

Monastic Learning in Twelfth-Century England: Marginalia, Provenance and Use in London, British Library, Cotton MS. Faustina A. X, Part B

Francisco José Álvarez López

1. Introduction

The contents of Cotton MS. Faustina A. X (both original and marginal) present a miscellaneous collection of texts dealing with many different areas of monastic knowledge and learning. Whereas Part A, with Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary*, was undoubtedly produced and used initially as a grammatical tool for the study of Latin (and probably the vernacular), the addition of the vernacular *Rule of St Benedict* and *Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries (EEM)* at some point in the first half of the twelfth century widened its potential learning scope. It was shortly after this that a single individual decided to add numerous secondary texts to its margins thus transforming a grammatical reference book into what could be a teaching tool containing materials covering some of the most important subject areas of learning at a monastic school, with particular reference to the liberal arts.¹

2. The Composite

As it is presently constituted Cotton MS. Faustina A. X comprises two distinct parts, A and B, brought together at some point during the twelfth century. A is in Old English and it contains a late eleventh-century copy of Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary*. This part lies outside this study's present concern.² Part B contains a monolingual copy of the *Rule of St Benedict* in Old English along with the only extant version of *Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries*, an account of King Edgar's revival of monasticism in tenth-century England, also in the vernacular. Both texts were the subject of near contemporary annotation that may reveal, through the nature of their engagement with these texts, the likely site of production or very early ownership of this manuscript.

¹ For a tantalizing view of intellectual life at both Worcester and Gloucester in the twelfth century see R. M. Thomson, 'The Production of Books in Monastic Scriptoria', in R. M. Thomson (ed.), *Books and Learning in Twelfth Century England: The Ending of 'Alter Orbis'* (Walkern, Herts, 2006), pp. 19–41, at pp. 34–9 and idem, 'Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in J. P. Carley and C. G. C. Tite (eds.), *Books and Collectors, 1200–1700. Essays Presented to Andrew Watson* (London, 1997), pp. 3–26.

² For a description of Part A see N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), no. 154A.

Part B was copied shortly after the turn of the twelfth century by a scribe who later added some recipes and a charm in a gap originally left on ff. 115v–116r.³ Unlike the first section of the composite, Part B has attracted remarkably little scholarly attention despite the presence of extensive glosses and additions by a mid-twelfth-century hand in its margins. In general, the few commentators who described or discussed Part B have only made passing references to its marginal additions. Besides, these fail to identify appropriately most of the sources of those emendations.⁴ Perhaps owing to the limited scholarship on Part B, all that is known about the origin and early provenance of the composite derives from the fact that Part A was probably the work of the same scribe that copied most of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Hatton 115, whose origin, although unclear, has been assigned to Worcester.⁵ This tenuous link must be taken cautiously as the appearance of a single scribe in two manuscripts does not always imply that this individual worked at a single scriptorium throughout his/her entire life. Therefore, this study addresses the nature of the annotations in Part B by identifying their sources in an attempt to ascertain the reason why they were selected. In addition, the analysis of these annotations will shed some light on the community where the manuscript was kept during the twelfth century.

3. The Annotations

Item	Folios	Description	Date	Further Comments
1	102r	'De vii uitiiis'	s.xii med.	Seven and a half lines
2	102v–103r	Halitgar, <i>De uitiiis et uirtutibus</i>	s.xii med.	Extracts from chs XVI and XVII
3	105r	Roger de Caen, <i>De professione monachorum</i>	s.xii med.	First 34 lines. It includes seven maxims of unknown origin.
4	106r	Halitgar, <i>De uitiiis et uirtutibus</i>	s.xii med.	Sentence borrowed from Julianus Pomerius's <i>De uita contemplativa</i>

³ Ibid., no. 154B. He dates it to s.xii¹, and in this he is followed by Gameson, Gretsch and others. See R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066–1130)* (Oxford, 1999), p. 99, item 384 and, 'St Wulfstan, the Library of Worcester and the Spirituality of the Medieval Book', in J. Barrow and N. Brooks (eds.), *St Wulfstan and His World* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 59–104, at p. 98; M. Gretsch, *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti in England und ihre altenglische Übersetzung* (Munich, 1973), p. 40; E. M. Treharne, 'The Dates and Origins of Three Twelfth-Century Manuscripts', in P. Pulsiano and E. M. Treharne (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 227–53, at pp. 232–4. For a detailed palaeographical study of Part B, see F. J. Alvarez López, 'A Comparative Analysis of the Palaeography of the Manuscripts Containing the Æthelwoldian Translation of *Regula Sancti Benedicti* written in England' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, The University of Manchester, 2010), ch. 6.

⁴ See Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 195–6 and Gameson, *Early Norman*, no. 384. Gameson follows Ker in his identification of Roger de Caen's verses. Elsewhere they both make passing references to the theological questions quoting Peter Abelard and the unidentified maxims. A few other studies have focused on individual marginal additions such as C. Burnett and D. Luscombe, 'A New Student for Peter Abelard. The Marginalia in British Library Ms Cotton Faustina A.x', in J. F. Meirinhos (ed.), *Itinéraires de la Raison: Études de Philosophie Médiévale offertes à Maria Cândida Pacheco* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2005), pp. 163–86.

⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 332 and Gameson, 'Wulfstan', p. 101, presented the case for Worcester, but more recently Treharne, 'Three Twelfth-Century Manuscripts', p. 233, has suggested a South-East origin. This scribe copied items 1–17 (ff. 1r–64v) and 20–33 (ff. 66r–139v) in MS. Hatton 115.

5	106r-111v	Questions on theology	s.xii <i>med.</i>	Quoting mainly P. Abelard and Augustine.
6	116r	Charms in OE and Latin	s.xii <i>med.</i>	Four recipes against different illnesses ⁶
7	117v	Wordlist (Latin-Latin and Latin-Anglo-Norman)	s.xii/xiii	
8	117v	Maxim	s.xiii	St Augustine (?)
9	147v	Seneca, <i>Letters to Lucilius</i> (extracts)	s.xii <i>med.</i>	Extracts from letters: 4, 9, 16, 18, 20, 25, 80, 87.
10	149r-150v	Alphabetical Selection from Publilius Syrus, <i>Proverbs</i>	s.xii <i>med.</i>	Pages lost before f. 149.
11	150v	Latin verb	s.xii <i>ex.</i>	Verb 'pango' in different tenses ⁶
12	151r/v	Questions on theology (cont.)	s.xii <i>med.</i>	

Table 1. List of extracts inserted in the margins of Cotton MS. Faustina A. X, Part B.

The margins in Part B contain up to eleven passages from different sources which were entered between the middle of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth (see Table 1).⁷ Among them, those added by a mid-twelfth-century scribe (Faustina marginalia, first annotator, henceforth Fm1) constitute an overwhelming majority. First, he/she entered seven and a half lines of Latin text on the Capital Vices opening 'De vii vitiis' from an unknown source in the outer margin of f. 102r. The same scribe used the outer and bottom margins of ff. 102v-103r to copy another excerpt on the same subject matter. This includes two extracts from *De vitiis et uirtutibus* by Halitgar, bishop of Cambrai (c. 817-831).⁸ At the top of f. 106r Fm1 inserted another quotation from the same work regarding the 'conversatio religiosa'.⁹

Two other instances of the work of this particular scribe are items 9 and 10. As with the previous additions, these two extracts seem to have a close origin. On f. 147v Fm1 inserted a number of fragments from Seneca's *Moral Letters to Lucilius*.¹⁰ A few folios later, already

⁶ Ker dates this to s. xii^{ex} and Cockayne to AD 1200. See Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 195 and T. O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England, Being a Collection of Documents for the Most Part Never Before Printed, Illustrating the History of Science in this Country Before the Norman Conquest*, 3 vols, RS 35 (London, 1864-66, repr. 1965), vol. iii, p. 292.

⁷ Mary Swan has written extensively on a number of snippets from Ælfric's *Life of Gregory* entered on ff. 148-51. These have not been considered here owing to their short and anecdotal nature and purpose. See, however, M. Swan, 'Ælfric as a Source: The Exploitation of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* from the late Tenth to Twelfth Centuries' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1993), pp. 160-4 and more recently her 'Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* in the Twelfth Century', in M. Swan and E. M. Treharne (eds.), *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 62-82, at pp. 76-8.

⁸ On his life see K. Maurer, 'Halitgar', in P. Schaff (ed.), *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1952), p. 122. The extracts copied in Cotton MS. Faustina A. X include sections from Book I, chapter XVI ('De uitio luxurie') and chapter XVII ('De remedio luxurie').

⁹ From Halitgar's *De vitiis*, Book II, chapter I ('De uita actiua').

¹⁰ They include sections from letters 4, 9, 16, 18, 20, 25, 80 and 87. For a standard edition see R. M. Gummere (ed. and trans.), *Seneca: Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, 3 vols (London, 1917-25).

in the margins of *Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries*, a list of maxims in alphabetical order from another classical author, Publilius Syrus, was copied.¹¹ As it stands, the list is incomplete and begins at letter *I*. However, considering that a number of leaves were lost before f. 149, it may be argued that the missing letters A–H would have been copied there.¹² Besides, the damage on some of the extant leaves has deprived us of other sections of the collection such as almost all the entries under M (f. 149v), O (f. 150r) and S (f. 150v).

Items number 3 and 5 can also be ascribed to Fm1 on palaeographical grounds. On the outer margin of f. 105r there is an extract opening 'Quid deceat monacum'. This was taken from a poem entitled *De professione monachorum* which, although wrongly attributed to Anselm of Canterbury¹³ and Alexander Neckam,¹⁴ is now agreed to have been composed by Roger of Caen, a monk of Bec (d. 1095).¹⁵ This excerpt contains only the first thirty-four lines of the poem followed by seven lines of maxims from an unknown source, although still by the same hand. Likewise, the longest piece of marginalia (item 5) spans from f. 106r to 111v and resumes on the last folio of the codex, f. 151 (item 12). This includes twenty-two questions on theology in which Augustine and especially Peter Abelard are frequently quoted.¹⁶

The only vernacular marginalia found in Part B were inserted in the top margin of f. 116r and consist of three out of four recipes, the fourth being in Latin (item 6).¹⁷ They were added by the main scribe to the aforementioned section where he had left a blank space within the *Rule of St Benedict*.¹⁸ Subsequently another mid-twelfth-century scribe decided to add a new group of charms in the top margin of f. 116r alongside the original scribe's recipes. Even though the space used for this annotation was ruled in ink, the script is rather untidy. The scribe used the insular form of *g*, *þ*, *ð* and *wynn*. The absence of *æ* and the insular shape of *r* are also noticeable. It is not clear whether this is the work of Fm1 or of another scribe because of the quality of the hand. Even so, the paragraph marks used here are significantly similar to those in item 5.

Although all this shows that Cotton MS. Faustina A. X was mostly used in the mid-twelfth century, later readers also annotated the margins of Part B, albeit not as extensively as the earlier annotators. A glossator (Fm2) from the turn of the twelfth century inserted a list of Latin words glossed in Anglo-Norman and Latin on the top corner of ff. 117v and 120v. Furthermore, just underneath this word list, another hand (Fm3) inserted a maxim reading 'Maius est de impio pium facere quam creare celum et terram'.²⁰ The peculiar shape of *M*, long and

¹¹ E. Woelfflin (ed.), *Publili Syri Sententiae* (Leipzig, 1869).

¹² This supports the theory that the missing fragment was comprised of, at least, three folios rather than one. See D. Whitelock, 'The Authorship of the Account of King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries', in J. L. Rosier (ed.), *Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt* (The Hague, 1970), pp. 125–36. *PL*, 158.

¹³ See T. Wright, *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists*, 2 vols, RS 59 (London, 1872), vol. ii, pp. 175–200.

¹⁴ It begins *Quid deceat monacum vel quam vel debeat esse* and is also known as 'De contemptu mundi', as in *PL*, 158. It was identified by Ker in his *Catalogue*, p. 195. On Roger of Caen see M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinische Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1911–31), pp. 851–2; R. Bultot, *Christianisme et Valeurs Humaines: Le XIe siècle. Vol. ii: Jean de Fécamp, Hermann Contract, Roger de Caen, Anselme de Canterbury* (Louvain, 1964), pp. 50–72 and R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997), p. 584. The poem has been edited a number of times, all of them listed by Sharpe. On the correct attribution of the authorship see Manitius, *Geschichte*, p. 793.

¹⁵ Edited in Burnett and Luscombe, 'A New Student'. I am very grateful to Prof. Luscombe for having kindly provided me with a copy of this article.

¹⁶ They were edited and translated (only those in OE) by Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. iii, pp. 292–4.

¹⁷ Also edited *ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 292.

¹⁸ See, for example, *þes se hoccas moran gesodan*.

¹⁹ From St Augustine, *Exposition on the Gospel of St. John*, tractate 72, n. 3. See *PL*, 35.

looped ascenders of *f*, *i* and *s*, the finishing strokes at the end of *m* and *r*, the *tironian nota* with a stroke across its descender and a slight cursive look allow us to date this to the first part of the thirteenth century.

It is the extensive work of Fm1 in Part B that may provide valuable evidence to understand the use of the manuscript. However, in order to achieve this understanding it is necessary to consider in some detail the nature of the emendations, that is to say the thematic areas covered by the annotator in the extracts selected. It is clear that Fm1 was particularly interested in the Deadly Sins. They are all described briefly in item 1, where special prominence is given to lust, which is again discussed in item 2 along with its remedy. These excerpts (including also number 4) were mostly taken from Halitgar's *De uitiiis et uirtutibus* and come to reflect the medieval concern for this subject matter. The use of this source by a scribe usually working in England is important as Halitgar (bishop of Cambrai) seems to have been better known in Anglo-Saxon England for his *Pseudo-Ecgbert Penitential*, as shown by the numerous copies of this text that have survived.²¹ However, not a single full copy of his *De uitiiis* is extant in England,²² which means that either we are deprived of Fm1's exemplar or he may have obtained these extracts abroad.

In their edition of items 5 and 12, Burnett and Luscombe highlight that these theological questions come to reflect a significant concern with 'original and actual sin, intention, contempt, consent and confession'.²³ They argue that this collection of *questiones*, where a student quotes the opinions of Peter Abelard amongst others, illustrates the 'growth of systematic theological teaching in the period',²⁴ here with particular reference to the 'vice-virtue' dichotomy. The presence of this lengthy extract which seems to derive, partially at least, from Peter Abelard's late works, illustrates the wide and fast circulation of his teaching even when we are deprived of a potential exemplar, if there ever was one.²⁵

The other great thematic group covered by this annotator is that regarding morality and ethics. Item 9 and the proverbs in 10 come from the classical tradition of Seneca the Younger (c. 4 BC – AD 65) and Publilius Syrus (85 – 43 BC). The former includes sections from his *Epistolae morales ad Lucilium*, where Seneca meditates on different issues of life and existence. After centuries of oblivion, the popularity of Seneca's works resumed during the ninth century and the Carolingian Reform. However, it would not be until the twelfth century that, in what concerns the *Letters*, their tradition reached its peak in terms of popularity and manuscript production.²⁶ The whole work was split throughout the Middle Ages into two parts: letters 1-88 and 89-124. The extract in Cotton MS. Faustina A. X contains only sections from the first group. As for the moral proverbs

²¹ See T. P. Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline and Anglo-Saxon Law in their Joint Influence* (New York, 1923), p. 31. The manuscripts include Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 8558-63, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 190; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 121; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud misc. 482; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 265; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 201; London, BL, Cotton MS. Tiberius A. III. See C. Cubitt, 'Bishops, Priests and Penance in Late Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe*, xiv (2006), pp. 41-36, at p. 53, n. 59. Halitgar's work was translated into OE. For an edition of this translation see J. Raith (ed.), *Die altenglische Version des Halitgar'schen Bussbuches (sog. Poenitentiale pseudo-Ecgberti)* (Hamburg, 1933).

²² None is mentioned by Ker either in his *Catalogue* or in his *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1969-2002). Similarly, no reference is found in H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, Arizona, 2001) either.

²³ Burnett and Luscombe, 'A New Student', p. 164.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Following the presence of corrections and blank spaces in the annotation Burnett and Luscombe believe there must have been one. See 'A New Student', p. 166.

²⁶ On the reasons for this interest in Seneca see G. G. Meersseman, 'Seneca maestro di spiritualità nei suoi opuscoli apocrifi dal XII al XV secolo', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 16 (1973), pp. 43-135, esp. pp. 44-6. See also L. D. Reynolds, 'The Younger Seneca', in L. D. Reynolds, et al. (eds.), *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 357-81, at pp. 359 and 374-5. As noted by Reynolds, the earliest reference to the *Letters* in England is that of Goscelin of St-Bertin in his *Liber confortatorius* in c. 1080. *Ibid.*, p. 375. See also M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 68-9.

from Publilius Syrus, they should be considered alongside some maxims from Terence (195/185–159 BC) found on the flyleaf inserted at the end of Part A. The two sets of proverbial aphorisms echo Fm1's interest in statements with a moral undertone and with particular reference to those from the classical tradition.²⁷ It is noticeable that unlike those on f. 101v, the selection of Publilius's maxims was carefully arranged in alphabetical groups, thus making it easier for the reader to search through them.

Two English manuscripts from the middle of the twelfth century have survived containing the first set of Seneca's letters, and both come from the Severn Valley.²⁸ Harley MS. 2659 is a beautifully decorated and thoroughly used manuscript from St Peter's, Gloucester,²⁹ whereas Oxford, Magdalen College, MS. 22 was made at about the same date at the abbey of the Virgin and St Egwin at Evesham.³⁰ A detailed analysis of the former, which also contains a copy of Publilius Syrus's *Proverbia*, brings about some remarkable results. A textual comparison of items 9 and 10 with readings from the same extracts in Harley MS. 2659 reveals that, in the case of the *Letters*, the sections entered by Fm1 in the margins of Cotton MS. Faustina A. X match almost letter by letter the text in the Gloucester copy. As for the *Proverbia*, although arguably following an independent selection, the maxims copied by Fm1 follow the same order found in the Harley manuscript, with a few minor exceptions. These include a limited number of cases where two proverbs were copied in reverse order.³¹ Finally, as pointed out by Thompson, the Harley manuscript displays traces of having been used as an exemplar for it 'has been marked up in pencil [...] certainly for recopying or extracting'.³² Therefore, it is likely that Fm1 had used this codex to copy both maxims and sections from the *Moral Letters* into Cotton MS. Faustina A. X at some stage during the middle of the twelfth century.

Finally, a few minor items are left, apparently not belonging to any of the thematic groups established above. They include Roger of Caen's verses and the recipes or leechdoms. The poem, in its original form (406 verses) deals with a number of themes ranging from the obligations of monastic life to marriage and the negative effect that women may have on men. Most significant here is the prominence given to vices and virtues in line with other extracts copied in the margins of Cotton MS. Faustina A. X. Judging by the location where these marginal items were entered, a link could be established with the main text of the *Rule of St Benedict*. Thus, items 1, 2, 3 and 4, all of which allude to the need to be virtuous and fight immorality, were mostly inserted in the margins of the Prologue to the *Rule of St Benedict*. In this introductory section of the customary, the virtues expected in the monastic life as well as the dangers of worldly vices are all set out.³³

In relation to the recipes or leechdoms, the number of pre- and post-Conquest manuscripts containing this kind of text testifies to their popularity in the medieval period.³⁴ In line with this, Cotton MS. Faustina A. X adds to the evidence since two different generations of scribes decided to enter their own recipes within the same section of the codex.

4. Provenance and Use

The question remains as to where the transformation of a grammatical reference work into a schoolbook took place. In the previous section we have briefly explored each of the texts entered in the margins of Part B, and the evidence uncovered in terms of the manuscript's

²⁷ It may be relevant to highlight the fact that Publilius's *Proverbs* were often attributed to Seneca in the medieval period: Meersseman, 'Seneca', pp. 53–54. However, no reference is found in these annotations to either author.

²⁸ L. D. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 74–5.

²⁹ Thomson, 'Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey', pp. 12 and 18. Also, Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 92.

³⁰ See Reynolds, *Medieval Tradition*, p. 123. Ker dates this manuscript to s. xii^{ca}. See Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 81.

³¹ For instance, 'Leuis fortuna est cito reposcit quod dedit' and 'Leso doloris remedium est inimici dolor' on f. 149r.

³² Thompson, 'Books and Learning', pp. 12–13 and 18.

³³ This is particularly visible on ff. 102v and 103r, where item 2 was copied alongside verses 8–30 from the Prologue. See A. Schröer, *Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerregel*, 2nd edn (Darmstadt, 1964), pp. 1–6.

³⁴ The best edition in this field is still Cockayne, *Leechdoms*.

provenance is not remarkable. Most of the sources used by Fm1 seem impossible to trace owing to the absence of their exemplars. Even though in most cases we are able to elucidate the sources of the texts, evidence for their transmission in England remains sparse. However, there is one significant exception. It has been shown how the texts of items 9 and 10 seem to derive directly from the copies of Seneca's *Moral Letters* and Publilius Syrus's *Proverbs* in Harley 2659, a Gloucester manuscript which may provide a potential location for our manuscript.

Even though in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* Ker does not suggest where the composite might have been kept after the two parts were assembled, Gameson tentatively mentions Worcester on account of Part A's association with MS. Hatton 115.³⁵ He also argues that since the two parts of the Faustina manuscript are heavily annotated, this would suggest that the 'two items had a common provenance in s.xii, which is conceivably Worcester'.³⁶ However, this conclusion is slightly conjectural as it rests on indirect evidence provided by secondary manuscripts. For that reason, it is necessary to evaluate further the evidence presented above of a direct connection between a marginal annotation by Fm1 and a Gloucester manuscript.

Harley 2659 was given by Ernulf (1040–1124), bishop of Rochester, to the monastery of St Peter's, Gloucester, where it was kept until the sixteenth century. The community, which by the mid-twelfth century had rapidly developed in numbers and possessions, maintained very fluid relations and exchanges with the bishop's see at Worcester Cathedral Priory for the most part of the medieval period until Gloucester became head of its own diocese in 1541.³⁷ In this context, both manuscripts and scribes must have frequently circulated between these two sites. Therefore, one can argue that Harley 2659 might have been at Worcester at some point during the twelfth century, perhaps at the request of one of its leading members who then copied from it sections of both Seneca's *Moral Letters* and Publilius's *Proverbs*. Alternatively, Fm1 may have travelled to Gloucester for the annotations to be made there. After all, the small size of Cotton MS. Faustina A. X makes it very easily transportable. Moreover, an early twelfth-century booklist probably from Worcester may provide further support for this view.³⁸ Inserted at the end of an early eleventh-century copy of Gregory's *Dialogi*, it lists a number of schoolbooks used in the community's schoolroom. Despite containing a very reasonable collection of more than fifty items, the list does not include any of the texts copied by Fm1 in the margins of Part B which would explain why exemplars might need to be borrowed from other communities.

Consequently, it can be argued that early in the twelfth century a copy of the OE *Rule of St Benedict* was produced, probably at Worcester, alongside an incomplete copy of *Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries* (which probably supplemented the *Rule of St Benedict* in the exemplar). Shortly after, this independent codex was attached to an earlier copy of Ælfric's *Grammar and Glossary*. By the mid-twelfth century a member of the community decided to use the composite thoroughly, glossing its original items and inserting a considerable number of extracts from different sources in its margins. During this process, he arguably

³⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 332; Gameson, *Early Norman*, nos 383 and 384.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

³⁷ The relations between Gloucester and Worcester in the twelfth century are recorded in the documents issued by the bishops and edited in M. Cheney, et al. (eds.), *English Episcopal Acta, 33: Worcester 1062–1185* (Oxford, 2007). See esp. documents 18, 19, 31, 32, 49–55, 121–4, 135, 148, 158, 178–81. On the development of Gloucester during the early twelfth century see R. B. Patterson (ed.), *The Original Acta of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester c.1122 to 1263* (Bristol, 1998), pp. xxi–xxiii.

³⁸ The booklist is found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Tanner 3 (S.C. 9836), ff. 189v–190r and was edited by M. Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England' in M. P. Richards (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings* (New York, 1994), pp. 87–167, at pp. 139–45; and R. Sharpe, J. P. Carley, K. Friis Jensen, R. M. Thomson and A. G. Watson (eds.), *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 4 (London, 1996), no. B115.

took advantage of the prolific library available to him at Worcester, had access to a good deal of continental material and borrowed manuscripts from neighbouring houses such as St Peter's, Gloucester.

The theological questions that Fm1 added to ff. 106–111 and 151 quote Augustine as well as other authoritative sources, which could be seen as 'evidence for the use of [a] large collection of *auctoritates*',³⁹ such as that known to have existed at Worcester in the twelfth century.⁴⁰ With regards to continental materials, it is likely that Fm1 had spent some time in France where he became familiar with the works of continental authors such as Halitgar of Cambrai and Roger of Caen, whose circulation in England was limited. Moreover, at the same time he may have acquainted himself with some of Peter Abelard's pupils, as Burnett and Luscombe have argued, if he had not been a student himself at Paris.⁴¹ The quotations used in the theological questions are not found in any of Abelard's texts and therefore must derive from first-hand witnesses of his teaching. That a member of the Worcester Cathedral Priory was able to establish such connections with the circle of one of the leading figures of the so-called 'Twelfth-Century Renaissance' shows the prestige of this scholarly community which was to reach its peak during the thirteenth century.⁴² Finally, it has been shown how two of the items annotated by Fm1 in the margins of Cotton MS. Faustina A. X, Part B derived from his use of neighbouring libraries whenever the required source was not found amongst his own community's collection.

In conclusion, Fm1, perhaps a *magister* himself, could have used Cotton MS. Faustina A. X as a textbook in his lessons on grammar (*Ælfric's Grammar and Glossary*), theology (Abelard's *questiones*), the nature of the deadly sins and vices (Halitgar's *De uitiiis et uirtutibus* and Roger of Caen's verses), the morality and ethics of classical works (Seneca's *Letters* and Publilius Syrus's *Proverbs*), poetry and rhetoric (Roger of Caen), medicine (leechdoms), monastic history (*Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries*) and indeed the Benedictine customs (*Rule of St Benedict*). Later hands seem to have been more interested in grammatical aspects, as their annotations reflect, but the twelfth century may have left us with an insight into how a major cathedral school, arguably that at Worcester, approached the instruction of its younger members at a time when secular schools were gaining in popularity from the continent and intruding into the English monastic background. Finally, Fm1 wrote a line on the bottom margin of f. 151v, the manuscript's last leaf, giving the date 1148.⁴³ This would all but confirm the palaeographical date of most of Fm1's annotations as well as the Abelardian connection.⁴⁴

³⁹ Burnett and Luscombe, 'A New Student', p. 165.

⁴⁰ See the aforementioned early-twelfth-century booklist as a (surely) limited example of the volumes available at this community by this time. Sharpe, *Benedictine Libraries*, no. B115.

⁴¹ Burnett and Luscombe, 'A New Student', p. 165.

⁴² See R. M. Thomson, 'Worcester Monks and Education, c. 1300', in J. G. Clark (ed.), *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 104–10.

⁴³ It reads 'annus a nativitate domini millassimus centesimus quadragesimus octavus'. See Burnett and Luscombe, 'A New Student', pp. 185–6.

⁴⁴ I am very grateful to Dr Julia Crick and Dr Alex Rumble for their views on earlier versions of this essay.