: uocat ex no
mine. ne timeat iuber. & qua gra plena
uocauerit. plenius explicat.

Iohis magni ut homo comm dno. hic
magni ut deus & dei fili. Iohis magnus
multo abstinentie. quia unum & ficeram
non bibit. hic magni potentia nature.
quia cum peccatoribus. imedit.

Cum iam riste. de pmissione dei. & ma
ria dixit. Quom fiet istud q. u. n. c. cur
non sunt mure sicut zacharias. & maria
& maria non dubitant faciendum quod
promittitur. & modum requirunt. Zacha
rias qui negat se scire. negat se credere. &
altum auctorem fidei susquerit. ideo ac
cipit signu tacendi. quia signa non fide
lib; & infidelib;.

Iliquet quod faciendum credit que qm
fiat: querit.

Legent. nec dubitant uirginem pari
tutam. sciebat & quod impleri oportebat:
qd ab anglo nuntiabatur. & qd qui fieret
non legat. nec ab anglo audierat. qd ordi
ne impleri debeat requirit. qd si nullu
a scilicet abscondit. a pphs non predictu
anglo est reseruatum.

et ista saluatio. Et

an angls ei. Ne time

as maria: inuenisti

eni gram apud dm.

Ecce cepies in uero
hic uerū dñi de deo patre.

& paries filiu: & uoca

b nom ei ihm. hic erit

magni: & fili altissimi

uocabit. Et dabit illi

dñs dñs sedē dauid pa

tris ei: & regnabit in

domo iacob in eternu

& regni ei n erit finis.

Vix autē maria ad an

glm. & m fiet istud qm

Ihic saluator. siue
saluator. Ipse enim
saluti faciet non po
pulum isrl. & futurum
populu. siue ex ppu
tio siue ex circūctio
ne in unū ouile sub
uno pastore congre
gatum.

Sedem. Id est isrl

acum plebem cui da

uid & filii ei compatis

regni gubernacula p

buerunt. hui regni

spūale datus est xpo.

qm est dispositi a deo.

ut de semine dñi mear

tiaretur. qui illā gen

tem in ppetuum uo

careat regni. & n solū

in uria gente iudeor.

& regnabit in domo

iacob in et. hoc est in

etia ecclā. que p fidem

& confessionē xpi ad pa

triarcharū pertinet for

tem. siue in illis qui

de patriarcharū sor

te nati. siue in his qui

de oleastro exati mo

linam bonā sunt in

ferri.

ISpē nomen est
omnis grē. que a
deo inspiratur. Vir
tus a. o. ribi. abscon
dit in eapitum su
gendo.

Vir a. o. e. Potest

utraq; saluatoris

nata intelligi. quia

a lumine & corpore

obiecto solet forma

ri. & uirgo sicut pu

rus homo plenu

dinem diuinitatis

cape nequit bat. &

uirus altissimi ob

umbrat dñi in cor

porea lux diuinita

tis corpus in ea susce

pit humanitatis. ut

sic posset dñi pati.

Cognata cia. quia

de tribu leui. i. de

tribu dei.

Uel non qd incre

dulam exemplis

hortatur ad fidem.

& credenti que au

dierat ampliora re

plicat miracula. ut

que dñi uirgineat

partura. pcur forem

quog; de annu illi

nasciturum cogno

sceret.

uirū n cognosco: & re

spondens angls dix ei.

Ispuueniens spē in uirginem.

& mientem illius a sorde ui

Spē scs sup ueniet in

ridy califica. ut celesti

digna eet partu & in uo eius

te: & uir altissimi ob

redemptoris corpus sua opati

one non uirili semine & eant

uibrabit. Ideo: &

qd nasceret ex te sem: uo

lū. p uir. dem coram. & ne uirgo

cabit fili di. & ecce eli

de patre despet. accipit exim

plum steriliū anuū parture.

Isabech cognata tua: &

ut discat oia deo possibilia.

que ordini nature uidentur

ipsa cepit filiu in se

concreta.

necesse sua. & hic m

ta conceptione.

sis ē sexo illi q uocat

sterilis. qd n erit in

possibile apud dñm oē

uerbu. Vix autē maria

ut dñi filius ancille eue. & hac

siue uiri semine conceptus

in uirgine

Ecce ancilla dñi fiat

Ihic nascitur scs. qui conditione nate
corruptibilis unctet. & conuersione copu
le carnis conceptus non est. Nos aditio
ne nature corruptibilis constricti: p
gram possimū scificari. & congruit ut
que cont morem uirgo concepit. sup
morem humane consuetudinis dei
filium generet.

Ilegimus qd aaron qui de leui acci
pit uxorem de tribu iuda elisabet soro
rem naalon. & in postis dauid legimus.

qd iada pontifex uxorem hūc de tri

bu regali isabech filiam toram. Unde

utraq; tribus regal' & sacerdotal' erant

conuincte. hinc marie & elisabet cogna

te & congruit ut de utraq; tribu medi

ator nascatur qui regnat in etnū. & est

sacerdos in et. sed. melch. & conuenit u

cum alē de spū concepit. alē spū re

pleta ppliauit. sed caritē q; uideant

fuisse cognate. que sed dñi spūal' cog

nationis consortio non carebant.

Non de singularitate nūc se extollit.

& siue conditionis. & diuine dignationis

p omnia memor se ancillam illius &

facit. cui mat' eligatur. & cū magna

deuotione pmissum angli optat impli.

Ispuueniens spē in uirginem. & mientem illius a sorde ui

Spē scs sup ueniet in

ridy califica. ut celesti

digna eet partu & in uo eius

te: & uir altissimi ob

redemptoris corpus sua opati

one non uirili semine & eant

uibrabit. Ideo: &

qd nasceret ex te sem: uo

lū. p uir. dem coram. & ne uirgo

cabit fili di. & ecce eli

de patre despet. accipit exim

plum steriliū anuū parture.

Isabech cognata tua: &

ut discat oia deo possibilia.

que ordini nature uidentur

ipsa cepit filiu in se

concreta.

necesse sua. & hic m

ta conceptione.

sis ē sexo illi q uocat

sterilis. qd n erit in

possibile apud dñm oē

uerbu. Vix autē maria

ut dñi filius ancille eue. & hac

siue uiri semine conceptus

in uirgine

Ecce ancilla dñi fiat

This analysis in turn caught the attention of another reader of the earlier 14th century, Reader C, who decided to make it more permanent by recopying it in ink in small script on the facing page (fol. 9r, pl. 24), with only slight changes of wording. C's title translates as 'The six virtues of Mary are noted'. Between the columns of virtues and Mary's responses he adds the words 'When she says' (not quite apposite to the first two lines on the right); and the responses themselves include a few additional words from the biblical text. To the right, C adds two further Latin *divisiones* in ink, each in three columns including the title on the left. The first title reads 'It is read that Mary spoke seven times', followed by a count of the occasions ('Twice with the angel', etc.) and the actual words ('firstly "How shall this be", etc., secondly "Behold the handmaid of the Lord"'). The second title reads 'Five [virtues] are noted in Mary', prefacing a still closer breakdown of Mary's response, 'Ecce ancilla ut domino fiat mihi secundum uerbum tuum':

<i>Piety.</i>	<i>Behold</i>
<i>Humility.</i>	<i>the handmaid</i>
<i>Obedience.</i>	<i>of the Lord</i>
<i>Prudence.</i>	<i>be it unto me</i>
<i>Modesty of speech.</i>	<i>according to thy word.</i>

Reader C was probably a contemporary of the St Augustine's monk Michael de Northgate (fl. 1295?-1340), the probable author of the Middle English *Ayenbite of Inwit* (BA1.1536). This was a translation from French into Kentish dialect of Laurent d'Orléans, *Somme le roi*, an elaborate and systematic analysis of the virtues and vices. The handwriting here is not Michael's, but shows similarities with his hand, particularly in the very high, double-lobed 'a'. Reader C is not discernible anywhere else in the manuscript, unless he is hiding himself in the indistinct crayon notes.

These three readers of the 13th and earlier 14th centuries were responsible for most of the quantifiable additions to the manuscript. One or two others have left very short notes (e.g. in ink at fols. 64v and 72v, in tiny script of the 13th(?) century, not necessarily by the same person). A hand of the 14th or 15th century added some chapter-numbers in ink, almost always in Roman numerals, usually as running-heads (pls. 5, 17, 24) but occasionally in the margin (e.g. fol. 83r) against the start of a chapter. The first instance occurs at fols. 5v-6r, where 'Ca(pitulu)m | p(ri)mu(m)' is written as a running-head across the opening in rather formal style. However, the task was not carried through on every page, nor with any great consistency of wording or script-style, and was abandoned after the running-heads at the first opening of chapter 15 (fols. 102v-103r). These additions seem more likely the work of a librarian than a reader, especially since this hand does not seem to contribute any

reading notes. In the late 15th century, running-heads of this kind were frequently added in St Augustine's manuscripts as a librarian's task by Clement Canterbury, a minor contributor to the Catalogue's transcript of that date; but the additions here in the Luke seem earlier.

Apart from these chapter-numbers and the faint crayon notes on the end flyleaf (fol. 155r-v), there are scarcely any visible traces left by readers beyond B's final crayon lines at the foot of fol. 91v, now so faint that they may have been deliberately erased. A few words in ink, of unknown date and purpose, have been deleted at the inside column of fol. 112v. It would be foolish to suppose that the original book-mark now found at fols. 92v/93r has not been moved since medieval times; on the other hand, a fragment of straw(?) still preserved loose at the gutter of fols. 84v/85r might be a truer indication of the point at which a medieval(?) reader abandoned his task. The general impression is that the book was available on the library shelves and consulted, perhaps not very heavily, over a couple of centuries. As with many or most medieval (and later) books, the readers' notes peter out well before the end. However, it could be argued that the visible additions are, by definition, the work of the book's most selfish readers: malefactors who scribble in library books. Reader A, in particular, left a considerable mess: perhaps he considered himself too senior to feel any qualm of conscience when he handed the book back to the Precentor with all his clumsy notes. Reader B was neater, but his added verse at fol. 35v might make him a betting man. A devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, echoing St Luke's special emphasis on the Nativity story, emerges in the tabulations of her virtues by Readers B and C. The book was surely consulted by other monastic readers who, more quietly, have left no visible trace.

SHELVING IN THE LIBRARY ROOM

In the scanty ruins of the abbey, not one stone identifiably survives from the Library Room – most likely because it was not on the ground floor. It may have been sited above the Vestry immediately to the north of the Abbey Church, off the south-east corner of the Great Cloister near the Chapter House. The sole evidence for its internal arrangement lies in the records of its shelfmarks – the unfinished shelf-check recorded in the transcribed Catalogue towards the end of the 15th century, and individual shelfmarks of mostly earlier dates inscribed in surviving manuscripts. At St Augustine's, the shelfmarks always follow the same two-part formula: *Distinctio* and *Gradus* (perhaps in the ablative forms, *Distinctione* and *Gradu*), each with its own number. The safest translation for *Distinctio* is perhaps 'book-press', if this may now be used as a neutral term carrying no particular connotation of bookcase, lectern, shelf-division, table or desk. *Gradus* (literally 'step') is clearly a shelf.

The inscriptions added to the Luke's front flyleaf (pl. 4) in the late 13th or early 14th century include shelfmark-numbers in Roman numerals for *Distinctio* and *Gradus* in the abbey's standard pattern. Both numbers show clear signs of correction, but the final reading (date unclear) was 'Di. III G^a I', matching the data added for this book in the transcribed Catalogue by its director, Hand D. The match confirms that by his time in the late 15th century the book was indeed kept in the library's third book-press on the first, presumably topmost, of its four shelves. The Catalogue records the nine other individual glossed Lukes and the seven or eight copies of the complete glossed Gospels all alongside it on the same shelf, together with the 20 other volumes containing the individual glossed copies of Matthew, Mark and John. Only the secondary copy of Luke bound with Ezekiel is absent, shelved by virtue of that text at D.2 G.2. This count, surely the complete record, gives D.3 G.1 a grand total of 37 or 38 books.

The original shelfmark-numbers of *Lucas glo. cum A* before the later alterations are unclear. The final digit of the current *Distinctio*-number 'III' is an addition in lighter, washier ink, so the first reading may have been 'II' or 'II.'. The current *Gradus*-number is written in the same washier ink to the right of the original number, which is erased and illegible even under ultra-violet light: it might have been '.II.' or '.III.', so the original shelfmark was possibly D.2 G.2 (like the Ezekiel) or D.2 G.3. Whatever the reading, the alterations prove that the book had moved shelves at least once in the 14th to 15th centuries. Neither of the suggested alternatives was far from its final resting-place at D.3 G.1, and each was still within the Library's overall section for biblical studies in *Distinctiones I–III*. Similar shelfmark-changes are common in the inscriptions of other surviving manuscripts, including *Matheus glo. cum C* (finally at D.3 G.1, first readings unclear), and sometimes visible even in the transcribed Catalogue itself. However, the instances where both readings are still legible usually reveal only minor book-moves between neighbouring book-presses and shelves, in a Library Room where the overall subject-arrangement remained generally consistent over some two to three centuries.

The oldest shelfmarks in the manuscripts record *Distinctio* and *Gradus* numbers already by the late 13th century, and there is no evidence that the library furniture indicated by these two categories ever changed. In the 14th century, there are traces of a separate *Distinctio Thomae Abbatis*, dedicated to the donations of Abbot Thomas of Findon (*d.* 1310); but by the time the Catalogue was first compiled, between 1375 and 1420, its contents had already been dispersed by subject onto the regular shelves. Elsewhere, in cathedrals and colleges, there is frequent evidence for the construction of new library-rooms in the 15th century. At nearby Christ

Church, Archbishop Chichele (*d.* 1443) built a new library with spacious bookcases, effectively lecterns, to accommodate relatively few books. This was specifically a reading-room where the books were chained and consulted *in situ*, in contrast to the Priory's older 'slype' where books continued to be stored in what had once been a mere passage-way.

There are no clues for any such innovation at St Augustine's. The group of monks who recopied the Catalogue in the late 15th century were evidently on a mission to revive and refurbish the library – there was a campaign of rebinding in stamped leather, which the Luke escaped – but still within the same room and furnishings. It looks as if a Library Room had been set up by the late 13th century which was so spacious that it could accommodate the many accessions of the 14th century and the scantier later additions, right up until 1538. John Leland, who visited the abbey just a few years before its dissolution, accorded its library his grudging respect.

NEIGHBOURING BOOKS

Of the books catalogued with *Lucas glo. cum A* at D.3 G.1, two others survive and two more are less certainly identifiable. The volume-names registered in the medieval Catalogue are as follows, with their modern identifications and leaf-measurements (for comparison with the Luke at 252–7 × 173–8 mm.):

- ¶ *Matheus glo. cum B* (BA1.156) = London, British Library, Burney MS 36 (French origin?, mid to third quarter of the 12th century, now measuring 259–61 × 168–71 mm.). No trace of shelfmark.
- ¶ *Matheus glo. cum C* (BA1.157) = Canterbury, Cathedral Library, MS Lit. D. 6 (34) (St Augustine's origin?, second quarter to middle of the 12th century, now measuring 260 × 182 mm.). Shelfmark altered to D.3 G.1, first reading illegible.
- ¶ *Johannes Euangelista glo. Salomonis cum A* (BA1.177), a volume-title which unusually contains both donor's name (Salomon) and letter: perhaps identifiable, on second-folio evidence only, as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 1 (English origin, mid 12th century, now measuring 220 × 142 mm., i.e. smaller than the others). No library markings.
- ¶ *Quatuor Euangelist[e] glo. cum A* (BA1.190): perhaps identifiable as London, British Library, Royal MS 1 E. VI (9th century, now measuring c. 470–71 × c. 345–8 mm.), with inscriptions showing that it was indeed shelved at D.3 G.1 (altered from D.1 G.3) but with the name *Quatuor euangelia uetera cum A*, i.e. not a glossed book at all (see further pp. 69–70 below).

Lucas glo. cum A is the only one of the certain or possible survivors of this shelf to retain its medieval binding. Along with some medieval bindings (mostly later) surviving from other shelves, its binding allows valuable inferences about the storage facilities of the abbey's Library Room. For this purpose, the most salient aspects are its protuberances: the surviving tab endbands, and the clasp mechanism which when intact would have formed a prominent lump on the back cover.

The function of tab endbands, a feature which fell into disuse in the 13th-century transition from monastic to lay book-production, remains hard to explain. Most surviving tabs are robustly constructed, as in the Luke, with an underlying substructure of stiffeners and linings to provide greater strength than the mere thickness of the cover material. They evidently serve structural purposes in a Romanesque binding, to help control the opening of the book with its flat spine and to protect the endbands. Nevertheless, the resulting 'ears' seem almost calling to be pulled; and the strength of their construction might have allowed them, on occasion, to carry the full weight of the book. A few damaged survivors show spine-tears which suggest that the books were (mis)-handled in this way. The theory that the tabs were designed for pulling books from chests is unsubstantiated, but maybe they could have served to help readers or librarians in extracting volumes from a flat storage position on a shelf. At all events, the worst position for a 12th-century binding with tabs and clasp, but without further protection, is upright on a shelf: its lower tab is soon crushed, whilst its strap-and-pin clasp makes it a bad neighbour. The protruding metalwork will scuff the leather of any adjacent book, or drag its neighbour away with it if pulled carelessly from the shelf. The book in turn faces similar threats from any adjacent books in similar bindings. Wrapping such a book in a chemise only adds to its instability for upright storage. With or without an over-cover, books with strap-and-pin clasps and tab endbands are safer stored flat, and ideally by themselves rather than in piles which would be equally unsuitable for this type of clasp. Although the covers of the St Luke naturally show some signs of wear, and its lower tab has suffered more crushing than the upper, the binding shows no sign of any major mistreatment, scratches or traumatic accident.

The visual records of St Augustine's Abbey preserve one tiny glimpse of books on display. It appears in the unique, authorial manuscript of the illustrated Chronicle prepared by the monk Thomas Elmham, which may be dated precisely to the year 1414. It is Elmham who provides the list of the abbey's book-relics, starting with the gifts of Pope Gregory. The surviving manuscript, probably autograph, includes an extraordinary image (pls. 25, 26)²² of the interior of the Abbey Church – something between a miniature and a plan – showing the High Altar and,



[PLATE 25] Cambridge, Trinity Hall, MS. 1 (Thomas Elmham, *Speculum Augustinianum*, 1414), fol. 77(63)r, detail: the Great Altar in the Abbey Church of St Augustine's, with six Gregorian book-relics displayed on a shelf above.
By kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity Hall, Cambridge

beyond in the apse, the tombs of St Augustine and his ‘companions’. Over the Altar, surrounded by crosses, sculptures and reliquaries, is a shelf containing six books, with an overall caption in Latin as ‘books sent by Gregory to Augustine’. They are all shown closed, each with a single central strap-and-pin fastening. In every case the cover is shown with the fastening uppermost: five back covers (like the Luke’s), and just one front cover for a book which evidently opened the other way round. The front covers of some of the five might well have comprised ‘treasure bindings’ with plaques of precious metals and jewels, so even if Elmham is depicting only generic images it seems all the more significant that five are shown always backwards (*semper retrorsum*), clasp uppermost. It seems both logical and practical to assume that this was the standard resting position for any closed book with a protruding strap-and-pin clasp.

The likeliest explanation, then, is that the Luke was stored flat, with its back cover and clasp uppermost, for most of its working life in the medieval library. The same conclusion is supported by the positions of the labels or ink inscriptions which occasionally survive to provide titles on the lower covers of later medieval bindings from the abbey. For example, the Bodleian’s MS Laud Misc. 300 (= BA1.325), rebound in a stamped leather binding of the late 15th or early 16th century, has a title of that date written on a paper label pasted at the top centre of the lower cover. It was shelved at D.4 G.1, just one *Distinctio* along from the Luke. The positions of such back-cover titles suggest that the books were shelved widthways in portrait position, as in Elmham’s display, not sideways; shelving in this direction would also help to explain why the Luke’s ‘A’ is not written sideways on its spine. Less frequently the clasp-strap is set in the opposite direction, from back cover to front: this may have been the case with the late 11th-century binding of Canterbury,



[PLATE 26] Sketch by Andrew Honey based on Cambridge, Trinity Hall, MS. 1 (Thomas Elmham, *Speculum Augustinianum*, 1414), fol. 77(63)r, enlarging the detail of the six Gregorian book-relics, each with a central strap-and-pin fastening, alongside two arm-reliquaries

Cathedral Library, MS Add. 172 (= BA1.205), though its (later?) strap is now lost. Such an exception would simply have been shelved with its top cover uppermost, like the single front cover depicted in Elmham’s row of six books.

If correct, the concept of flat storage must affect the reconstruction of how the Library Room and its furniture might have looked. A shelf which could take the 36 or 37 books of D.3 G.1 lying flat – or even piled two deep – would be far wider than the conventional shelf of a modern bookcase. As bound, the closed Luke with its tabs measures approximately $11\frac{3}{5} \times 7\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, but might occupy, say, $12 \times 9 \times 3$ inches to allow a little free space in each direction. With this as an average, 36 such books laid flat, one deep, and occupying a widthways space of nine inches would need a shelf at least 27 feet long and one foot deep. Such a length seems implausible, so it seems safer to imagine the books either piled two high or, better, laid two deep one behind the other: a deep shelf some 14 feet long and two feet deep seems just about feasible.

The library need not have shelved all its books in the same way, or in book-presses and shelves of uniform size. The surviving books of St Augustine’s show a wide range of sizes, from small and slim to tall and fat; the Catalogue indicates that many were ‘in quaterno’, bound only in limp covers. Some *Distinctiones* contained as many as six shelves, evidently for smaller books. However, nearly all the books allocated to D.3 G.1 were of the same genre as the Luke. With four deep shelves at, say, 14 feet long, *Distinctio III* must have been a substantial piece of furniture, whether flat against the wall or free-standing. The vast book-press would have been far wider than its height, and solidly constructed to carry the weight of so many books across such long shelves (the Luke weighs 1.635 kg). There is no clear evidence that the Library Room was ever used as a reading-room – the Cloister or Dormitory Chapel served that function – so it may well be wrong to imagine sloping lecterns, similar to those in the chained libraries of the later medieval and early modern periods. The shelfmark evidence indicates that there were at least seventeen *Distinctiones* in the Library Room.

The inference from the Luke about the shelf-size is supported by the survival of a single anomalous intruder from D.3 G.1. ‘The Royal Bible’ (London, British Library, Royal MS 1 E. vi) comprises the remains of a once vast bible, written out in stately insular minuscule in the first half of the 9th century and richly decorated. If, as seems likely, it was a product of the abbey’s own early scriptorium, its three surviving purple-dyed leaves with titles in gold or silver capitals may have been modelled on the *Biblia Gregoriana* itself. By the end of the 13th century, however, the bible had been trimmed down to no more than the four Gospels, with the rest discarded and cannibalized for the parchment. An inscription

of that date names it as ‘Quatuor euangelia uetera [corrected from nuda, disbound] Cum A’, with the shelfmark D.1 G.3 later corrected to D.3 G.1. This means that in its final shelving at the abbey this 9th-century book had ended up – a most distinguished neighbour – on the same shelf as the glossed Luke.

The luxury Gospel-book which comprises the remains of the ‘Royal Bible’ was very different from its glossed companions. It was possibly catalogued and shelved at D.3 G.1 because of a confusion over its name. Its closest match in the Catalogue is the penultimate entry (BA1.190) in the list of glossed copies of all four Gospels, for a book named ‘Quatuor Euangelista [sic] glo’ cum A’. The Catalogue’s shelfmark-numbers place this too at D.3 G.1 in the late 15th century, alongside the seven other glossed Four Gospels. Only the three letters of *glo*’ distinguishes BA1.190’s entry from the name written into the Royal Bible, otherwise also a Gospels ‘cum A’. The entry’s second-folio reading, ‘Josaphat autem’, could well be an inaccurate echo of a leaf near the start of the Royal Bible which starts ‘Ioseph autem’. So D.3 G.1 included either seven glossed copies of the Four Gospels plus the unglossed Gospels of the Royal Bible (if miscatalogued as glossed at BA1.190), or eight glossed copies (counting BA1.190 as a separate glossed book) plus the Royal Bible.

To return to the shelving, a major aspect of the Royal Bible is its very large size. The present leaf-measurement is *c.* 470–71 × *c.* 345–8 mm. If all the books were shelved upright, such a tall book would have towered above companions such as the St Luke (max. leaf-height 257 mm., max. bound height with tabs *c.* 295 mm.), to require a shelf of considerable height. Maybe some of the volumes containing the glossed Four Gospels might have been of similar bulk. In any case, the Royal Bible would have fitted more snugly alongside smaller books like the St Luke if stored flat, despite the extra width and depth of shelf which that must have entailed: it would indeed have fitted the large *Distinctio* imagined above at two feet deep.

The contents of the other shelves of *Distinctio III* may also be reconstructed from the late 15th-century shelf-check. By that time, its *Gradus* 2 contained mostly glossed copies of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, 23 volumes in all. *Gradus* 3 continued with a few glossed copies of Acts, filled out with New Testament commentaries, but to a total of only nine volumes – still plenty of room for expansion, if the shelf-record is complete. *Gradus* 4 was devoted to subsidiary materials, still all for biblical studies: fat volumes of concordances, smaller volumes containing *Interpretations of Hebrew Names* and the like, to a total of 19 recorded volumes. The two earlier *Distinctiones* also covered biblical studies, with complete bibles on the first to second shelves of *Distinctio I*,

and glossed psalters on the first shelf of *Distinctio II*. The other (lower?) shelves of both *Distinctiones I* and *II* housed the glossed books of the Old Testament, with further commentaries and subsidiary biblical materials. Afterwards, the shelving progressed to other subjects, with *Distinctiones IV* and *V* devoted entirely to patristic texts.

LATER HISTORY OF THE GLOSSED LUKE

At the moment of Dissolution, the ancient library of St Augustine’s Abbey did not vanish in a puff of smoke. On the monks’ departure on 30 July 1538, the last Precentor, John Langdon, must have closed the door of the Library Room and abandoned the books to their fate. The Abbey Church was soon destroyed for its stone, but other buildings remained in use, leased by the Crown to successive lay tenants. These inhabitants evidently controlled access to the books, whether or not still kept in their old room, and allowed their gradual removal – by scholars, local dignitaries or even (directly or indirectly) by tradesmen in search of second-hand parchment. The former schoolmaster of the abbey’s almonry school, John Twyne, acquired over a dozen books for himself. The Catalogue-transcript fell soon into the hands of John Dee, who eagerly marked off in it the titles he would most like to acquire. The most distinguished early looter was Henry VIII himself, starting even before the Dissolution. Four of the extant glossed books passed directly into his hands, and thereby survive to this day in the Royal Collection of the British Library.

It is not known when or by whom the glossed St Luke was removed from the Library Room, or where it was preserved over the next two and a half centuries. The survival of the original binding suggests that it was either treated with care, or left unused. Its safest home would have been flat on a shelf in a remote corner of some institutional or family library, provided it was always cool and dry. Beneath the St Augustine’s *ex libris* on the flyleaf (pl. 4) is a line of writing now thoroughly scratched out. Its only legible letter is a pale capital ‘L’ at the start, in early modern style – perhaps another *ex libris* starting ‘Liber ...’, but maybe just a late repetition of the St Augustine’s formula. Such repetitions were added in 1667 to *Matheus glo. cum C* and to another St Augustine’s book by a local Canterbury owner called William Kingsley (*d.* 1691), along with his name and date in two further lines.²³ He evidently gave these books later to Canterbury Cathedral. However, although his initial ‘L(iber)’ appears in the same relative position below the medieval *ex libris*, the letter is not of identical form, and the Luke’s single erased line shows no sign of a continuation.

The earliest firm clue to the Luke’s later history is a signature in ink on the flyleaf, ‘H:h Price | 1800’ (date underlined twice), where

it may be guessed that the form at the start might be an abbreviation for ‘Hugh’ or, perhaps more likely, ‘Hannah’.²⁴ The front pastedown (pl. 27) includes a description in pencil, accurate as far as it goes, by a 19th-century hand:

12th Century

The Gospel of Luke, with interlineary & marginal Gloss,
formerly belonging to the Abbey of S^t Augustin Canterbury
WHB.

The first two letters of these initials are both unclear; the first (if not ‘W’) might be ‘N’ or ‘M’, the second with its cross-stroke (if not ‘H’) might be ‘F’ or ‘J’. However, they are followed by a pencil identification, ‘(Bohn)’, in the hand of a later owner, George Dunn. Bohn is the name of a well-known family of booksellers and manuscript-dealers in 19th-century London. However, these initials (in any reading) fail to fit the best-known members of the firm: Henry George Bohn (1796–1884), his father John Henry Martin Bohn (c. 1757–1843), and his less successful brother, James George Stuart Burges Bohn (1803–1880). Various further pencil markings and numbers were added on the endleaves by modern owners or sellers. The spine retains discolorations which might be residue from some lost label(s), most likely post-medieval (pl. 21).

Between 1903 and 2009 the Luke has passed through Sotheby’s London auction-rooms no fewer than four times.²⁵ Its owners have



[PLATE 27] Front pastedown (top half),
with 19th- and 20th-century markings

included the distinguished collectors, George Dunn (1864–1912) and Sir Alfred Chester Beatty (1875–1968). Dunn’s initials appear on the flyleaf (pl. 4) beneath the Price signature in faint pencil, with the date ‘Jan. 1905’; alongside, he also writes ‘James 168. (p. 206.)’, the Luke’s Catalogue-number and page-reference in M. R. James’s 1903 edition of the St Augustine’s Catalogue. Chester Beatty ordered a box in red half-leather from the Cambridge bookbinders, J. S. Wilson & Son: the box carries a label with the Chester Beatty number, ‘w.27’, which is also written in neat pencil as ‘w.ms.27’ at the top centre of the front paste-down (pl. 27). The manuscript was thoroughly described for the first time in the 1927 Chester Beatty catalogue by Eric Millar (1887–1966), a distinguished manuscripts scholar and collector who was later Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum.²⁶ It was Millar who added the pencil foliation throughout the manuscript, starting unconventionally with ‘1’ for the front pastedown (top left), though still pasted to its board.

CONCLUSION

Just as one stray leaf carries the DNA of its parent book, so one book can represent a library. At the time of its making, *Lucas glo. cum A* embodied a new system of biblical commentary, perfectly expressed by its anonymous scribes in Canterbury towards the middle of the 12th century. Over the following centuries, it was shelved in the Library Room of St Augustine’s Abbey, and read by succeeding generations of monks; a few of them added notes and scribbles. The survival of the manuscript’s original binding carries implications for the imagined reconstruction of the room and of the furniture which had stored it so safely. After the abbey’s Dissolution in 1538, the book has travelled almost unharmed through the hands of an unknown number of private owners. It still carries all the resonance of its lost home.

St Luke ends his Gospel on a note of triumphant happiness. Christ ascends into heaven, and the disciples are sent on to Jerusalem to await their spiritual consecration at Pentecost (Luke 24. 51–3): ‘And they worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy: And were continually in the Temple, praising and blessing God. Amen.’ The manuscript’s last Latin gloss (pl. 14) explains that the evangelist’s underlying theme has been Christ’s priesthood, from Zacharias at the start of the Gospel to the apostles at its end. It says that the Gospel ends *pulchre*, ‘beautifully’, in worship at the Temple – the apostles are about to become ‘ministers as it were of a new priesthood, not in the blood of victims but in praise of God and with blessing’. On the facing flyleaf a medieval reader tests his pen – not with a pen-trial’s usual scribble, but repeating the Gospel’s last word, ‘am[en] amen’.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge 1903), pp. 173–406, at p. 206, see also p. 516.

2. B. C. Barker-Benfield, ed., *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, 3 vols., Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 13 (London 2008), vol. 1 pp. 435–6.

3. William Thorne's Chronicle [578–1397], in the original Latin, ed. R. Twysden in *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores X* (London 1652), cols. 1753–2296, at 1798.

4. *Ibid.*, col. 1801.

5. Sotheby's catalogue, 7 July 2009, lot 19, citing reproductions of B. 2. 34 in C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of illumination 1066–1200* (Cambridge 1954), pls. 18a and 45g (fols. 34r and 47v, small details only); another detail is reproduced by M. R. James, *The Western manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge: a descriptive catalogue*, 4 vols. (Cambridge 1900–1904), vol. 4 pl. 1v[b].

6. Cambridge, Trinity College, ms O. 4. 7 (1238): see Teresa Webber in *The Cambridge illuminations*, ed. P. Binski & S. Panayotova (London & Turnhout 2005), pp. 78, 88–9 no. 23.

7. R. Gameson, *The earliest books of Canterbury Cathedral* (London 2008), pp. 257–69 no. 25, with plates at pp. 258–61 (fols. 1v, 2r, 6r, 41r).

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 147–68 no. 15 and pp. 120–25 no. 11, binding reproduced at p. 148.

9. Not in the St Augustine's Catalogue, see 2008 edn., vol. 3 p. 1745.

10. London, Lambeth Palace, ms 3 + Maidstone, All Saints Church, ms P.5 (dep. at the Maidstone Museum): see Dorothy M. Shepard, *Introducing the Lambeth Bible: a study of texts and imagery* (Turnhout 2007).

11. See the introduction to the edition by A. Andrée of Gilbertus Universalis, *Glossa ordinaria in Lamentationes Ieremie prophete. Prothemata et Liber I*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 52 (Stockholm 2005), pp. 20–22.

12. P. Stirnemann, 'Où ont été fabriqués les livres de la glose ordinaire dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle?', in *Le XII^e siècle: mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle*, ed. F. Gasparri, Cahiers du Léopard d'Or, 3 (Paris 1994), pp. 257–301, esp. pp. 261–3, 265, 268.

13. R. Gameson, *The manuscripts of early Norman England* (c. 1066–1130) (Oxford 1999), p. 41.

14. James, *Ancient Libraries*, pp. 13–142 nos. 740, 878, 998, 1027 (with Acts), 1097, 1101, 1333 (with Mark).

15. Available online at <http://www.archive.org/details/bibliorumsacrro5trauft>.

16. F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, 11 vols. (Madrid [1950]–1980), no. 620; [D. de Bruyne, ed.], *Préfaces de la Bible latine* (Namur 1920), p. 172.

17. Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's*, vol. 3 pp. 1620–21 (Ralph), vol. 1 p. lxviii and n. 37 (Gervase). Two volumes of Gervase's set survive in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, mss lat. 488 and 14777, with an overlap (a repeat of *Ecclesiastes*, amongst other biblical texts) to

suggest that his collection was piecemeal rather than uniform.

18. *Ibid.*, vol. 3 pp. 1640–42.

19. Gameson, *Earliest books of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 258 pl. (fol. 1^v), 262, 267.

20. E. Maunde Thompson, ed., *Customary of the Benedictine monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster*, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society, 23, 28 (London 1902, 1904), vol. 1 pp. 202–3, 421 (novices).

21. E.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Bodl. 843, fol. 80r, and London, British Library, Royal ms 8 E. xvii, fol. 109v; see H. Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum*, Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina, 1/1, 2nd edn. (Göttingen 1969), no. 17832.

22. Cambridge, Trinity Hall, ms 1, fol. 77(63)r. Often reproduced, e.g. in *English Heritage Book of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, ed. R. Gem (London 1997), colour pl. 1 (facing p. 80); Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's Abbey*, vol. 1 pl. 8 (detail).

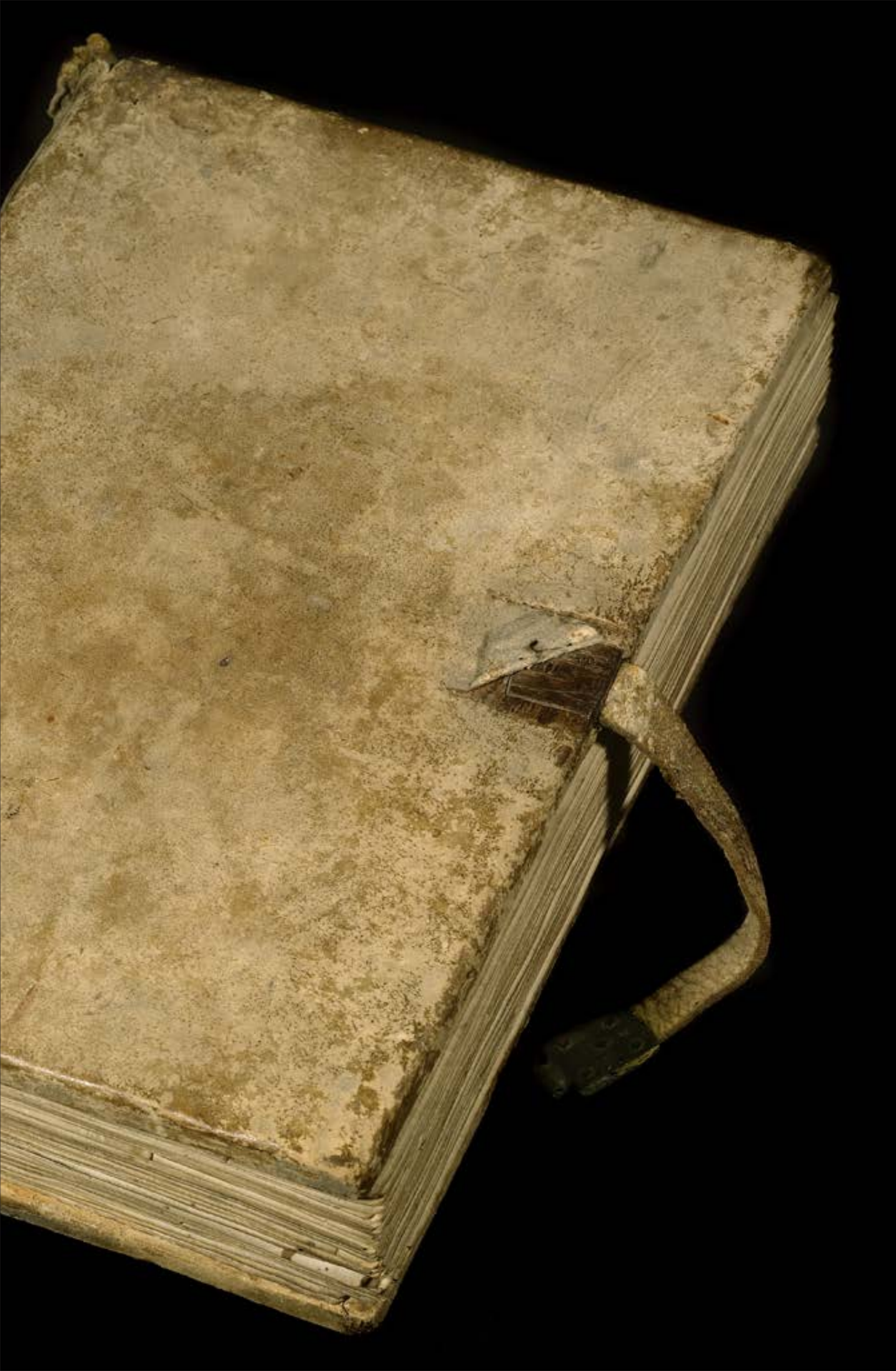
23. Canterbury, Cathedral Library, Lit. D. 6 (34) and Lit. A. 8 (68): inscriptions reproduced by Gameson, *Earliest books of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 259, 184.

24. A Hannah Price appears in the list of British book-collectors by W. Carew Hazlitt, *A roll of honour* (London 1908, repr. New York 1971), p. 188, but with no further information. M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries*, p. 516 no. 168 read the signature, not quite impossibly, as 'H. L. Price'.

25. Amongst 'Other Properties', 17 March 1903, lot 383 (bt. Quaritch, £20); George Dunn sale, 5 Feb. 1914, lot 1335 (bt. Quaritch, £23);

Sir Alfred Chester Beatty sale, 3 Dec. 1968, lot 7 (bt. Charles Traylen, £3,200); 7 July 2009, lot 19 (where it is incorrectly stated as lot 8 in Beatty's 1968 sale).

26. E. G. Millar, *The library of A. Chester Beatty. A descriptive catalogue of the Western manuscripts*, 2 vols. in 4 parts (privately printed, 1927), vol. 1 p. 98 no. 27 (no plates).



Lucas glo(satus) cum A.

THE BINDING DESCRIBED AND COMPARED

ANDREW HONEY

Lucas glo(satus) cum A survives in a finely executed and exceptionally well preserved English Romanesque monastic binding (pls. 1, 2, 19–22), and as such deserves to be described and illustrated in detail.¹ Although the book now shows signs of its age, it is one of the very few twelfth-century bindings untouched by later hands. Only one other extant twelfth-century manuscript from St Augustine's Abbey still retains its original binding, though it is a more utilitarian example (pl. 43). This comparison binding is on *Contra Faustum manichaeum* (=BA1.364) by St Augustine of Hippo, dated c.1120–50 and bound at the abbey.² The manuscript was acquired by the Bodleian Library, Oxford between 1605 and 1611 (MS Bodl. 826).

The descriptions of these two related Romanesque bindings show that bindings of this period are complex in ways that binding scholars are only just beginning to understand. Gullick and Hadgraft noted when they surveyed the literature on English twelfth- to fourteenth-century bindings that very little had been published on “small or large groups of British bindings”.³ It is hoped that the analysis presented here will prompt closer study of surviving bindings from other English monasteries and consequently help to date and localise English Romanesque bindings more generally. Before moving to the technical descriptions, a few notable characteristics from both bindings will be highlighted.

The Romanesque monastic binding of *Lucas glo(satus) cum A* is an inboard binding, sewn on heavy thongs attached to square-sectioned oak boards by tunnels in the spine edge of the boards.⁴ It is covered with white tawed-skin and preserves its tab endbands faced with woven textile and with green perimeter sewing.⁵ The majority of the long-strap fastening also remains, which was originally covered by a probably

green textile and closed on a copper-alloy side pin. The manuscript retains a green braided book-mark attached at the head to the endband core (pl. 5). The textile strap covering, the perimeter sewing of the tab endbands and the book-mark would seem to indicate a unified colour scheme of green.

The binding does not now have a chemise and it is not possible to state conclusively whether it ever had one.⁶ The 2009 Sotheby's sale catalogue notes that it is "lacking any chemise cover once over the binding" and it has been assumed that all English Romanesque monastic bindings were originally provided with a chemise. However, ten twelfth-century manuscripts with contemporary monastic bind-

ings at Hereford Cathedral library have early titles written directly onto the spine of their primary coverings which would indicate that this was not always the case.⁷ The evidence from this binding is less conclusive. No impressions have been left on either pastedown from chemise envelope pockets, and unfortunately the original side pin on the right board has broken off and so can not now indicate whether it originally allowed for the extra thickness of a chemise.⁸ The clasp strap has two small cuts to its lower edge but these are in the wrong place to indicate a strap tacket – which would have been used to attach the chemise to the strap. However, the strap originally had a textile cover and any strap tacket could have easily pierced this instead. The most conclusive evidence for the absence of a chemise comes from the care taken to attach the clasp strap to the left or upper board. The strap is expertly anchored to the board with a dovetailed wedge of oak and the covering material was neatly resewn around this after the strap was anchored. It is questionable whether this extra care would have been taken if a chemise was planned. The lack of comparable bindings means that this can only be speculation.

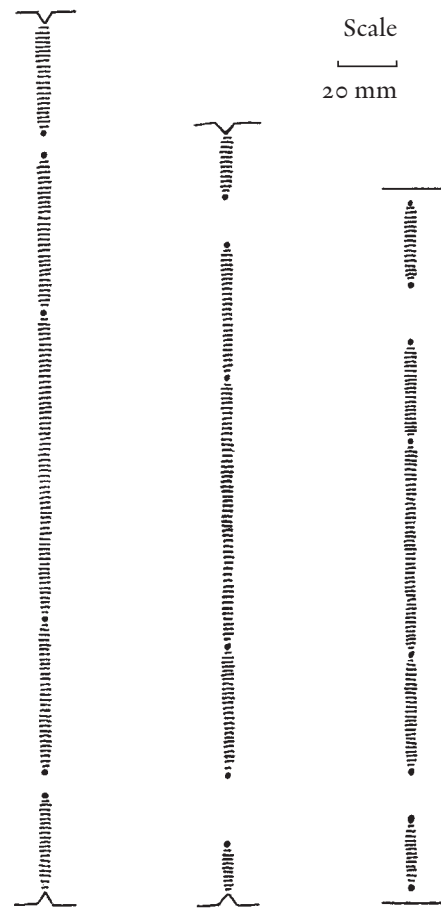
The long-strap which fastens the manuscript originally had a woven textile covering from board edge to clasp, which judging by threads which remain was probably green (see Furniture, below). Szirmai mentions that "often

there are remnants of a textile covering" found on Romanesque long-strap fastenings but offers no further description or discussion.⁹ The most intact examples that I have seen are the textile coverings found on the two straps of a c. 1150 Parisian Romanesque blind-tooled binding now at the Bodleian Library.¹⁰ For this binding each strap was covered with a woven patterned red and grey silk textile before being attached to the board and having the clasp riveted to the free end.¹¹ Although this textile is now largely worn away from both straps enough remains to show that the textile was closely fitted with the overlapped edges stitched as a seam along the inner face of the strap.

At first sight the comparison binding MS Bodl. 826 appears to be very similar to the glossed Luke. However, although both are English Romanesque monastic bindings sharing the same general appearance and methods of binding, they differ in almost all details of execution. In contrast to the glossed Luke, the binding of MS Bodl. 826 is more utilitarian; its tab endbands were not faced with textile and do not have perimeter sewing; it may not originally have had any closing mechanism; and it bears no evidence of book-marks. However, like the glossed Luke, MS Bodl. 826 does not now have a chemise and offers no evidence for the existence of one. The construction of its tab stiffener is most unusual – with the stiffener extending onto the exterior faces of the boards and being turned-in at head and tail – and it is a type that has not been previously recorded.

Although these two bindings appear dissimilar they do form a group and they have one common distinctive characteristic which may be particular to bindings from St Augustine's. In both bindings the thread pattern has a gap between the kettle station and the innermost endband station. A similar though not identical pattern has been recorded in manuscripts from the Benedictine abbey at St Albans and in a number of manuscripts from Exeter Cathedral (pl. 29).¹² However, these manuscripts have endbands worked between two stations. In contrast the two St Augustine's examples have their endband threads passing over the back-cornered spine-fold and being tied down at a single endband station (pl. 16). Gullick has noted the St Albans spine-fold pattern in 21 manuscripts from St Albans and it shows repeated use over a century, demonstrating a continuity of practice over several generations. Although only two intact twelfth-century bindings survive from St Augustine's, similar distinctive thread impressions may lie within the spine-folds of other surviving manuscripts now in post-medieval bindings and they await further study.

For the following descriptions the bindings are described, where possible, in the order in which the original binder bound them. The terminology is drawn from Christopher Clarkson and J. A. Szirmai,



[PLATE 29] Internal spine-fold endband and sewing thread patterns. From left to right: MS Bodl. 826, fols. 28v–29r (St Augustine's); *Lucas glo(satus) cum A*, fols. 14v–15r (St Augustine's); MS Laud Misc. 370, fols. 103v–104r (St Albans)¹³

and references are given to Szirmai illustrations where these describe a particular variant of technique.

There are six discrete uses of alum-tawed skin within this binding: sewing supports, endband supports, tab stiffeners, spine lining, covering, and clasp strap. The tawed skins used range in thickness from 0.8 – 3 mm., and great care was evidently taken by the binder to select the appropriate thickness and mechanical qualities required for each component of the binding. Since this description was written, collagen analysis has been performed for two of these components (for the analysis see pp. 9–10, above). Both the thickest skin used for the clasp strap, and the thinnest skin used for the covering, were tested. This has surprisingly revealed the use of two different species of deer, which may demonstrate an even more careful selection of materials by the Luke binder than we could have previously imagined.

LUCAS GLO. CUM A: DESCRIPTION OF THE BINDING

Size: 258 × 186 × 70 mm. (binding, excluding height of tab endbands); 257 × 176 × 46 mm. (text-block).

Endleaves: Separate parchment endleaves (fols. 1–2 & 155–156) were added to the 19 quires of text leaves before the manuscript was sewn. These are two sets of blank parchment bifolia sewn with the text leaves. The first and last leaves (fols. 1 & 156) are pasted down as board-sheets, and the second and penultimate leaves (fols. 2 & 155) form flyleaves. Two holes to the lower centre of the left pastedown (fol. 1), which have cut and torn edges, were repaired during binding. Before the damaged leaf was put down as a board-sheet a piece of parchment was pasted to the board and tail turn-in to provide a patch under the losses (pl. 30).

Sewing: The book-block is sewn on two thick alum-tawed thongs, each approximately 11 mm. wide and slit to the width of the spine to provide double sewing supports. Before sewing, the four sewing stations for each quire were prepared with a single slit perpendicular to the spine-fold and approximately 2 mm. long (pl. 31).¹⁴ There are no other sewing holes, further confirming that this manuscript retains its first binding. The manuscript was sewn with a thick off-white linen or hemp thread (final spun direction ‘Z’ twist) at four stations, the outer two being kettle stitches (39, 82, 169 and 212 mm. from the head edge). The excellent condition of the binding means that the sewing cannot be seen at the spine, and although it was probably sewn as herringbone this cannot be confirmed.

Boards and board attachment: The book boards are oak, cut or cleft on the quarter, and with the grain direction running vertically (pl. 32). The



[PLATE 30] Fol. 1v:
tail edge of left board-sheet: showing patch repair



[PLATE 31] Fol. 3r:
preparation of sewing stations with a slit perpendicular
to the spine-fold at kettle and upper support



[PLATE 32]
The inner face of the right board



[PLATE 33] The inner face of the right board: showing
the endband and sewing support lacing



[PLATE 34] Head edge, spine and right board: showing the endband support lacing



[PLATE 35] Head endband from above: showing attachment of braided book-mark



[PLATE 36] Head endband and tab: showing woven textile facing and perimeter sewing



[PLATE 37] The inner face of the right board: showing the tongued-corner of the covering.



[PLATE 38] Fol. 93r: braided book-mark

boards, with covering material, are 10–11 mm. thick and are of even thickness across their width. The spine-edge profile of both boards is square but they were shaped at their three exterior edges to allow for the covering. They have a flat bevel to their outer edge at head and tail of less than one third the thickness of the board (Szirmai fig. 8.9B). The fore-edge of the right board also has this bevel but the left board does not, probably deliberately avoiding the strap anchor wedge. The boards were prepared with oblong tunnels, channels and holes for the long Romanesque lacing path for both the sewing and endband supports (Szirmai fig. 8.10[g]). The supports are each laced through a tunnel starting in the spine edge of the board and emerging on the outer face; they continue along a surface channel before passing through an oblong hole to the inner face of the board and then extend along another channel before being anchored at a second hole. The two sets of long lacing path holes are equidistant from the spine edge (Szirmai fig. 8.12[b]), and the sewing supports are anchored in the final hole with wooden (probably oak) wedges, set from the inner face (pl. 33).

Spine and edge treatment: The Romanesque lacing technique resulted in a spine with a flat cross section. The edges of the text-block are cut to the size of the boards. They do not show marks that indicate which type of tool was used to cut them. The edges are not coloured or decorated

(for the possible 'G' to the fore-edge see p. 44 and pl. 22, above). A small triangle of board and text-block at both head and tail spine corners was taken off at 45° to accommodate the endband supports (pl. 34). Before the endbands were sewn tab stiffeners and spine linings of thick alum-tawed skin were pasted to the spine and onto the board edges; these have now loosened at the board edges and can be seen crumpled in the joint. The tab stiffeners protrude beyond the text-block approximately 12 mm. at the head and 28 mm. at the tail and their protruding ends are cut into a half-moon shape. They are formed of thick (1.5–2 mm.) alum-tawed skin. The tail tab stiffener extends to the lower sewing support, but the head stiffener only reaches 51 mm. below the head edge. A small patch spine lining covers the gap between the edge of the head tab stiffener and the upper sewing support and a second spine lining fills the space between the two sewing supports. With the exception of the sewing supports the tab stiffeners and linings completely cover the spine with a thick layer of alum-tawed skin (Szirmai fig. 8.14[e]).

Endbands: Structural endbands are sewn on thick alum-tawed thongs, each approximately 10 mm. wide and slit to the width of the spine to provide a double core. The endbands are worked as herringbone with an off-white linen or hemp thread (final spun direction 'Z' twist) which is thicker than that used for the sewing (pl. 35). The thread passes over the back-cornered spine-fold and is tied down at a single endband station at the centre of each quire and through the tab stiffeners. In places the endband is tied down at the kettle stitch but more often is tied down approximately halfway between the edge and kettle (pl. 16). The endband supports are laced through oblong tunnels in the head and tail spine corners of the boards. They use the long Romanesque lacing path described above and are anchored in the final holes with wooden (probably oak) wedges, set from the inner face (pl. 33).

Covering: The binding has a full cover of natural unstained alum-tawed skin. The covering is turned in on all edges and the corners are tongued (pls. 32, 37) (Szirmai fig. 8.18[e]). The covering is noticeably thinner (0.8 mm.) than the spine linings and sewing supports. The covering does not appear to have been pared at the turn-ins, and these were not trimmed-out after covering. Although the covering is now worn, from possible vein markings to the skin it would appear that it is placed flesh-side out. No follicle pattern can be seen and it is unclear from visual inspection which species of animal provided the skin. Before the board sheets were put down, the inner faces of the boards and covering turn-ins were covered with a layer of glue and a light-brown earth filler. The glue is most noticeable at the endband and sewing support lacing channels where it forms a thick layer completely filling each recess (pl. 33).

[PLATE 39] Engraved copper-alloy hinged clasp: forming the end of the strap as it now survives



[PLATE 40] Strap anchor to centre of fore-edge of the left board: showing three oak trenails



[PLATE 41] Strap anchor: showing shaped recess, and remains of sewing used to close the covering material



[PLATE 42] Engraved copper-alloy hinged clasp: showing threads – the fragments of woven textile – on either side of the strap beneath the clasp



Tab endbands: The covering was not turned in head and tail at the spine and has been trimmed to match the half-moon shape of the tab stiffeners. The tabs are faced with textile and their outer layers are sewn together at the perimeter to produce a triple-layer tab endband (pl. 36). The elaborate textile facing is woven from orange, green, blue and natural threads and was tacked to the tab stiffener with a blue linen thread. The cut half-moon perimeter edges of the tawed covering skin and the textile facing were then joined and completely covered with four rows of stitches neatly sewn with a green thread.

Book-mark: A single book-mark remains where it has been closed between fols. 92–93 of the volume. It is braided from four green silk threads and is 3 mm. wide (pls. 5, 38). The book-mark is unfaded. It is attached to the head endband, threaded through the double endband support and hitched around the front element of the core. The book-mark is approximately 275 mm. long. Both the free and knotted ends are not finished or bound in any way and are now slightly frayed. This may indicate that originally the hitch provided two book-marks, one of which is now lost.¹⁵

Furniture: The binding was held closed with a long-strap fastening attached to the left board and closing over a side pin to the centre of the right board. The long-strap now consists of a single layer of thick alum-tawed skin (125 × 15 × 3 mm.) which is anchored to a recess in the fore-edge of the left board and has the remains of an engraved copper-alloy, hinged clasp riveted to its free end. The clasp is now incomplete with the final section, the hinged hasp, now missing (see Szirmai fig. 8.23[b & c] for a diagram of a similar though not identical long-strap fastening). The surviving base of the clasp was folded from a single piece of sheet copper-alloy with the folded edge then filed to provide the centre section of a hinge to which a hinged hasp with a pull would have been attached. The clasp is attached to the strap with five rivets, and the external face of the hasp has an engraved design of an eight-petal flower within a single-line rectangular border (pl. 39). The strap is anchored at the centre of the fore-edge of the left board within an accurately cut edge recess that has a curved stop and under-squint on all three sides.¹⁶ A shaped piece of oak that accurately dovetails into the recess anchors the strap and is held in place with three oak trenails (pls. 40, 41). The binder cut the covering material on three sides around this recess to form a flap that allowed the strap to be attached after covering. Once the strap was fitted the cut edges of the covering skin were neatly sewn together. Threads – the fragments of woven textile which was probably green – are trapped underneath the strap where it is anchored to the

left board and on either side of the strap under the clasp. It would seem that the strap was originally covered with a woven textile between the board edge and clasp. A simple copper-alloy rod without a head was driven through a hole at the centre of the right board from the inner face to provide a side pin. This pin has been broken off at the exterior face of the board, though a portion of it still remains within the thickness of the board. A domed iron side pin without a head, placed to the fore-edge side of the original copper-alloy pin and driven through a hole from the inner face, has been provided as a replacement. This is likely to have been at an early date when the manuscript was still in use and before the hasp was lost. There are no other holes or marks to this binding that would indicate that it once had other furniture, bosses or chain staples.

Housing: The manuscript is now housed in a brown quarter leather drop-spine box made at the bindery of James and Stuart Brockman in 2010. The spine of the Brockman box has been divided into five compartments tooled in gilt: ‘ST. LUKE | GLOSED | ST. AUGUSTINE’S | ABBEY | CANTERBURY | XII CENTURY’. Inside are tooled the words ‘SEMPER RETRORSVM’, an instruction to place the volume in the box back cover downwards and upside down, and has their label at the base of the inner face of the spine ‘J & S Brockman | Binders Wheatley | Oxford England’. The box has been designed to accommodate the long-strap and protect the vulnerable tab endbands. The manuscript was previously housed in a red quarter leather box made by the Cambridge firm of Wilson and Son before 1934.¹⁷ Their printed label is stuck to the tail tray wall ‘J. S. WILSON & SON | Bookbinders, Map Mounters, &c., | 5 Bene’t Street, CAMBRIDGE.’ The spine of the Wilson box has been divided into six panels with blind- and gold-tooled fillets. Gold-tooled to the second panel is ‘S. LUKE | GLOSED’ and to the sixth panel ‘S. AUGUSTINE’S ABBEY | CANTERBURY | XII CENT.’ The box was commissioned by Sir Alfred Chester Beatty and has his paper manuscript label stuck to the inner face of the lid.

Condition: The binding is preserved in exceptional condition with little evidence of later interventions. However, there is some minor damage in a number of areas which has not been described above. The covering is now generally worn and scuffed and is torn at head and tail where the tab endbands meet the joints. An area to the centre of the spine appears to have been cleaned, probably with liquid, and is now stained (for this being the faint traces of a large letter ‘A’ see pp. 30, 44 and pl. 21, above). The sewing that originally closed the flap in the covering material around the strap anchor is now worn and partially missing, and the flap of covering is now partly folded back and creased. The covering skin is

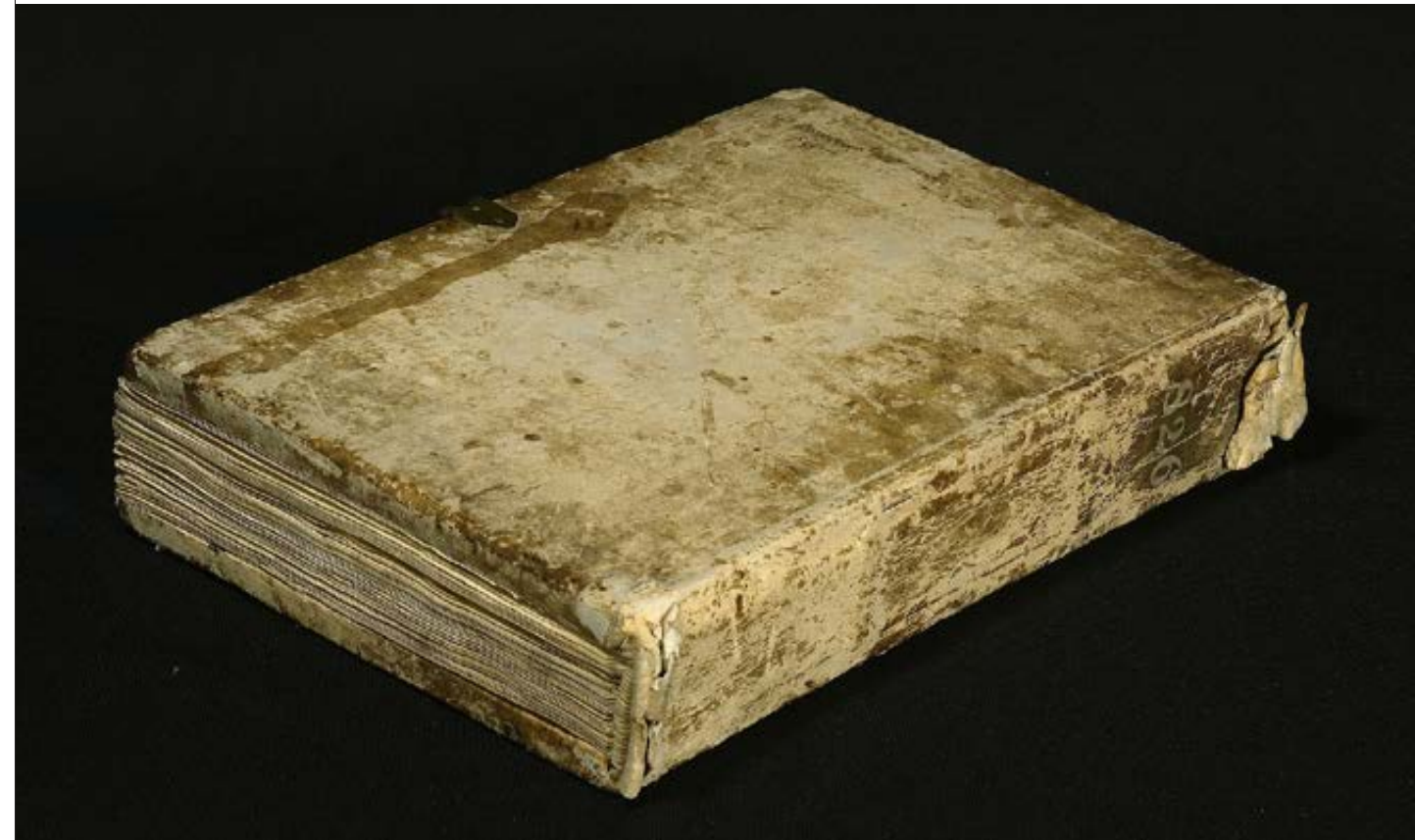
worn around the two side pins, and the corrosion from the replacement iron pin has stained the edges of the hole. There is some minor damage from early insect activity to the boards and covering that is most noticeable on the right or lower board. The perimeter sewing to both the head and tail tab endbands is now partially worn and has partly released the textile facings, which have crumpled and folded back. There are losses to the left board-sheet at the fore-edge and over the tail endband lacing caused by early insect activity. There is an unidentified textile impression to the tail fore-edge corner of the left board-sheet (fol. 1) and in a corresponding place on the facing endleaf (fol. 2). The right board-sheet (fol. 156) has been partially lifted from the board but is still firmly attached at the joint. There are losses to the right board-sheet over the tail endband lacing caused by early insect activity, and the board-sheet was torn at the tail edge whilst being lifted. The right board-sheet has two joined holes caused by the two side pins, and the corrosion from the replacement iron pin has stained the edges of the hole. The strap has two oblique cuts to its lower edge between the left board edge and centre of the fore-edge.

AUGUSTINE, *CONTRA FAUSTUM MANICHAEUM* (MS BODL. 826):
DESCRIPTION OF THE BINDING

Size: 295 × 220 × 67 mm. (binding, excluding height of tab endbands);
294 × 210 × 35 mm. (text-block).

Endleaves: The original arrangement of the endleaves is now unclear. The left endleaves consist of a single parchment leaf sewn with the text-block (fol. i) and a leaf of manuscript waste pasted down as a board-sheet.¹⁸ The board-sheet has been lifted at the spine edge. A further leaf once before and conjoint with fol. i has been excised at the spine-fold. Fol. i is now held by its tail endband tiedown and a later hitch of blue thread which pierces the tab stiffener and covering skin and appears on the spine as a vertical stitch. The right endleaves now consist of a single leaf of manuscript waste that is guarded to the verso of fol. 155 and has a pencil annotation 'raised Oct. 1969'. Traces of adhesive to the leaf and inner face of the board indicate that this was once pasted down as a board-sheet. A single sewing thread running between the sewing stations in the joint between the text-block and the board indicates that further endleaves have been excised. As the board-sheets have been lifted at the spine edge of both boards it is not possible to state whether the board sheets were attached in any way or sewn with the endleaves.

Sewing: The book-block is sewn on two thick alum-tawed thongs, each approximately 7 mm. wide. The supports have been slit to provide



[PLATE 43] MS. Bodl. 826:
view of the binding showing the
right board, tail, spine, tabs and
clasp catch-plate



[PLATE 44] MS. Bodl. 826:
Tab endband, and covering skin
and tab stiffener turn-in to right
board (with inset diagram)

double sewing supports. Where the lacing channels are now visible at the lower or right board it can be seen that the supports have been inter-twisted or rolled. The manuscript was sewn with a thick off-white linen or hemp thread (final spun direction 'S' twist) at four stations, the outer two being kettle stitches (46, 98, 198 and 249 mm. from the head edge). There are no other sewing holes, confirming that this manuscript retains its first binding. A single thread can be seen wrapping the sewing supports between each quire indicating that the book was sewn as herringbone.

Boards and board attachment: The book boards are oak, cut or cleft on the quarter, and with the grain direction running vertically (pl. 45). Cleft marks can be seen to the inner face of the right board between the sewing supports. The boards with covering are 12–13 mm. thick and are of even thickness across their width. The spine-edge profile of both boards is square but they were shaped at their three exterior edges to allow for the covering. They have a flat bevel to their outer edges at head, tail and fore-edges of less than one third the thickness of the board (Szirmai fig. 8.9B). The boards were prepared with tunnels, channels and holes for the long Romanesque lacing path for both the sewing and endband supports (Szirmai fig. 8.10[g]). The supports are each laced through a tunnel starting in the spine edge of the board. Emerging on the outer face, they continue along a surface channel before passing through an oval hole to the inner face of the board and then extend along another channel before being anchored at a second hole. The two sets of long lacing path holes are equidistant from the spine edge (Szirmai fig. 8.12[b]), and the sewing supports are anchored in the final oval hole with wooden (probably oak) pegs, set from the inner face.

Spine and edge treatment: The Romanesque lacing technique resulted in a spine with a flat cross section. The edges of the text-block are cut to the size of the boards. They do not show marks that indicate which type of tool was used to cut them. The edges are not coloured or decorated. A small triangle of board and text-block at both head and tail spine corners was taken off at 45° to accommodate the endband supports. Before the endbands were sewn tab stiffeners of thick alum-tawed skin were pasted to the spine and onto the exterior face of the boards. The tab stiffeners now protrude beyond the text-block approximately 16 mm. at the head and 9 mm. at the tail and their protruding ends are cut square in shape. They are formed of 1 mm. thick alum-tawed skin. The head tab stiffener extends 72 mm. below the head edge and the tail extends 59 mm. from the tail edge. The tab stiffeners extend onto the outer face of the boards by 12–18 mm. and are turned-in over the board edges at both head and tail. This tab stiffener turn-in can be seen most clearly on the inner face



[PLATE 45] MS. Bodl. 826: inner face of the right board showing the endband and sewing support lacing, covering skin corners and turn-ins



[PLATE 46] MS Bodl. 826: spine

of the right board at the head edge where it descends 30 mm. from the board edge and can be seen to the left of the covering turn-in (pl. 44). The spine has no further linings (Szirmai fig. 8.14[a]).

Endbands: Structural endbands are sewn on thick alum-tawed thongs, each approximately 5 mm. wide and slit to provide a double core. The endbands are worked as herringbone with an off-white linen or hemp thread (final spun direction 'Z' twist) which is thicker than that used for the sewing. The endband thread passes over the back-cornered spine-fold and is tied down at a single endband station at the centre of each quire and through the tab stiffeners. The endband stations are approximately 7–8 mm. short of both kettle stitches throughout the manuscript, and the endband tiedowns leave a clear and regular gap

between the endband and sewing threads. Damage to the covering at the tail now allows access to the tab stiffener where the tail endband thread can be seen to start with a knot at the exterior of the tab stiffener. The endband supports are laced through tunnels in the head and tail spine corner of the boards. They use the long Romanesque lacing path described above and are anchored in the final hole with wooden (probably oak) pegs, set from the inner face.

Covering: The binding has a full cover of natural unstained alum-tawed skin. The covering is turned-in on all edges and the corners are open mitres. The covering is noticeably thinner than the tab stiffeners. The covering does not appear to have been pared at the turn-ins. The fore-edge turn-in of the right board has been cut to aid covering and the turn-ins were not trimmed-out after covering. The covering is now worn and it is now not possible to determine whether it was placed flesh- or hair-side out. No follicle pattern can be seen and it is unclear which species of animal provided the skin. From the now partially lifted upper or left board-sheet it can be seen that the board-sheet was put down with a heavy layer of adhesive containing a light-brown earth filler.

Tab endbands: The covering was not turned-in head and tail at the spine and has been trimmed to match the square shape of the tab stiffeners. The tabs have no facing, and their outer layers are not sewn together at the perimeter.

Furniture: The binding was held closed with a single clasp, the strap of which is attached to the fore-edge of the left board and closed over a catch plate to the fore-edge of the right board. The clasp strap consists of a single layer of thick dark-brown tanned leather ($27 \times 23 \times 2$ mm.) anchored beneath the covering with three copper-alloy rivets, each with a square copper-alloy washer. The strap has broken at the board edge and the free strap and clasp are now missing. The catch plate was cut from sheet copper-alloy with the ends of the catch rolled around a pin (Szirmai fig. 9.47[b]). It was anchored to the board with two copper-alloy rivets. The strap and catch plate rivets do not protrude through the covering skin turn-ins or board-sheets. This clasp mechanism is unusual for an English Romanesque binding and although it is not a replacement it may have been added at a later date.¹⁹ There are no other holes or marks to this binding that would indicate that it once had other furniture or bosses, with the exception of two holes perpendicular to the lower fore-edge of the left board from a Bodleian Library chain staple, now removed. A large piece of white paper covers part of the left board sheet covering the holes from the chain staple and was probably stuck in place when the chain and chain staple were removed.



[PLATE 47] William Zachs holding 'The glossed Luke with the letter A' at Exeter College, Oxford.

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1. For these bindings see C. Clarkson 'English monastic bookbinding in the twelfth century', in M. Maniaci and P. F. Munafò, eds., *Ancient and medieval book materials and techniques*, 2 vols., Studi e Testi, 357–8 (Vatican City 1993), vol. 1, pp. 181–200 and J. A. Szirmai, *The archaeology of medieval bookbinding* (Aldershot 1999), pp. 140–172 – 'Romanesque bindings'.

2. For details of the manuscript and its binding, with references to the earlier literature, see B.C. Barker-Benfield, ed., *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, 3 vols., Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 13 (London 2008), vol. 1, p. 531, and p. 46 above.

3. M. Gullick and N. Hadgraft, 'Technology of production of the manuscript book: bookbindings', in N. Morgan and R. M. Thompson, eds., *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, vol. 2, 1100–1400 (Cambridge 2008), pp. 75–109, at p. 98.

4. The term 'inboard binding', which was coined by Nicholas Pickwoad, is used to denote a binding structure where the boards are attached to the text-block before the volume is covered.

5. In this description the term 'tawed skin' rather than leather is used to describe the covering material, sewing and endband supports, tab stiffener and strap core. Alum-tawing is a process by which animal skins are treated with a solution of alum and salt which results in a strong and flexible white material ideally suited to bookbinding. Leather more usually defines an animal skin that has been treated with vegetable tannins to make it impervious to

putrefaction by water, a property that is not required for bookbinding, and tanned leather was not routinely used for bookbinding in England until the middle of the fifteenth century. The term 'skin' refers to one from a small or young animal (calf, sheep, or goat) as opposed to 'hide' from a larger animal (such as a cow, horse, or ox). For tawing see R. Reed, *Ancient skins, parchments and leathers* (London and New York 1972), pp. 61–5.

6. Clarkson defines a chemise as 'a heavy tawed jacket, in which the book was held by two envelope pockets' (Clarkson, 'English monastic bookbinding', p. 197 and fig. 13).

7. R. A. B. Mynors and R. M. Thomson, eds., *Catalogue of the manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library; with a contribution on the bindings by Michael Gullick* (Cambridge 1993), p. xxvii and footnote 104. Plate 21 illustrates four of these bindings. Graham Pollard noted that 'one in eight of all the twelfth-century bindings which I have seen is lettered on the spine in what seems to be a contemporary hand' ('The construction of English twelfth-century bindings', *The Library*, 5th Series, 17:1 (1962), pp. 1–22, at p. 17 and plate 2).

8. The terms right and left, as seen when the book is open for reading, will be used to describe the position of the boards and endleaves.

9. Szirmai, *Archaeology*, p. 167. I am not aware of any further references to textile coverings on English Romanesque straps.

10. Now Bodleian Library, Ms Broxb. 83.1

11. Described as 'two white leather thongs lined on the inside with red silk' in H. M. Nixon, *Broxbourne Library: styles and designs of bookbindings, from the twelfth to the twentieth century* (London 1956), p. 3).

12. M. Gullick, 'From scribe to binder: quire tackets in twelfth-century European manuscripts', in J. L. Sharpe, ed., *Roger Powell: the compleat binder*, Bibliologia, 14 (Turnhout 1996), pp. 240–59, at p. 245 and footnote 23, fig. 15. I am grateful to Michael Gullick for reading and commenting on an early draft of my Luke binding description and for drawing my attention to the unusual spine-fold sewing pattern.

13. For Ms Laud Misc. 370 and its binding see R. M. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St Albans Abbey 1066–1235* (Woodbridge 1982), pp. 107–8 and plates 255–6.

14. Michael Gullick and Nicholas Hadgraft note that 'sewing stations in manuscripts during the period 1100 to 1400 that were not made with an awl (or a similar tool) but with a knife are nearly always indicative of a continental origin or binder' (Gullick and Hadgraft, 'Bookbindings', p. 99). This may indicate that the Luke binder, even if working in England, could have been of continental origin or training.

15. When discussing Romanesque bindings Pollard notes that 'book-markers, sometimes as many as four of them for one volume, are more often sewn to the headband or the edge of the tab' ('Describing medieval bookbindings', in J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson, eds., *Medieval learning and literature: essays presented to Richard Hunt* (Oxford 1976),

pp. 50–65, at p. 62). Lois Swales and Heather Blatt when discussing textile book-marks note that 'to form most woven strands and some braided strands, a double-length of textile is folded in the middle to yield two strands' ('Tiny textiles hidden in books: towards a categorization of multiple-strand bookmarkers', *Medieval clothing and textiles* 3 (2007), pp. 145–77, at p. 157).

16. The terms 'curved stop' and 'under-squint' used to describe the shape and edge profile of the recess are modified from C. A. Hewett, *English cathedral and monastic carpentry* (Chichester 1985), p. 212 and fig. 230.

17. J. S. Wilson & Son were at 5 Bene't Street between 1878 and 1934. Email from Eric Brigham (Director, J. S. Wilson & Son (Bookbinders) Ltd., Cambridge), 27 April 2010.

18. The text of the manuscript waste has been identified as Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on Psalms* in script that is attributed to the St Augustine's scriptorium of the early twelfth century. The pastedowns are 'reconstructable as a single bifolium of which one leaf was blank, therefore probably waste from the scriptorium, not from a completed book [...] confirming that the manuscript was bound at the abbey' (Barker-Benfield, *St Augustine's Abbey*, vol. 1, p. 531).

19. When discussing the methods of fastening books Pollard notes that 'many bindings still survive which have never had them' (Pollard, 'The construction of English twelfth-century bindings', p. 17) and Szirmai observed eight examples from his corpus of 110 Romanesque bindings with 'no evidence of their existence' (Szirmai, *Archaeology*, p. 167).

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deerskin binding of *Lucas glosatus*.

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from fol. 9r (Luke 1. 35-8), 'For with God nothing shall
be impossible'.

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