

Reading in the Refectory at Reading Abbey

Teresa Webber

Trinity College, Cambridge

Reading at mealtimes is a requirement of the Rule of St Benedict. Chapter 38 prescribes: ‘Reading will always accompany the meals of the brothers. ... Let there be complete silence. No whispering, no speaking—only the reader’s voice should be heard there’.¹ The Rule does not specify which texts should be read, but by the time of Reading Abbey’s foundation in 1121 it had become a widespread custom in monasteries and communities of regular canons throughout Latin Europe for the refectory reading to correspond closely with the liturgical calendar and the annual cycles of liturgical lections, in particular those of the Night Office of Matins.² Customs compiled for Eynsham Abbey at the beginning of the eleventh century by the Anglo-Saxon homilist, Ælfric, acknowledge that it had become common for the liturgical practice of reading the entire Bible at Matins over the course of the year to be fulfilled in part during meals,³ while two late-eleventh-century Cluniac customaries provide the earliest surviving detailed evidence for how this might be achieved.⁴ From the twelfth century onwards, houses of monks and regular canons across Latin Europe came to observe a broadly similar framework of norms for an annual cycle of refectory reading that incorporated not only Scripture but also patristic exegesis, gospel homilies, sermons and hagiography.⁵ This shared framework nevertheless permitted considerable variation in matters of detail, but evidence of how the norms were applied in individual communities is comparatively rare. Late-medieval additions to a twelfth-century manuscript from Reading Abbey and annotations in this and other Reading manuscripts constitute some of the best evidence from England of how Chapter 38 of the Rule was observed at the local level, and bear witness to the efforts made periodically to ensure its proper observance.

Little remains today of the refectory at Reading Abbey.⁶ It was located alongside the south cloister range, and would have mirrored in grandeur the abbey church on the opposite side, and the chapter-house in the east range. It can be assumed to have incorporated a raised pulpit as part of the fabric of the long south wall, approached by stairs within the thickness of the wall, and with a large window behind: the arrangement found in more fully-surviving refectories that date from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries onwards.⁷ The refectory, like the chapter-house, was regarded as a sacred space within the claustral enclosure, with a crucifix or majestas prominently displayed at one end, to which the community bowed on entry.⁸ Ritual elements had been associated with the refectory reading from the outset. The Rule specifies that each weekly reader should receive a blessing in church '*post missas et communionem*', before commencing his stint.⁹ By the late eighth century rituals for the mealtimes themselves had been developed, including the introduction of the same versicles to introduce and close the reading as those for the Matins readings: at the start, '*Tube domni benedicere*', and at the end '*Tu autem domine miserere nobis*'.¹⁰

The importance of the refectory reading as an element of the observance of the Rule is apparent from the attention devoted to it in monastic customaries. The Rule itself emphasises the utmost silence ('*summum ... silentium*') in which the assembled community was to listen.¹¹ It also specifies the qualities required of the readers: they were not to be whoever might be available on any given day but should be appointed for an entire week, and were to be chosen not according to rank but according to their ability to benefit those listening.¹² By the late eleventh century, it had become customary only for the more experienced to be chosen as readers in the refectory. The customary of Bernard of Cluny prohibits the boys from being chosen (although they were required to read in chapter),¹³ while Archbishop Lanfranc insisted that Anselm, then prior of Bec, should not permit his (Lanfranc's) nephew's request to deliver readings in the refectory (or elsewhere) until he had completed a full year as a monk.¹⁴ The readers were expected to rehearse their readings in advance, if necessary with the assistance of the person in charge of the liturgical and other readings, or some other suitable person.¹⁵

Responsibility for assigning readers, the choice of passages to be read, the provision and preparation of the books required for both

liturgical and extra-liturgical public reading (including the refectory reading), and, if required, supervision of the rehearsal, usually lay with the *armarius*—the custodian of the monastic library. It had become usual within both Cluniac and other monastic traditions by the late eleventh century for this office to be combined with that of the cantor—the person with responsibility for the chant.¹⁶ This would have facilitated the complex task of coordinating the chants and readings, a task further complicated by the adjustments required each year to accommodate both the variable date of Easter and its knock-on effect for the number of Sundays of Ordinary time between Epiphany and Septuagesima, and between Trinity Sunday and the beginning of Advent, and the shifting correspondence of calendrical dates and days of the week. By this date it was also becoming increasingly common for the refectory reading to correspond with the feasts and seasonal rhythms of the liturgical year, and for the cantor-*armarius* to choose passages from the same texts or categories of text as those from which the lections of the Night Office of Matins were drawn, in order to dovetail with, or complement, the Matins lections.

The lections of Matins encompassed a far wider range of texts than the exclusively biblical books that were the source of the epistle and gospel readings of the Mass. They were also subject to a far greater degree of local variation in the specific texts and selected passages chosen. A single, more-or-less uniform, Matins lectionary, such as that for the Mass, never emerged within 'Roman' liturgical practice during the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, all communities, whether monastic or secular, drew upon the same categories of texts and underlying principles of selection for their annual cycle of Matins readings. These comprised: (1) homilies upon the gospel reading assigned for Mass and/or sermons and other patristic treatises on the liturgical theme of the day, in accordance with the annual liturgical cycle of the Temporale with its moveable feasts in relation to the date of Easter; (2) gospel homilies, sermons and/or hagiography to celebrate saints' feast, in accordance with the liturgical cycle of the Sanctorale (which followed the fixed dates of the Roman calendar, and which differed in detail from community to community); and (3) an annual cycle for reading of the books of the Old and New Testaments (sometimes interwoven with corresponding patristic biblical commentary). This biblical reading was, at least in principle, a continuous reading of the text of each book, by

contrast with the pre-selected extracts (pericopes) assigned for Mass. The sequence in which the books were read was not the canonical order but one recorded (with minor variations in order) in early medieval Roman *ordines* and which corresponded partly with the seasons of the liturgical year (from Christmas to Epiphany and from Septuagesima to Trinity Sunday), and partly (from August to December), with specific months, cued to the responsory chants set for those months.¹⁷ Nevertheless, it had already become apparent by the early eleventh century that the ideal of continuous reading of the entire Bible in the course of a year in Matins was a challenge too far, and that one way of achieving it was to assign some of the reading to the refectory.¹⁸

By at least the twelfth century, the same parameters that framed not only the biblical reading but all the texts delivered as Matins readings had also come to inform the cantor-*armarius*'s choice of reading in the refectory. Thus, in selecting both an appropriate category of text (gospel homily, sermon, hagiography, biblical text or corresponding patristic biblical exegesis) and the specific text from which a passage would be read, he or she would take into account (1) the annual cycle of gospel readings for Sundays and the feasts of the Temporale and their associated seasons and variable dates depending upon the date of Easter; (2) the annual cycle of saints' feasts, and the shifting relationship between their fixed calendrical dates and the days of the week, and (3) the annual cycle of reading the books of the Old and New Testament, and the local customs that governed its division between Matins and the refectory.

The cantor-*armarius* could use his or her own discretion in adapting the shared framework of norms for the Matins and refectory readings, albeit in accordance with the established customs of his or her own house, congregation or order and the locally-observed liturgical calendar of saints.¹⁹ This contributed to variation from house to house (and, to a lesser extent, from year to year within each house) in the particular choice of homily on a given gospel pericope, or sermon or hagiography for a particular feast, or to different ways of dividing between Matins and the refectory the reading of the books of the Bible. By the later Middle Ages, some or all of the Matins readings, especially on Sundays and the major feasts, might be delivered from purpose-made lectionaries or choir breviaries in which the relevant passages of text had been excerpted and set out as numbered lections, arranged in

liturgical sequence. This would have reduced the number of different volumes required for the Matins lections over the course of a year. For the refectory readings, however, it remained usual to use copies of the full texts rather than a bespoke lectionary, perhaps (given the potentially variable length of meals) because this allowed for greater flexibility in the length of readings. Evidence for such continued use survives from medieval Reading in the form both of annotations in surviving volumes and a set of three additions supplied in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century to a twelfth-century manuscript, now Oxford, St John's College, MS 11.

Oxford, St John's College, MS 11, was copied at Reading during the mid twelfth century.²⁰ It contains the Winter portion of a homiliary: a collection of gospel homilies and sermons for Sundays and certain feasts and ferial days, organised according to the liturgical year from the first Sunday in Advent until the end of Holy Week.²¹ The additions were made on four leaves (ff. 1r-4v), fully ruled for the purpose, and were written by a single scribe in a formal, and somewhat idiosyncratic script.²² The additions comprise: customs concerning the content of the Matins and refectory reading on ferial days in the months of November and December, including the anniversary of the death of Reading's founder, Henry I (December 1), and the first part of the Christmas season (from Christmas Eve to 31 December) (f. 1r); a list of books that formed a discrete refectory collection (f. 3r), and a list of contents in *tabula* format recording the liturgical occasions, gospel pericope incipits, and number of homilies provided for each day, and the names of their authors (f. 4v).²³

The second item provides the most extensive evidence for refectory reading and its books at Reading (Fig. 1). A rubricated heading identifies the books recorded in the list as those that were kept all year in the communal dormitory always to be ready for the weekly reader in the refectory.²⁴ They thus formed a permanent collection for refectory reading: the arrangements for their storage ensured that any required book would not be on loan but would be readily available to the reader, whether for rehearsal or for the reading itself. This represents a modification of the practice (for which the twelfth-century customary of the Augustinian canons of Saint Victor, Paris, provides the earliest known record) of reserving the '*libri communes*'—books required on a daily basis for public reading and other purposes—as a

non-borrowable but easily accessible collection.²⁵ Each volume is identified not only by its principal contents but also by its *secundo folio* reference (the first word or words found at the beginning of the second leaf of the volume). The contents of the collection correspond closely with the norms for the annual cycle of refectory reading set out in twelfth-century and later customaries, and with some of the variant ways in which they were applied locally.²⁶

Four of the twenty-odd entries are volumes of gospel homilies and sermons, from which the cantor-*armarius* could select a reading corresponding with the gospel pericope or liturgical theme of a particular Sunday, feast or (in special cases) ferial day. A pair of volumes described as '*Liber omeliarum dominicalium*', provided homilies on the gospel pericopes assigned for the Mass for the Sundays of the entire year, the first covering the Summer portion of the year, from the Easter vigil until the final Sunday after Pentecost.²⁷ The other volume (surviving as Oxford, St John's College, MS 11), covered the Winter portion, from Advent Sunday to the end of Holy Week. Detailed prescriptions for refectory reading, such as those that survive from the northern French abbeys of Holy Trinity Fécamp, Sainte-Rictrude Marchiennes and Saint-Wandrille, prescribe as a norm the reading of a gospel homily on Sundays.²⁸ All three also specify certain other days when a gospel homily was to be delivered. The homiliary in St John's College, MS 11 likewise includes homilies not only for Sundays but also for certain feasts and ferias of the Temporale and for the major Marian feasts. The homiliary volumes were supplemented by a '*liber de sermonibus*' and Augustine's homilies on the Gospel of St John, the *Tractatus in euangelium Iohannis* (which survives as Oxford, Saint John's College, MS 1).²⁹ Both surviving manuscripts contain forms of apparatus to facilitate their use as a source of refectory reading. Each of the texts in the twelfth-century homiliary, Oxford, St John's College, MS 11, was introduced from the outset with a rubric that identified the liturgical occasion. These were supplemented in the Late Middle Ages with the tabula on folio 4r that records in liturgical order, the liturgical occasion, the gospel pericope incipit and the number and authors of the homilies for each occasion (Fig. 2). These last, however, included not only texts contained in the volume itself but also eleven references to homilies by Augustine that are not present.³⁰ In every case, they accompany a reference to a pericope from the

Gospel of St John. The reference, therefore, may well be to the copy of Augustine on John that is now Oxford, St John's College, MS 1, and which also was stored as part of the refectory collection.

St John's College, MS 1 is a large-format, *de luxe*, late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth-century copy of Augustine's *Tractatus in euangelium Iohannis*.³¹ Its design incorporated an apparatus that facilitated correlation with the gospel lectionary as it had come to exist during the Early Middle Ages, and which often did not correspond precisely with the textual divisions of Augustine's commentary, which reflect a different pattern of gospel lections. It comprises running headers specifying each relevant liturgical occasion (Fig. 3) and other visual devices (coloured paraphs and decorated initials) that indicate where a passage within one of Augustine's homilies coincided with the start of a Gospel pericope, as well as an index of liturgical occasions (ff. 315rv) that records the incipit to the relevant gospel pericope and a reference to the number of the particular *tractatus* in which a commentary could be found.

For Trinity Sunday and the remainder of that week it was the custom in some communities to assign in place of (or in addition to) a gospel homily, a reading from a treatise on the doctrine of the Trinity.³² This was evidently the practice at Reading: the refectory collection housed copies of both St Augustine's *De trinitate* and Hilary of Poitiers's *De trinitate*.³³ For saints' feasts, however, as an alternative or in addition to a homily on the relevant gospel pericope or thematically suitable sermon, it was the norm to read from the Life, translation and/or miracles of the saint.³⁴ The list of books to be read in the refectory at Reading records a three-volume *passional* (the lives and miracles of the saints arranged in calendrical order), the first volume beginning at 31 December, the second at 29 June, and the third at 21 September.³⁵ This was supplemented by a '*Passionarius Anglorum*' (presumably a collection of English saints' lives: the entry records the first item as [Folcard's] *Vita S. Botulphi*); a volume containing the Miracles of the Virgin and lives of Mildburga and her sister, Mildgyth (recorded here, and in an entry in the late-twelfth-century Reading catalogue, as Wilgilde), and perhaps also the volume entered immediately after the '*Passionarius Anglorum*' with the title '*Tripartita historia*'.³⁶ If this is the same volume as the copy of Cassiodorus's *Historia tripartita* described more fully in the late-twelfth-century

catalogue,³⁷ it also contained a collection of insular hagiography: the life and miracles of Thomas Becket, and lives of St David, St Brendan, St Brigit, St Petroc and St Cuthbert.³⁸

A three-volume Bible provided the readings that contributed to fulfilling (in principle if not wholly in practice) that part of the annual continuous reading of the entire Bible assigned to take place in the refectory.³⁹ It was also customary to assign as refectory reading during certain periods of the year suitable patristic commentary that corresponded with the biblical reading.⁴⁰ Three such works are recorded in the fourteenth-century Reading list: Bede's commentaries on the Canonical Epistles and the Apocalypse and Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* (in two volumes, the second of which survives as Eton, College Library, MS 226).⁴¹ These provided patristic commentary on the prescribed biblical reading of the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse (together with Acts) in the period between the octave of Easter and Ascension, and the book of Job in September.

All three volumes of Augustine's *Enarrationes in psalmos* were also consigned to the refectory collection at Reading (the first and third volumes survive as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Bodley 257 and 241, both dating from the mid twelfth century),⁴² but it is difficult to establish with certainty when or how selectively they were read. The book of Psalms was not included in the annual cycle of biblical reading (since it had its own weekly cycle distributed across all eight offices), and there was no single pattern for reading the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* at Matins or in the refectory. At Cluny in the late eleventh century,⁴³ in Cistercian twelfth-century practice, and in some other communities it was customary to read Augustine's commentary on the Gradual Psalms (Pss 119-133) in Matins on ferial nights in the first four weeks of Lent, rather than from the books of the Heptateuch assigned to the period between Septuagesima and Passion Sunday.⁴⁴ It is unclear, however, how widespread this tradition was in the later Middle Ages, or whether it was a practice that became transferred to the refectory. It is difficult, therefore, to be sure of the context for reading referred to in a fourteenth-century note supplied in the third of the Reading volumes (the commentary on Pss 119-150), concerning such reading of the *Enarrationes in psalmos* in Lent but without specifying either Matins or the refectory: '*Expositio augustini super psalmum ad dominum cum tribularer [Ps. 119] legetur per totam quadragesimam usque ad*

dominicam in passione domini |et tunc legetur ieremias?.⁴⁵ Although the inscription only mentions the commentary on the first of the gradual psalms, the entire manuscript bears signs of heavy use: not only does every opening show signs of wear, but the margins throughout are also dirtied with blobs and smears of wax; their consistent positioning immediately to the side of the outer ruling is suggestive of a deliberate mark, perhaps to indicate where the reader had stopped on one day, and should continue on the following occasion. The absence of any marginal numerals in sets of three, such as were commonly supplied to demarcate the Matins readings on ferial nights in Bibles and other volumes, might encourage the assumption that the context for the readings from MS Bodley 241 was the refectory, but this must be set alongside a further consideration. There was another possible source of refectory reading at Reading during Lent: gospel homilies, which had also come to be widely regarded as suitable for lections on ferial days in Lent in both Matins and the refectory. In several communities, for example, it was the custom to read in the refectory the relevant passage from Augustine's commentary on John's gospel on those days when the pericope at Mass was from John.⁴⁶ This may also have been a practice, at least on some of those days, at Reading. Three of the liturgical occasions on which reference is made to homilies of Augustine in the *tabula* to St John's College, MS 11 are days in Lent on which the gospel pericope was also from John: Friday in the first full week of Lent, Saturday in the third week of Lent, the fourth Sunday in Lent, as well as on Passion Sunday, Palm Sunday and Holy Thursday. Precisely how much of MS Bodley 241 was delivered at Reading during Lent, and in which setting—the choir or the refectory—must therefore remain uncertain. This is also the case for the other volumes of the *Enarrationes*. The still extant first volume (MS Bodley 257) contains no obvious clues—it lacks the signs of heavy use found in the third volume, and evidence from elsewhere provides no consistent pattern. The early-medieval Roman *ordo* that provided the framework for the annual biblical reading in England and many other parts of Latin Europe (*Ordo Romanus XIII A*), assigned the Epistles of St Paul or the '*decadas psalmorum sancti augustini*' to the period between Epiphany and Septuagesima, but I have yet to find evidence for this alternative in later medieval office lectionaries and surviving records of refectory reading.⁴⁷ At Norwich, the *Enarrationes in psalmos* were assigned,

together with Josephus, to follow the reading of the set biblical books in the period between the Octave of Trinity and the end of August, but I have not yet found evidence for this practice elsewhere.⁴⁸

Two other entries in the list likewise present difficulties in establishing with certainty how they fitted within the norms of the annual cycle of refectory reading. The copy of Cassiodorus's *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* recorded in the list of refectory reading may have been that which also included a number of insular saints' lives and hence been included in the collection for reading on the relevant feasts (see above), but one should not discount the possibility that the *Historia tripartita* itself was delivered as refectory reading.⁴⁹ Works of ecclesiastical and Jewish history are recorded in lists of refectory reading from elsewhere, to complement the periods covered by the historical biblical books. Thus, in the 'ordo' of refectory reading from Fécamp, the *Historia ecclesiastica* (identified from the surviving volume, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 5080, as that of Eusebius/Rufinus) accompanies the reading of the post-resurrection books of the New Testament (Acts, Seven Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse) assigned for the period between Easter and Pentecost.⁵⁰ Similarly, in the list from Norwich Cathedral Priory, Josephus (either or both of his *Antiquitates iudaeae* and *De bello iudaico*—no title is given) is specified for reading after the biblical books for the period between Trinity week and the end of August.⁵¹

Finally, a work of Alexander Nequam is recorded without title, and just the briefest of *secundo folio* references ('*Quid?*').⁵² The only possible clue to its identification is the position of the entry in the list. It is located within a sequence of items corresponding with reading appropriate for the period between Easter and September: between Bede on the Catholic Apostles and Apocalypse and Augustine and Hilary on the Trinity (read during the period from Easter to the week following Trinity Sunday) and the Miracles of the Virgin and Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* (the latter customarily read in September). The entry may therefore record a volume containing one or more of Nequam's commentaries on the Sapiential books (the biblical books assigned for August). Two such volumes survive from Reading, a copy of his commentary upon *Super mulierem fortem* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 528, s. xiii), and his *De naturis rerum* (books III-V of which are a commentary on Ecclesiastes) (Oxford, Corpus Christi College,

MS 45, s. xiiiⁱⁿ),⁵³ but in neither case does the *secundo folio* reference match that in the book-list.

The books kept together at Reading as a permanent collection of refectory books almost certainly do not represent the full complement of volumes from which the refectory readings were delivered. The set of customs recorded on f. 1r of St John's College, MS 11, that describe how the readings at Matins and in the refectory on ferial days in November were to dovetail, records that Gregory's Homilies on Ezekiel and Jerome's commentaries on Daniel and on the Minor Prophets might be read during November and Gregory on Ezekiel also in December, provided that the relevant biblical requirement had been fulfilled. None of these texts is recorded in the list, but a single copy of each is entered in Reading's late-twelfth-century catalogue.⁵⁴ One might speculate that the refectory collection was restricted to those volumes for which either duplicates existed (which might also explain the inclusion of *secundo folio* references, in order to distinguish between copies) or for which there was unlikely to have been another use.⁵⁵

For many days in the year the volumes made available for refectory use would have provided more than one suitable text. The cantor-*armarius* would need to decide whether the liturgical occasion or the annual biblical cycle was to be given priority, and, in the case of the former, if alternative homilies or sermons for a particular day were available, which ones should be assigned. The homiliary in St John's College, MS 11, for example, contains more than one text for each occasion, and for those occasions when the gospel at Mass was taken from St John's gospel, Augustine's homilies on John would have provided an additional alternative. The particular choice may have differed from year to year. Nevertheless, for certain days, the customs at Reading appear to have been more prescriptive.

The tabula in the Winter portion of the homiliary, St John's College, MS 11, ff. 4rv, includes a sub-section (f. 4v) whose heading refers specifically to what is to be read in the refectory from that volume on certain saints' feasts which have 'proper' homilies.⁵⁶ The feasts concerned are the major Marian feasts and the conversion of St Paul, and the assigned texts are as follows. For the Immaculate Conception: an excerpt from Paschasius Radbertus's *Commentarium in Matthaicum*; for the conversion of St Paul, homilies attributed to John Chrysostom and Origen derived from Latin versions of Chrysostom's Homilies on

Matthew and pseudo-Origen's homilies of Mathew; for the Purification: Bede's *Homiliae euangelii*, I.18; and for the Annunciation and the day following: Bernard of Clairvaux's *Homiliae quatuor super Missus est Gabriel*, with the place at which the reading for the day after the Annunciation was to begin indicated in the margin of f. 246r with the added rubric '*Secunda die assumptionis in refectorio*'.

Likewise, the customs on readings at Matins and in the refectory on ferial days in November and December also specify alternative readings in the refectory on the anniversary of Reading's founder, Henry I (1 December),⁵⁷ both of which are found in the refectory copy of Augustine's *Tractatus in euangelium Iohannis* (St John's College, MS 1). These comprise a passage from *Tractatus* xxv, in the margin of which, on f. 122r, against the gospel text, John 6:37, '*Omne quod dat*' (not '*natum*' as recorded in the customs), is the heading, '*In obitu regis henrici*'; and, added at the end of the volume (ff. 316r-318r) in a later hand, a passage from the beginning of Book four of Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*, corresponding with the incipit specified in the customs, and headed '*In anniversario regis henrici*'. Immediately following (ff. 318r-321), the same scribe supplied the account of the life of Benedict from book 2 of the *Dialogi*, introduced with the rubric '*De sancto Benedicto Legetur in Refectorio ista lectio*'.

Although the customs for reading at Matins and in the refectory on ferial days entered on f. 1r of St John's College, MS 11, encompass only the months of November and December, the opening rubric refers to the whole year, and the ruled but otherwise blank pages from ff. 1v-2v may point to an original intention to include guidance for what was to be read on ferial days throughout the entire year. Nevertheless, what was recorded was of particular significance. November marked the point at which communities turned from the Summer observance specified in the Rule of a single, short reading at Matins on ferial nights, to the Winter observance of three longer readings which required more detailed guidance as to how to divide the biblical and other appropriate reading between Matins and the refectory. The month of December included the anniversary of Henry I, for which there were special prescriptions at Reading, and also much of the Christmas season, for which specific sermons were assigned for each day, either proper to the particular feast or for the festal season.

For the most part, these customs represent an amplification and modification of the equivalent passages in Cluniac customs as found, for example, in the eleventh-century customaries compiled by Ulrich of Zell for William of Hirsau and by Bernard of Cluny for Cluny itself, and in other later Cluniac and Cluniac-inspired customaries. The late twelfth-century catalogue from Reading Abbey records a copy of the Customs of Cluny,⁵⁸ but the text copied in St John's College, MS 11, f. 1r, records certain variations from the norms of Cluny which, like the prescriptions for the anniversary of Henry I, may well reflect local practice at Reading.

Ulrich, in his customs, displays a special concern with the requirement to read the entire Bible in the course of the year and how it was to be fulfilled.⁵⁹ The customs copied into St John's College, MS 11, likewise profess an adherence to such an ideal, but the means by which the ideal was to be achieved are different. Whereas Ulrich prescribes Matins as the setting for the reading of Ezekiel, Daniel and the Twelve Minor Prophets (the biblical books assigned for November) as well as for Isaiah (assigned for December),⁶⁰ the Reading customs shift their reading on ferial days to the refectory, after which, in both months, if time permitted and no other reading (hagiography or homily proper to the day) was appropriate, Gregory's homilies on Ezekiel might be read, or, alternatively, in November, Jerome's commentary on Daniel and the Twelve Minor Prophets and, in December, his commentary on Isaiah 'in such a way that the commentary follows after the reading of the text, in the right order'.⁶¹ The three ferial matins readings in November were to be taken not from Scripture but from Gregory's commentary on Ezekiel, a text that Ulrich records was only read at Matins if the set books of the Bible had been completed before the end of the month, and, in December, the Letters of Leo the Great and sermons of Augustine and Maximus. Reading's emphasis upon reading Scripture in the refectory contrasts also, for example, with the customs of Norwich Cathedral Priory, which conform more closely with those of Cluny: the biblical reading on ferial days in these months being delivered primarily at Matins and 'sometimes omitted in the refectory so that their commentaries may be read'.⁶²

The customs on refectory reading from Reading record an additional concern. The completion of the annual biblical cycle was becoming compromised by the reading of hagiography in the refectory

on the many feast-days that were commemorated at Reading in certain months—a concern expressed elsewhere in similar terms.⁶³ The *armarius* was therefore forewarned to allow sufficient time for the biblical reading by leaving out saints' lives that were too prolix or were deemed to be 'less useful', such as the *Dialogi* of Sulpicius Severus (which might otherwise have been deemed appropriate reading during the Octave of the feast of St Martin).⁶⁴

Monastic houses in England witnessed a significant decline in the communal observance of the Rule during the later Middle Ages. The officers and other senior monks only periodically attended Chapter, and all sorts of other infractions of monastic discipline were reported in the records of episcopal visitations. Alan Coates, in his study of the Reading Abbey manuscripts, has carefully charted fluctuations in standards of monastic discipline and material investment in the observance of the Rule during the four centuries between the abbey's foundation and its dissolution.⁶⁵ It is possible that the Reading customs' expression of concern for the fulfilment of the annual reading of the Bible in the refectory represents a fossilized record of earlier ideals, but their addition in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century to the twelfth-century homiliary, in so formal a script and in conjunction with a record of the refectory book collection and tabula to the contents of the homiliary, is suggestive of a contemporary concern to practice these ideals. Likewise, the acquisition of so opulent a copy of Augustine's *Tractatus in euangelium Iohannis* (Oxford, St John's College, MS 1), with its apparatus to facilitate public reading, and its later additions represent significant investment and effort. Taken together, this manuscript and the additions to St John's College, MS 11, display a special attention to the discipline of mealtime reading at least periodically during the later Middle Ages. Such evidence is a valuable counterbalance to external expressions of criticism, and demonstrates the value of close study of later-medieval books and annotations for a more nuanced understanding of monastic observance in England in the later Middle Ages.

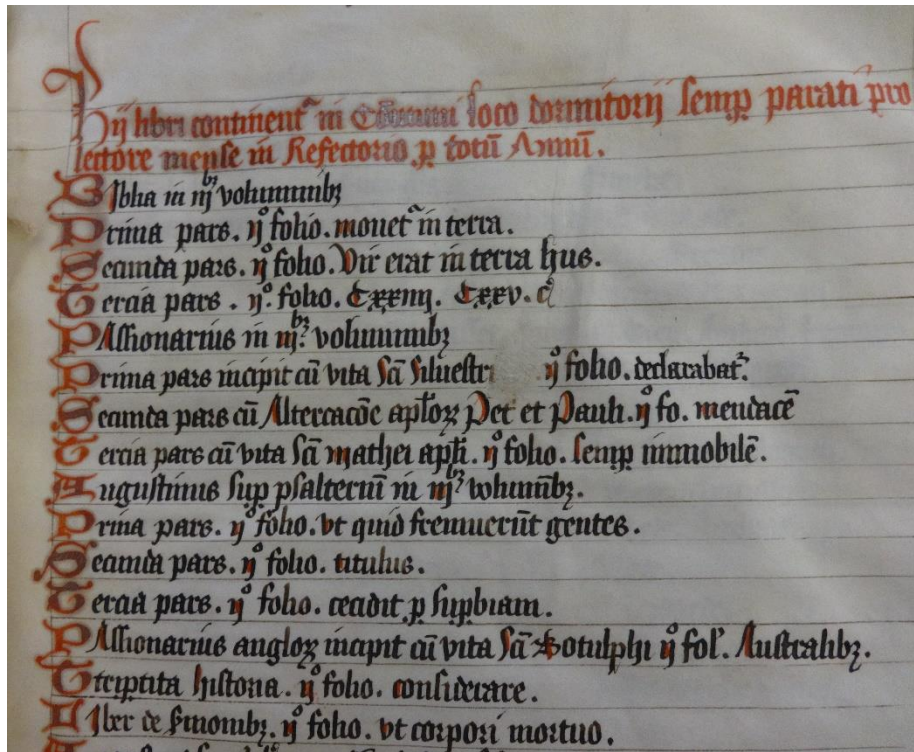


Fig. 1, Oxford, St John's College MS 11 f. 3r. Reproduced by permission of the President and Fellows of St John's College, Oxford.

Inter omniaz communicatiū et alioz a dñica xxij post oct^{ta} pentecostes usq; in vigilia pasche.

<i>Sabula.</i>	<i>Euanglia.</i>	<i>Omnehe.</i>
<i>Dñica .j. aduentus.</i>	<i>euāg^l Inapriū euāgeli.</i>	<i>Omnel. ij. Sede.</i>
<i>Dñica .ij.</i>	<i>euāg^l Erunt ligna.</i>	<i>Omelia .j. Gregori.</i>
<i>Sabto .ij. ebie.</i>	<i>euāg^l Iohes testamē.</i>	<i>Omnel. ij. Sede et Augusti.</i>
<i>Dñica .iij.</i>	<i>euāg^l Cū audisset.</i>	<i>Omnel. iij. Greg. Ambros. Ieronim.</i>
<i>Dñica .iiij.^{ta}</i>	<i>euāg^l Miserūt iudei.</i>	<i>Omnel. ij. Gregori. Augusti.</i>
<i>In vig^l natal^l dñi.</i>	<i>euāg^l Cū eet desp.</i>	<i>Omnel. j. Sede.</i>
<i>In die natal^l dñi.</i>	<i>euāg^l In pncipio.</i>	<i>Omnel. iij. Sede. Iohis epⁱ. Augusti.</i>
<i>In die s^ci Iohis.</i>	<i>euāg^l Dñe. d. i. pet.</i>	<i>Omnel. ij. Sede. Augustin.</i>
<i>In .v. die natal^l.</i>	<i>euāg^l Erut editū.</i>	<i>Omnel. ij. Sede. Ambros.</i>
<i>In .vi. die natal^l.</i>	<i>euāg^l Pastores.</i>	<i>Omnel. ij. Sede.</i>
<i>Exortatio dñi.</i>	<i>euāg^l Postq^l cōsumat.</i>	<i>Omnel. j. Sede.</i>
<i>In vig^l epiph^le.</i>	<i>euāg^l deūdo herode.</i>	<i>Omnel. j. Annonis.</i>
<i>In die epiph^le.</i>	<i>euāg^l Cū uat^l eet.</i>	<i>Omnel. ij. Iohis. de diuis^l tractat^l.</i>
<i>Dñi^l m^l oct^l.</i>	<i>euāg^l Herod^l.</i>	

Fig. 2, Oxford, St John's College MS 11 f. 4r. Reproduced by permission of the President and Fellows of St John's College, Oxford.

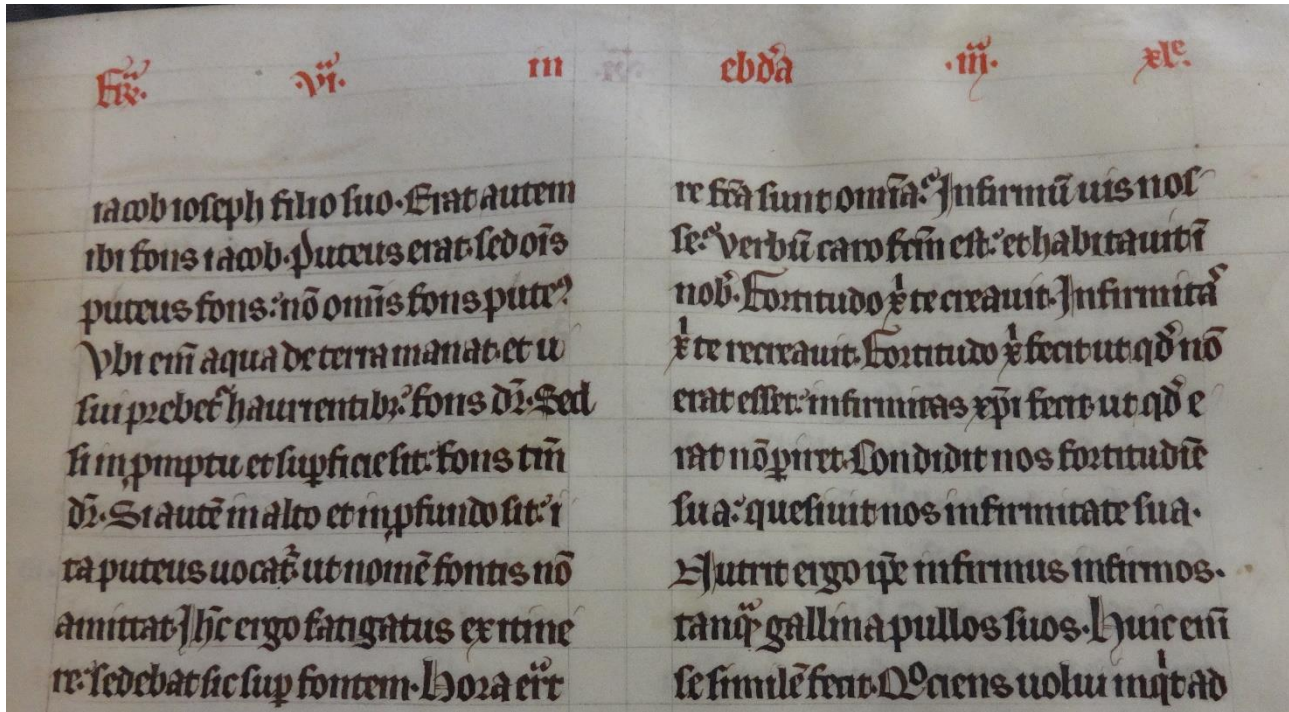


Fig. 3, Oxford, St John's College MS 1 f. 76r. Reproduced by permission of the President and Fellows of St John's College, Oxford.

Notes

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- 1 *RB 1980: The Rule of St Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. Timothy Fry (Collegeville, MN, 1981), ch. 38, pp. 236-7: ‘Mensis fratrum lectio deesse non debet ... Et summum fiat silentium, ut nullius mussitatio vel vox nisi solius legentis ibi audiatur’.
 - 2 Teresa Webber, *Reading in the Refectory: Monastic Practice in England from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Centuries*, *London University Annual John Coffin Memorial Palaeography Lecture, 18 February 2010*, online revised version, 2013: http://www.ies.sas.ac.uk/sites/default/files/files/Publications/Coffin%20lectures/Webber_Teresa_ReadingintheRefectory_Feb2012_RevisedEdition2013_new.pdf (accessed 29.6.2016).
 - 3 Ulrich of Zell, *Consuetudines antiquiores cluniacenses*, pr. *PL* 149, cols 643-779; Bernard, ‘Ordo cluniacensis’, in *Vetus disciplina monastica*, ed. Marquard Herrgott (Paris, 1726; repr. Siegburg, 1999), pp. 134-364.
 - 4 ‘And be it known that, in the course of a year, the entire canon [of Scripture] ought to be read in church, but because we are lazy and slothful, we read in the refectory whatever we do not cover in church’, *Ælfric’s Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, ed. C. A. Jones (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 148-9.
 - 5 The *Liber ordinis* of the Augustinian canons of Saint-Victor, Paris, dating from around the 1130s, is the earliest extant customary to include a full annual cycle of refectory reading; see *Liber ordinis sancti Victoris Parisiensis*, ed. Luc Jocqué and Ludo Milis, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievals* 61 (Turnhout, 1984), 211-15. For Cistercian norms see *Les Ecclesiastica officia cisterciens du xième siècle: texte latin selon les manuscrits édités de Trente 1711, Ljubljana 31 et Dijon 114 ...*, ed. Danièle Choisselet and Placide Vernet (Reiningue, 1989), pp. 132-3. Detailed records from individual Benedictine houses survive from Holy Trinity, Fécamp (s. xiii^m): *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp (Fécamp, Musée de la Bénédiction, MS 186)*, ed. David Chadd, 2 vols, *Henry Bradshaw Society* 111-12 (1999-2002), II, pp. 674-85, and D. B. Grémont, ‘Les “lectiones ad prandium” à l’abbaye de Fécamp au XIII^e siècle’, *Cahiers Léopold Delisle* 20 (1971), 3-41; Sainte-Rictrude, Marchiennes (s. xiii): D. Nebbiai-dalla Guarda, ‘Les listes médiévales de lectures monastiques’, *Revue bénédictine* 96 (1986), 271-326, at 290-9; Saint-Denis, Paris (s. xiii^m): D. Ph. Schmitz, ‘Les lectures de table à l’abbaye de Saint-Denis vers la fin du moyen-âge’, *Revue bénédictine* 42 (1930), 163-7; Nebbiai-dalla Guarda, ‘Listes médiévales’, pp. 299-301; and Saint-

- Wandrille (dioc. of Rouen) (s. xiv): J. Laporte, 'L' "Ordo lectionum", les Us et la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Wandrille au xive siècle', *Revue Mabillon* 27 (1937), 188-210, and 28 (1938), 15-28; Nebbiai-dalla Guarda, 'Listes médiévales', pp. 309-12. For norms recorded in three late-thirteenth-century English customaries, see *The Customary of the Cathedral Priory Church of Norwich, MS 465 in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, ed. J. B. L. Tolhurst, Henry Bradshaw Society 82 (London, 1948), 198-9; *Peterborough Abbey*, ed. Karsten Friis-Jensen and James M. W. Willoughby, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 8 (London, 2001), pp. 46-9; *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire*, ed. John Willis Clark (Cambridge, 1897), pp. 66-7.
- 6 For the more substantial remains still present in the early eighteenth century, see W. Stukeley's 'Ruins of Reding Abbey, Aug 14 1721', reproduced in Ron Baxter, *The Royal Abbey of Reading* (Woodbridge, 2016), p. 234, fig. 97.
 - 7 Teresa Webber, 'Monastic Space and the Use of Books in the Anglo-Norman Period', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 26 (2014), 221-40, at 236-7; Webber, *Reading in the Refectory*, pp. 14-16. A different alignment became the norm at Cistercian abbeys by the late twelfth century, with the refectory projecting from the cloister range at right-angles, rather than parallel to it: Peter Fergusson, 'The Twelfth-Century Refectories at Rievaulx and Byland Abbeys', *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. Christopher Norton and David Park, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 160-80.
 - 8 Irene Kabala, 'Medieval Decorated Refectories in France, Italy and England until 1250' (unpublished PhD. Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 2001).
 - 9 'Qui ingrediens post missas et communionem petat ab omnibus pro se orari, ut avertat ab ipso Deus spiritus elationis, et dicatur hic versus in oratorio tercio ab omnibus, ipso tamen incipiente: Domine, labia mea aperies, et os meum adnuntiabit laudem tuam; et sic accepta benedictione ingrediatur ad legendum.' ('After Mass and Communion, let the incoming reader ask all to pray for him so that God may shield him from the spirit of vanity. Let him begin this verse in the oratory: Lord, open my lips, and my mouth shall proclaim your praise (Ps 50[51]: 17), and let all say it three times. When he has received a blessing, he will begin his week of reading.') *RB 1980*, ed. Fry, pp. 236 and (on the meaning of 'missas et communionem') 410-12. For formulae for the blessing found in monastic customaries and missals, see Anselm Strittmatter, 'The Monastic Blessing of the Weekly Reader in Missal W. 11 of the Walters Art Gallery', *Traditio* 3 (1945), 392-4.

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- 10 The earliest known are those in an *ordo* (*Ordo Romanus XIX*) of which a copy survives in a late-eighth-century manuscript from St Gallen (St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 349), entitled ‘De conuiuio siue prandio atque cenis monachorum qualiter in monasteria Romane ecclesie constitutis est consuetudo’, ed. J. Semmler in ‘Ordines aevi regulae mixtae’, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 1 (Siegburg, 1963), 51-63, at 54, and Michel Andrieu, *Les ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols, *Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense* 11, 23, 24, 28, 29 (Louvain, 1931-1961), III, 215-27, at 218-19. See also the especially detailed account of the customs for mealtimes in the late-fourteenth-century customary of St Mary’s Abbey, York: *The Ordinal and Customary of the Abbey of Saint Mary York (St John’s College, Cambridge, MS D. 27)*, ed. The Abbess of Stanbrook and J. B. L. Tolhurst, 3 vols, *Henry Bradshaw Society* 73, 75, 84 (1936-51), I, 142-55.
 - 11 For Cluniac and earlier interpretations of the various descriptions of silence and levels of silence in the Rule, see Scott G. Bruce, *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism: The Cluniac Tradition c. 900-1200* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 24-45.
 - 12 ‘... nec fortuito casu qui arripuerit codicem legere ibi, sed lecturus tota hebdomada dominica ingrediatur. ... Fratres autem non per ordinem legant aut cantent, sed qui aedificant audientes’. (‘The reader should not be the one who just happens to pick up the book, but someone who will read for a whole week, beginning on Sunday... Brothers will read and sing, not according to rank, but according to their ability to benefit their hearers’.) *RB 1980*, ed. Fry, ch. 38, pp. 236-9.
 - 13 ‘in capitulo legere semper, in refectorio nunquam’: Bernard of Cluny, ‘Ordo cluniacensis’, ed. Herrgott, p. 208.
 - 14 ‘When he left me, I enjoined him most urgently not to read any lesson in public this year in the refectory, in the chapter-house or in the monastery until he had learned the Psalter and gained some experience of his own duties’, *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and tr. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1979), Letter 18, p. 99.
 - 15 See, for example, the heavily Cluniac-influenced customs of William of Hirsau: *Willelmi abbatis Constitutiones Hirsaugiensis*, ed. C. Elvert and P. Engelbert, 2 vols, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 15 (Siegburg, 2010), I, p. 473: ‘Mense lector si non est in custodia, in minori choro infra utramque ex toto missam intendit his, quae lecturus est, si autem in custodia, in maiori choro ad finem formae occidentalem residet. Quod si in aliquibus forte dubitat, a quolibet perito fratre percontari ea licitum habet’.
 - 16 Margot E. Fassler, ‘The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: a preliminary investigation’, *Early Music History* 5

- (1985), 29-51; Teresa Webber, 'Cantor, Sacrist or Prior? The Provision of Books in Anglo-Norman England', *Medieval Cantors and their Craft: Liturgy and the Shaping of History*, ed. Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, A. B. Kraebel, Margot E. Fassler (York, forthcoming), pp. 172-89, esp. 185-9.
- 17 Henry Parkes, 'Biblical Readings for the Night Office in Eleventh-Century Germany: Reconciling Theory and Practice', *Reading the Bible in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jinty Nelson and Damien Kempf (London, 2015), pp. 77-100.
- 18 See above, n. 4.
- 19 See, for example, Ulrich of Zell, *Consuetudines cluniacenses*, PL 149, col. 749: 'quod voluerit ut legatur, legitur et in ecclesia, et in refectorio, et ad collationem; et ad hujuscemodi omnes debent semper ei esse obedientes. Si quid tamen contra usum praesumpserit vel neglexerit, hoc omnino interim dissimulatur usque dum in capitulo reclametur'. On local variations in the office lectionaries from Cluniac houses, see Raymond Étaix, 'Le lectionnaire de l'office à Cluny', *Recherches Augustiniennes* 11 (1976), 91-159.
- 20 Alan Coates, *English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 59, 150.
- 21 For a full list of contents, see Ralph Hanna, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St John's College, Oxford* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 14-19.
- 22 The script is an idiosyncratic hybrid of predominantly *littera textualis* forms with stylistic elements proper to that script, and a few variant cursive forms: the shafts of **f** and long **s** are occasionally traced as descenders and/or curve to the left, and final **s** is sometimes the 'kidney-shaped' Secretary form (see Figs 1 and 2). This form of **s**, which derives from the continental cursive script introduced to England from the Continent in the late fourteenth century, supports earlier arguments for a *terminus ante quem non* of the late fourteenth century based upon the inclusion of *secundo folio* references in the second added item: Coates, *Medieval Books*, p. 66. Nevertheless, given the idiosyncratic character of the hand, a later, fifteenth-century date should not be discounted: see, for example, M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands, 1250-1500*, rev. edn (London, 1979), p. xxiv and M. B. Parkes, *Their Hands before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 112-13.
- 23 The first two items were first printed by J. R. Liddell, 'Some Notes on the Library of Reading Abbey', *The Bodleian Quarterly Record* 8 (1935), 47-54, at 48-9, and were reprinted and discussed by Coates in his *Medieval Books*, pp. 65-7, 84-6. The second item, the list of books, is also edited in R. Sharpe, J. P. Carley, R. M. Thomson and A. G. Watson, *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues* (London, 1996), pp. 451-3

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- (as B74). It is also printed and discussed in Nebbiai dalla-Guarda, 'Listes médiévales', pp. 304-9. Fols 1v-2v are ruled, but were left blank.
- 24 'Hii libri continentur in communi loco dormitorii semper parati pro lectore mense in Refectorio per totum Annum'.
- 25 'Libri communes, id est qui cotidie ad manum habendi sunt, siue ad cantandum, siue ad legendum, in loco competendi exponendi sunt, ubi competens accessus omnium fratrum esse possit': *Liber ordinis*, ed. Jocqué and Milis, pp. 81-2. For the development of such collections in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Donatella Nebbiai-dalla Guarda, 'La bibliothèque commune des institutions religieuses', *Scriptorium* 50 (1996), 254-68.
- 26 References in what follows are to the catalogue and entry numbers of the edition of the list in the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues: Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, pp. 451-3.
- 27 Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, B74.14-15.
- 28 *Ordinal of Fécamp*, ed. Chadd, II, p. 674; Nebbiai-dalla Guarda, 'Listes médiévales', pp. 290-5; Laporte, 'Ordo lectionum', pp. 200-9.
- 29 See Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, B74.12-13.
- 30 They are recorded for the following occasions: Saturday of second week of Advent, fourth Sunday in Advent, Christmas Day, feast of St John the Evangelist, the Octave of Epiphany, the third Sunday after Epiphany, Friday in the first full week of Lent, Saturday in the third week of Lent, the fourth Sunday in Lent, Passion Sunday and Holy Thursday.
- 31 Hanna, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 1-2. Its dimensions are 460 x 325mm.
- 32 The Fécamp ordinal, for example, sets out special instructions concerning how Augustine's *De trinitate* was to be read from year to year, and traces of the practice are still visible in the surviving copy (*Ordinal of Fécamp*, ed. Chadd, II, p. 676; Grémont, 'Lectiones ad prandium', p. 19; at Norwich Cathedral Priory, the prescribed text was also Augustine's *De trinitate: Customary of Norwich*, ed. Tolhurst, p. 198, but at Peterborough it was Alcuin, *De fide sanctae et indiuiduae trinitatis: Peterborough Abbey*, ed. Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, p. 47-8 (BP20.22). The customary of Sainte-Rictrude Marchiennes, however, specifies a gospel homily of Gregory of Nazianzus (Nebbiai-dalla Guarda, 'Listes médiévales', p. 294).
- 33 Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, B74.17-18.
- 34 See, for example, the Victorine *Liber ordinis*: 'In festiuitatibus sanctorum legantur uitae uel passiones eorum'. *Liber ordinis*, ed. Jocqué and Milis, p. 214. The more detailed records from Fécamp and St-Wandrille each include a discrete section for the sanctorale, specifying the individual saints and texts to be read: *Ordinal of Fécamp*, ed. Chadd, II, pp. 677-85; Laporte, 'Ordo lectionum', pp. 190-200.
- 35 Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, B74.4-6.

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- 36 Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, B74.10-11, 20, and B71.130.
- 37 Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, B71.126.
- 38 Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, p. 440. As the editors of the catalogue note, this is an unusual collection of lives, three of which are also recorded in a volume entered in the contemporary catalogue of books at Leominster Priory (B75.46, *ibid.*, 459).
- 39 Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, B74.1-3.
- 40 Webber, *Reading in the Refectory*, pp. 38-41.
- 41 Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, B74.16, 21-2.
- 42 Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, B74.7-9; Coates, *Medieval Books*, pp. 59, 146; see also M. Gullick, 'Reflections and Observations on Romanesque Manuscripts and Charters from Reading Abbey', in this volume, p. 19.
- 43 Ulrich of Zell, *Consuetudines cluniacenses*: pr. *PL* 149, col. 643.
- 44 C. Waddell, 'More about Saint Augustine and the Gradual Psalms at Early Cîteaux: A Supplementary Note', *Liturgy OCSO* 22 (1988), 61-94, at 61-5.
- 45 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 241, fol. iiv.
- 46 Webber, *Reading in the Refectory*, pp. 35-7. See also *Consuetudines Floriacenses saeculi tertii decimi*, ed. Anselme Davril, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 9 (Siegburg, 1976), p. 51 and n. on line 16 for the evidence for this practice at thirteenth-century Fleury.
- 47 A. G. Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres*, *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental* 64 (Turnhout, 1992), p. 80; Andrieu, *Ordines romani*, II, p. 488.
- 48 *Customary of Norwich*, ed. Tolhurst, p. 198: 'et postea Iosephus et Augustinus super psalterium'.
- 49 Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, B74.11.
- 50 Grémont, 'Lectiones ad prandium', pp. 20-1.
- 51 *Customary of Norwich*, ed. Tolhurst, p. 198: 'et postea Iosephus'.
- 52 Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, B74.19.
- 53 Coates, *Medieval Books*, p. 160.
- 54 Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, pp. 429 and 431 (B71.63 and 74).
- 55 For example: the late-twelfth-century Reading catalogue records four copies of the Bible, of which at least two (including the one recorded in the refectory list) are likely to have been large-format lectern Bibles: B.71.1-4; Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, p. 421.
- 56 'De Festiuitatibus sanctorum que habent proprias omelias in Refectorio legend' in hoc libro'.
- 57 'In anniuersario Regis Henrici primi Fundatoris nostri, legi debet in Refectorio uel expositio beati Augustini super euangelium *Omne quod natum*, uel pocius de quarto libro dialogorum Gregorii pape, qui sic incipit, *Postquam de paradisi gaudiis*'.

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- 58 Sharpe et al., *Benedictine Libraries*, p. 443, B71.150.
- 59 Diane Reilly, 'The Cluniac Giant Bible and the *Ordo librorum ad legendum*: A Reassessment of Monastic Bible Reading and Cluniac Customary Instructions', *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 163-89.
- 60 'Ponitur Ezechiel propheta, in ecclesia tantum legendus, et finitur ex more ante festivitatem S. Martini; cuius etsi octavas cantu, et aliis solemnibus celebramus, tamen propheticae lectiones non mutantur... Ponitur Daniel propheta et duodecim prophetae, et non sufficient, nisi novissimo adjungatur de homiliis beati Gregorii papae super Ezechielem. In Adventu Domini propheta ponitur Isaias ...'. Ulrich of Zell, *Constitutiones cluniacenses*, pr. *PL* 149, col. 644.
- 61 'Priuatīs noctibus legitur expositio beati Gregorii pape super Ezechielem in ecclesia. In refectorio leguntur Ezechiel, Daniel, et duodecim prophete. ... Priuatīs noctibus per totum Adventum exceptis ieiuniis quatuor temporum (Ember days) et uigilia domini leguntur epistole Leonis pape cum aliquot sermonibus sancti Augustini et sancti Maximi. Et prophecīa (Isaiāh) perlegetur in refectorio solum. Que cum perlecta fuerit et alia leccio siue de uitīs sanctorum siue de sermonibus uel omeliis defuerit, poterit tam in hoc mense quam in precedent si opus sit legi de omeliis Gregorii super Ezechielem. ... Potest eciam si placet, forsitan posteris placebit, in precedente mense, id est Novembri, cum alia leccio defuerit legi Ieronimus super Danielem et duodecim prophetas, in isto (i.e. December) Ieronimus super Ysaīam, scilicet ut post textum recto ordine sequatur expositio', Oxford, St John's College, MS 11, f. 1r.
- 62 'exceptis libris prophetarum qui plenius ad matutinas leguntur. et ad mensam aliquando omittuntur ut eorum expositiones legantur', *Customary of Norwich*, ed. Tolhurst, p. 199.
- 63 The same concern is recorded in relation to the month of December in the customs of Sainte-Rictrude Marchiennes: 'Provideat autem cantor ne propter vitas vel passiones quorumlibet sanctorum omittatur Ysayas qui ante nativitatem Domini totus legatur sicut dictum est'. Nebbiai-dalla Guarda, 'Listes médiévales', p. 290.
- 64 'Sed quia uite sanctorum multe et prolixē infra hoc temporis spacium (i.e. during November) eueniunt, prouidendum est armario ut que minus utiles fuerint omittantur sicut est dialogus Sulpicii Seueri de uita sancti Martini et si que sunt similes ut libri prefati (i.e. Ezekiel, Daniel and the Minor Prophets) ante Aduentum domini perlegi possint', Oxford, St John's College, MS 11, f. 1r. Coates (*Medieval Books*, p. 66) interprets 'armario' as a reference to an *armarium* (book cupboard), but *armarius* (the

alternative name for the cantor mentioned in the analogous passage in the customs from Marchiennes) is the more likely noun.

65 Coates, *Medieval Books*.

