

THE CISTERCIANS AND CLASSICAL CULTURE*

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In the first century of its existence, the Cistercian Order is generally considered to have maintained an attitude of aloofness to classical culture, which underwent an important revival in the renaissance of the twelfth century, especially in the schools, where an increasing number of pagan texts were added to the curricula. According to their earliest statutes, however, the Cistercians were not to have external schools, and the instruction foreseen for the novices was essentially theological.¹ The problem of textbooks was thus of no special concern for the monks, who had no reason to join in the scramble on this point.

Apart from this decision, the legislators of the order seem not to have given much attention to the matter. There is in the statutes no explicit prohibition or even limitation on the study of classical works and there is nothing to exclude their presence in the libraries of monasteries.

Even in the polemic between the Cistercians and the Cluniacs, the question is not dealt with, and the correspondance of Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux keeps silent on the point. We only find Peter using the occasion in his important letter from about 1127 to emphasize that "Bernard was a man of learning not only in secular literature but also and especially in theological literature, which is so much more profitable".²

It is not until the much later *Dialogue between a Cistercian and a Cluniac* that the love of the black monks for the classics is briefly

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1. J.M. Canivez, *Statuta Capitolorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, vol. I. Louvain, 1933, p. 31: "Nullus puerorum doceatur litteras intra monasterium vel in locis monasterii, nisi sit monachus, vel receptus in probatione novitius. Quibus tempore lectionis discere licet. Et notandum quia nullum nisi post quintumdecimum aetatis suae annum in probatione nobis ponere licet" (1134); see Ph. Delhaye, *L'organisation scolaire au XII^e siècle*. *Traditio* 5 (1947), pp.16-24.

2. *Epistola* 28; *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, edited by G. Constable, vol. I. Cambridge (Mass.), 1967, p. 53: "Novi enim te eruditione saecularium, et quod est longe utilius scientia divinarum litterarum instructum pariter et ornatum".

treated. The *Dialogue* was written by Idung, who had been schoolmaster in Ratisbonne and monk for ten years in the Benedictine monastery of Prüfening. When he joined the Cistercian Order in about 1155, assumedly in an Austrian house, he wrote a dialogue between a white and a black monk in order to justify his choice. At the very beginning of the conversation, the Cistercian is offended that his interlocutor has used some words from the *Satires* of Horace "et lippis et tonsoribus" (1.7.3) "secundum poeticum dictum".³ Idung declares that he is not surprised the Cluniac has used a poetic expression ("poetica verba") in order to mock him, for he and the other monks in his order are so fond of poetic inventions ("poetica figmenta") that they study them, read them again and again and teach them even during the hours which the holy Benedict in his Rule has assigned to divine readings and manual labour. The Cluniac defends himself with the usual justification: they are accustomed to read the pagan texts in order to reach a better understanding of Holy Scripture. After a brief discussion on Martha and Mary as representatives for the active and the contemplative orders, the subject is exhausted and Idung goes on to other matters.

On the whole it seems to be texts from poetry that gave the greatest amount of difficulty. In a letter to a friend who hesitates about becoming a monk, Bernard's secretary, Nicholas of Clairvaux, says that even if he received poems from the friend or from a certain Walter, he would not be able to read them: For here we don't accept anything written in verse.⁴ We have no other knowledge of such an ordinance, only that in 1199 it was forbidden that monks write poems, at least rhythmical poems ("rythmos"), but that is a quite different matter.⁵

In the writings of the Cistercians we find little about their attitude to classical literature, and what we have is often expressed in a vague manner, which is more concerned with learning ("scientia") or human knowledge in general. Even in Bernard's sermon from 1140 to the students

3. R.B.C. Huygens, *Le moine Idung et ses deux ouvrages "Argumentum super quatuor questionibus" et "Dialogus duorum monachorum"*. Spoleto, 1980, pp. 93-94.

4. *Epistola XV* (before 1151). P.L. 196, 1610 B-C: "Versus Galteri mei, imo et tui nondum habui. Sed et si vidissem, non perlegissem quia nos nihil recipimus quod meretricis [i.e. metricis] legibus coercetur".

5. Canivez, *Statuta*, I (1933), p. 232: "Monachi qui rythmos fecerint, ad domos alias mittantur non redituri nisi per generale capitulum"; see W.D. Paden, *De monachis rithmos facientibus*. *Hélinant de Froidmont, Bertran de Born and the Cistercian General Chapter of 1199*. *Speculum* 55 (1980), pp. 86-116.

and teachers of Paris, *De conversione ad clericos*,⁶ which had such good results, there are only a few oblique references to the question. Where the problem is dealt with, however, there seems to be a certain amount of agreement, despite individual nuances. Secular letters are seen as a source of danger when they are studied alone and take on the risk of leading to abuses.

In his thirty-sixth *Sermon on the Canticles*, Bernard makes a classification of the bad and good uses of knowledge. There are three abuses: shameful curiosity ("turpis curiositas"), shameful vanity ("turpis vanitas"), and shameful profiteering ("turpis quaestus").⁷ The last, which consists in selling one's knowledge for money or honours, is of minor concern in our area. More dangerous is the vanity to be found among those who seek knowledge so that others know that they are in the know ("sunt qui scire volunt ut sciantur ipsi"). Or with the words of Persius, whom Bernard quite apropos just slips in in order to hit vain intellectuals with their own weapons: "All your knowledge is nothing unless other people know that you possess it" (1.27). According to Thomas of Perseigne, who revived and commented on Bernard's classification in his work on the *Canticles*, it is especially poets who were subject to vanity.⁸ It is this vanity that Gilbert of Hoyland pokes fun at in his seventh treatise to Roger, where he satirizes those "who wish to appear as Catos in the chapters they write, as Ciceros in the cases they decline, and as Virgils in the poems they compose. In the end, they are in their conversations but mummers, and not monks".⁹

The worst misuse of learning, however, is the curiosity which Bernard so well describes in his treatise *On the Degrees of Humility and Pride*, without touching however on the question of the classics.¹⁰ This curiosity is to be found among those who want to know only for the sake of knowing, so that knowledge becomes a goal in itself ("sunt qui scire volunt eo fine

6. *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq & H. Rochais, vol. IV. Rome, 1966, pp. 68-116.

7. *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, II (1958), pp. 5-6.

8. *Commentarii in Cantica Canticorum*, X; P.L. 206, 670 B.

9. *Tractatus VII, Pars secunda*; P.L. 184, 287 C-D: "Hi sunt qui sibi videri volunt in capitulis Catones, in causis Cicerones, in metris Marones; denique in colloctionibus sunt mimi, non monachi"; see L. C. Braceland, *Classical Reminiscences in Gilbert of Hoyland*. Noble Piety and Reformed Monasticism. Cistercian Studies 64 (1981), p. 161.

10. *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*; *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, III (1963), pp. 13-59.

tantum ut sciant").¹¹ This form of curiosity distracts from more important matters. Gunther of Pairis, for example, in his *De oratione, ieiunio et eleemosyna*, thought that astronomy should be forbidden if it is studied out of curiosity alone. Even if there is nothing wrong with the sciences in themselves, they usurp the time we owe to God.¹² In the same passage of the chapter *De inspiratorio bono*, Gunther warns against some kinds of classical literature, especially Ovid's poems, which can be compared with the songs of the Sirens. And Ailred of Rievaulx was afraid, in his *Speculum caritatis*, that curiosity would make us mix up matters in an improper way, so that we "meditate on the *Eclogues* (of Virgil) with the *Gospels* and read Horace with the *Prophets* and Cicero with Saint Paul".¹³ Helinand of Froidmont even points out in one of his sermons that literature, which can save no one ("nichil salvantes litterae"), can lead to madness, if one exaggerates, and he quotes as a proof the verses from Horace's *Epistles*: "Let the wise man bear the name of madman, the just of unjust, should he pursue Virtue herself beyond due bounds" (1.6.15-16).¹⁴

According to Bernard, what is necessary is to make quite sure in what order, with what effort and with what goal one is to seek knowledge ("quo ordine, quo studio, quo fine quaeque nosse oporteat"). In what order so that we can begin with what is most important for our salvation ("ut id prius, quod maturius ad salutem"). With what effort so that we can with ardour learn what it is that makes us love most strongly ("ut id ardentius, quod vehementius ad amorem"). And with what goal so that we can learn in order to edify others or to edify ourselves. These are the two good uses of knowledge: charity and prudence.¹⁵

When everything is in its proper place, there are no problems, and to use an image from the *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*, one can build ("supraaedificare") all that one wants of human knowledge on the foundation which is the fear of God and which is placed in the ditch of humility.¹⁶

11. *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, II (1958), pp. 5-6; about "curiositas", see J. Leclercq, "Curiositas" et le retour à Dieu chez S. Bernard. Bivium. Homenaje a Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz. Madrid, 1983, pp. 133-141.

12. III, 5; P.L. 212, 131 C.

13. II, 24, 72; *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia*, ed. A. Hoste & C.H. Talbot, vol. I. Turnhout, 1971, p. 100: "Hinc est quod plerique, qui inani philosophiae dedere animum, quibus etiam moris est cum Evangeliiis Bucolica meditari, Horatium cum Prophetis, cum Paulo Tullium lectitare..." cf. Jerome, *Letters*, 22.29.

14. *Sermo XV, In ascensione Domini II*; P.L. 212, 603 A-B.

15. *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, II (1958), pp. 5-6.

16. *Dist. IV, cap. 17; Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*, ed. B. Griesser. Rome, 1961, p. 243: "Et haec dicimus, non ut scientiae appetitores generaliter condemnemus, sed ut doceamus omnem hominem primitus fundamenta timoris

But once harm has been done and one has already gained a cultural foundation, Gilbert of Hoyland emphasizes that this is only to be considered a first step and a foothold. Here one is not to remain stuck, for this place is only a point of departure for getting further into "the more interior mysteries of wisdom".¹⁷

It is significant that many Cistercian writers, amid their censures and doubts, feel obliged to point out that they have nothing against the liberal arts and pagan literature in themselves - so long they are acquired in the right spirit and used rightly. Thus Bernard in the thirty-sixth *Sermon on the Canticles*: "Perhaps you think that I have sullied too much the good name of knowledge, that I have cast aspersions on the learned and proscribed the study of letters. God forbid! I am not unmindful of the benefits its scholars conferred, and still confer, on the Church, both by refuting her opponents and instruction the simple".¹⁸ And in the next sermon: "I am far from saying however, that knowledge of literature is to be despised, for it provides culture and skill and enables a man to instruct others".¹⁹ There is an echo in the *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*: "We do not say this in order to condemn those who search for knowledge",²⁰ and Gilbert of Hoyland, in his second letter to a certain Adam, emphasizes that it is not his intention to depreciate the thorough knowledge of the arts ("eruditio artium"), the prompt memory of liberal doctrines ("liberalium doctrinarum prompta memoria"), or the clear insight ("perspicua intelligentia"), in which the wholeness of knowledge consists. Knowledge of the arts is good when it is used in the right way.²¹

Dei collocare in fossato humilitatis, quia timor Domini secundum veram diffinitionem initium sapientiae est. Dehinc, quantumcumque voluerit scientiae supraedificet, quia nulla umquam scientia inflat, ubi divina pariter et fraterna caritas aedificat".

17. *Epistola II*; P.L. 184, 291 C-D: "Bona enim artium notitia, sed si quis eis legitime utatur, id est tanquam gradu quodam et vestigio, non quo stetur et inhaereatur, sed quo utendum sit ad superiora quaedam et sanctiora et magis intima arcana sapientiae..."

18. *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, II (1958), p. 4: "Videar forsitan nimis in suggestionem scientiae, et quasi reprehendere doctos, ac prohibere studia litterarum. Absit. Non ignoro quantum Ecclesiae profuerint litterati sui et prosint, sive ad refellendos eos qui ex adverso sunt, sive ad simplices instruendos"; cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs*, translated by K. Walsh, vol. II. Kalamazoo, 1976, p. 174.

19. *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, II (1958), p. 9: "Non tamen dico contemnendam scientiam litterarum, quae ornat animam et erudit eam, et facit ut possit etiam alios erudire"; cf. K. Walsh, *op.cit.*, p. 182.

20. *Loc. cit.*

21. P.L. 184, 291 C.

Whatever attitude these writers showed towards classical learning in their works, the greater part of them had a solid education behind them when they joined the Cistercian Order, even if Ailred of Rievaulx regretted, with his usual modesty, that he had "little grammar and less learning" and that he was "a simple unlettered man more like a fisherman than an orator".²² Some of the monks had even been schoolmasters, and others had spent time in Benedictine houses with rich libraries and a fine classical tradition.

All novices, according to the statutes, were not admitted until they were fifteen and later eighteen years of age.²³ It was thus possible for most of them, if they had the ability and the interest in learning, to reach a tolerable level, at least in the liberal arts. Nicholas of Clairvaux did think that one should leave everything behind on becoming a Cistercian.²⁴ But the recruit had formed certain habits and came from a cultural background that it would have been difficult to abandon even if he changed to the white cowl, and Nicholas had to admit that not everything was quite forgotten ("etsi funditus oblita non sunt"). He himself was an excellent example of this.

It is therefore not strange that there are to be found classical reminiscences in the monks' writings. Latin was after all a foreign language to be learned through careful reading, by cramming texts, especially classical ones that provided the best sense of style and the richest and most precise vocabulary. These reminiscences are, however, not always proof that the monastic authors have read the works from which they are taken. The famous "rara avis", the "rare prodigy", which Bernard uses three times, once in a sermon and twice in letters,²⁵ and which he might have found in *Satires* of Juvenal (6.165), is to be found again, for example, twice in

22. *Epistola beati Bernardi abbatis Clarevallensis ad Aelredum abbatem; Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia*, I (1971), p. 3: "Causas tuae impossibilitatis ostendisti, dicens te minus grammaticum, immo pene illiteratum, qui de coquinis, non de scholis ad heremum veneris..."; London, Lambeth Palace Library, 497, f. 74r: "Non sum sapiens, non sum legis peritus, sed homo idiota et fere sine litteris, piscatori quam oratori similior", see C. H. Talbot, *Ailred of Rievaulx, De anima*. London, 1952, p. 10.

23. See note 1 and Canivez, *Statuta*, I (1933), p. 62.

24. *Epistola XXXV*; P.L. 196, 1627 C-D: "Nec hoc dico quasi haec cor meum vel debeant vel habeant occupare quae etsi funditus oblita non sunt, tamen penitus sunt relictas".

25. *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, IV (1966), p. 291; VII (1974), p. 288; VIII (1977), p. 144.

the sermons of John of Ford, where they easily can be loans from Bernard.²⁶

In recent editions and studies on the sources of medieval writers, scholars have often expended much energy in identifying reminiscences of this type. The results obtained are sometimes more imaginative than reliable and they can give a false impression of what the authors have actually read. It is thus quite unlikely that Cistercian writers were influenced by, for example, Lucretius, Tacitus or Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, as has been suggested.²⁷ These texts existed in only a very few copies and were known only in a few cultural centres. Here they in no way were used in teaching, and if they were read at all in the twelfth century, it was only by some select connoisseurs, a type unlikely to be found in Cistercian circles.

Apart from the reminiscences, which it can be difficult to identify and interpret, there are also the direct citations, whose presence can hardly be accidental. A list of such quotations can seem impressive, but it is actually quite limited when one considers the number of pages of text from which it is gathered.

As far as prose texts are concerned it is especially Seneca and Cicero that are visible, but it is only in William of Saint-Thierry's *Golden Epistle*²⁸ and in some letters from Adam of Ebrach²⁹ that Seneca is systematically exploited, whereas Cicero's *De amicitia* provides a point of departure for Ailred of Rievaulx's *De spiritali amicitia*, which tries to

26. *Johannis de Forda Sermones*, ed. E. Mikkers & H. Costello, vol. I. Turnhout, 1970, p.145 (*Sermo XVI*); vol.II. Turnhout, 1970, p.665 (*Sermo XCVIII*).

27. B. Jacqueline, *Répertoire des citations d'auteurs profanes dans les oeuvres de saint Bernard*. Bernard de Clairvaux. Paris, 1953, p. 553 (Tacitus); J. Leclercq, *Lettres de S. Bernard: histoire ou littérature?* Studi medievali, Ser. 3^a, 12 (1971), p. 66 (Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*); L.C. Braceland, *Classical Reminiscences in Gilbert of Hoyland*. Noble Piety and Reformed Monasticism. Cistercian Studies 64 (1981), p. 149 (Lucretius); see also the critical remarks by E. Franceschini in *Aevum* 28 (1954), pp. 572-573.

28. Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *Lettre aux frères du Mont-Dieu (Lettre d'or)*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par J. Déchanet. Paris, 1975; see also J.-M. Déchanet, "Seneca Noster". *Des Lettres à Lucilius à la Lettre aux Frères du Mont-Dieu*. Mélanges Joseph De Ghellinck, vol. II. Gembloux, 1951, pp. 753-766, and P. Ryan, *The Influence of Seneca on William of Saint-Thierry*. Cîteaux 25 (1974), pp. 24-32.

29. W. Ohnsorge, *Eine Ebracher Briefsammlung des XII. Jahrhunderts*. Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken 20 (1928-1929), pp. 36-37: *Epistolae IX* and *X* (between 1141 and 1154); see also A. Wilmart, *La collection d'Ebrach*. Revue Bénédictine 45 (1933), pp. 324-325 (nos. 12-13).

reshape Cicero's work on a Christian basis.³⁰ Direct quotations from other prose authors are extremely rare. The most noteworthy example is perhaps a passage from Suetonius on the emperor Titus, which Guerric of Igny makes use of in one of his sermons.³¹

Passages from classical poets are more noticeable and almost all our authors have at least a few to offer. They come from Virgil, Horace, Persius, Juvenal, Statius, Terence and Ovid, who provided the nucleus of the school curriculum of the twelfth century. These often have the character of proverbs, and if they are not taken second-hand, for example from the Fathers, or taken from *florilegia*, it is likely that many of them are sayings which received special attention in the schoolroom.

On occasion the same quotation appears several times in the same writer or is to be found in several writers. Thus William of Saint-Thierry thrice in three different works uses the same quotation from Horace's *Epistles*: "The good hate vice because they love virtue" (1.16.32).³² And the verse from Virgil's *Eclogues* that Ailred quotes in his *Speculum caritatis*: "Each is led by his liking" (2.65) recurs twice in the sermons of John of Ford.³³

Likewise both Bernard and Isaac of Stella pick up the same passage from the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, one that is quite suitable for a sermon: "And though all other animals are prone and fix their gaze upon the earth, he gave to man an uplifted face and bade him stand erect and turn his eyes to heaven" (1.84-86). But Bernard includes a verse more than Isaac at the beginning (1.84), and Isaac a verse more at the end (1.86).³⁴

Borrowings are sometimes placed in the text without its being made explicit where they come from, especially to give an idea a striking formu-

30. *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia*, I (1971), pp. 287-350; see R. Paolini, *La "spiritualis amicitia" in Aelred di Rievaulx*. *Aevum* 42 (1968), pp. 455-473; L. Mauro, *L'amicizia come compimento di umanità nel "De spirituali amicitia" di Aelredo di Rievaulx*. *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica* 66 (1974), pp. 89-103; J. McEvoy, *Notes on the Prologue of St. Aelred of Rievaulx's "De spirituali amicitia"*, with a Translation. *Traditio* 37 (1981), pp. 396-411.

31. *Sermo VI*; P.L. 185, 90 B (cf. Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum*, 8 (Titus), 8).

32. *De contemplando Deo*, VIII, 18; P.L. 184, 377 C; *Epistola ad Fratres de Monte Dei*, II, 3, 21; P.L. 184, 352 A; *Expositio altera super Cantica Cantecorum*, cap. II; P.L. 180, 509 D.

33. *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia*, I (1971), p. 93 (II, XIX, 57); *Johannis de Forda Sermones*, ed. E. Mikkers & H. Costello, vol. I. Turnhout, 1970, pp. 103 (*Sermo XI*) and 174 (*Sermo XX*).

34. Bernard, *De diversis sermo* 100; *Sancti Bernardi Opera* VI, 1 (1970), p. 367 (vv. 84-85). Isaac de Stella, *Sermo XXXIV*; P.L. 194, 1801 B (vv. 85-86), cf. *Sermo XVII*, *ibid.* 1745 C (v. 85).

lation or to reach a terse and powerful conclusion. Often, however, the fact of borrowing is indicated in some vague manner, a common practice in Middle Ages, since the contents and a general reference to an authority were the most important elements - unless the writer had forgotten the name of the author or had never known it. The poets are thus mentioned as "poeta", "gentilis", "ethnicus" or simply "quidam"; "satyricus" is used for Juvenal and Persius, and "comicus" for Terence.

Baldwin or Ford, however, goes so far as to speak of "the opinion of the excellent poet" before he quotes Virgil, but in citing from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, he is more reserved: "Even if the authority of the poet may seem unworthy and less suitable, he says...", and the quotation follows.³⁵

It is nevertheless rare for sources to be given in an explicit fashion. Aside from later authors such as Gunther of Pairis, Helinand of Froidmont and Thomas of Perseigne,³⁶ or from Ailred of Rievaulx's *De spiritali amicitia*, where Cicero is mentioned several times, I have been able to find only very few cases. The most notable is in a letter written between 1125 and 1131 to Raynald, abbot of Foigny, where Bernard quotes a comforting verse from Ovid's *Epistles*: "When have I not feared dangers graver than the real" (1.11), with the introductory words: "Imo iuxta tuum Ovidium". Raynald apparently had a weakness for Ovid, which Bernard alludes to.³⁷ Another example is in Ailred of Rievaulx's *De anima*, where a "secundum illud Maronis" introduces a lengthy commentary on a passage from the sixth book of Virgil's *Aeneid* on the sufferings of purgatory (6.733, 735-737, 739).³⁸

These reminiscences and citations from classical literature sometimes caused doubts among the writers themselves. We find, for example, in Gilbert of Hoyland that "sacred literature is much more fitting than secular in the mouth of a cleric or of a monk. Why do you wish to speak Egyptian in Jerusalem?"³⁹ Fundamentally, however, Gilbert is in agreement with the other Cistercian authors, in spite of this statement.

35. *Tractatus octavus de vulnere charitatis*; P.L. 204, 479 D: "opinio eximii poetae" (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.1-2); *Tractatus XIV*; *ibid.* 539 B: "si indigna et minus idonea videtur auctoritas poetae, qui dicit..." (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.523).

36. See B. Griesser, *Dichterzitate in des Thomas Cisterciensis Kommentar zum Hohenlied*. Cistercienser Chronik 50 (1938), pp. 11-14, 118-122; 51 (1939), pp. 73-80; J. Leclercq, *Les deux compilations de Thomas de Perseigne*. Mediaeval Studies 10 (1948), pp. 204-209.

37. *Epistola LXXIV*; *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, VII (1974), p. 181.

38. III, 36; *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia*, I (1971), p. 746.

39. *In Cantica sermo XVI*; P.L. 184, 83 C.

It is difficult to decide whether these quotations were remembered from the schoolroom or if the monks had an opportunity to read classical texts during the hours dedicated to mental exercise and to consult them when they were composing their own works.

I have found only two explicit statements of such reading: Bernard quotes in one of his letters a short passage from Seneca's *Epistulae ad Lucilium* with the words: "Legi apud quendam sapientem", and Ailred of Rievaulx tells us in the prologue of *De spiritali amicitia* that he had once got hold of a copy of "the book which Tullius wrote about friendship" and had read it with the greatest interest.⁴¹ But in the first case it could be a commonplace, all the more likely because the quotation is rather free, and in the second Ailred points out that his reading took place when he was still a boy at school in Hexham.

The best way to approaching this problem would be to investigate the holdings of Cistercian libraries by looking at library catalogues and extant manuscripts.⁴² Unfortunately the facts at our disposal are sparse, and most of them concern the second half of the twelfth century, especially its closing decades.

The two most extensive catalogues from this period are from Pontigny in France, which had about two hundred and seventy volumes, and from Rievaulx in England, which had about two hundred and fifty. Both catalogues are from the last quarter of the twelfth century, although they generally have been misdated and placed in the thirteenth. For Clairmarais in Northern France, we have a copy from the eighteenth century of a catalogue found, as it is said, in "a very old and almost illegible parchment", which is now lost. It contains about one hundred and sixty volumes in what seems to be the original part (without the later additions) and may be from the end of the twelfth century. The library of Clairvaux is only known from a fragment used as a flyleaf in a manuscript of Garnerius. It describes more than one hundred volumes, but according to the calculations of Dom Wilmart it represents only a quarter of the books, which should thus

40. *Epistola CCLVI ad dominum papam Eugenium; Sancti Bernardi Opera*, VIII (1977), p. 163 (cf. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, 22.7).

41. *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia*, I (1971), p. 287: "Tandem aliquando mihi venit in manus, liber ille quem de amicitia Tullius scripsit; qui statim mihi et sententiarum gravitate utilis, et eloquentiae suavitate dulcis apparebat" (*Prologue*).

42. See *Appendix I* for the extant library catalogues, and *Appendix II* for the manuscripts.

have numbered about three hundred and fifty. For Cîteaux we have no concrete information concerning our period, and we are reduced to reconstructing the holdings on the basis of the extant manuscripts, particularly those in the Municipal Library of Dijon.

Apart from these great libraries we have catalogues of eight collections comprising between fifty and one hundred and fifty volumes: Chaalis, Haute-Fontaine and Vaux-de-Cernay in France, Morimondo and Staffarda in Italy, Baumgartenberg and Heiligenkreuz in Austria and Marienfeld in Germany. Finally there are shorter lists, often partial, from about five other abbeys.

This is a rather modest harvest when one considers that there were more than five hundred and thirty foundations at the end of the century, but most of them probably had very small book collections and would have hardly got beyond the eleven basic books to be found, with the same text as required by the statutes, in every Cistercian monastery: The *Missal*, the *Bible*, the *Epistolary*, the *Collectarium*, the *Gradual*, the *Antiphonary*, the *Rule of Saint Benedict*, the *Hymnary*, the *Psalter*, the *Lectionary* and the *Calendar*.⁴³

As for the manuscripts there is certainly a special Cistercian style,⁴⁴ but it is easier to recognize it in the carefully executed copies of Biblical or patristic texts. The classical manuscripts, also from non-Cistercian *scriptoria*, are generally unpretentious and without special ornamentation during this period. Moreover such manuscripts can be gifts from important persons or former schoolmasters who entered the order, or they may even have been purchased. We know, for example, that the abbey of Beaugerais acquired an important book collection in Caen under abbot John⁴⁵

43. Canivez, *Statuta*, I (1933), pp. 13 and 15 (1134).

44. See C. Oursel, *La miniature du XII^e siècle à l'abbaye de Cîteaux*. Dijon, 1926; id., *Les principes et l'esprit des miniatures primitives de Cîteaux*. Cîteaux in de Nederlanden 6 (1953), pp. 101-172; A. R. Natale, *Miniatura e codici cisterciensi del sec. XII. Il problema in studi recenti e una nota su carte morimondesi*. Aevum 32 (1958), pp. 240-261; M. R. Tosti-Croce, "Hic liber est de monasterio Sancte Marie de Morimondo". Note su una Bibbia padana e alcuni codici cisterciensi italiani. I cisterciensi e il Lazio. Atti delle giornate di studio dell'Istituto di storia dell'arte dell'Università di Roma, 17-21 Maggio 1977. Rome, 1978, pp. 111-124.

45. *Epistola VII*; P.L. 205, 835 D-836 A (letter from Geoffrey of Breteuil, subprior of Sainte-Barbe to abbot John); *Epistola XXI*; *ibid.* 848 A (letter from abbot John to Geoffrey); see A. Dimier, *Les premiers cisterciens étaient-ils ennemis des études?* *Studia monastica* 4 (1962), p. 84.

and that Nicholas, the librarian of Clairvaux, tried to get hold of the rich library of Philip, provost of the church of Cologne and chancellor of the emperor, who was to leave for the Second Crusade: "See to it that you leave it to the poor of Christ", wrote Nicholas. We don't know if he succeeded in his appeal.⁴⁶

The *ex libris* are rare and mostly late, and it is a little hazardous to jump to conclusions for the twelfth century on the basis of *ex libris* inscriptions or pressmarks added in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries when liberal studies were much more common among the Cistercians.

The manuscripts whose Cistercian origin are most certain are neatly written in two columns with discrete monochromatic initials. They often have variant readings bearing witness to the critical tradition which Stephen Harding had introduced for the text of the *Bible*. There are also frequent *Nota*-signs calling attention to passages considered to be of special importance, and in some types of texts we find marginal summaries and notes.

It is hardly a surprise that both the library catalogues and the extant manuscripts agree in showing that Seneca was by far the most popular classical author among the Cistercians. He is represented in eight of our catalogues, sometimes even with two volumes. In the catalogue of Pontigny there is a special section called "*De libris Seneca philosophi*". His works - or works attributed to him - survive in about twenty-five manuscripts which can be connected with greater or lesser probability to Cistercian houses.

The most common text is doubtless the apocryphal correspondance between Seneca and Saint Paul, which certainly contributed to establishing the philosopher as an almost Christian author who was worthy of trust.⁴⁷

The apocryphal correspondance is closely followed by the collection of the eighty-eight first *Letters to Lucilius*, sometimes in the form of extracts.⁴⁸

46. *Epistola XXIX*; P.L. 196, 1621 B: "Sed et illum singulariter thesaurum tuum nobilem, bibliothecam loquor: quam utique tam mirabiliter, quam incomparabiliter conguessisti, vide ut relinquo pauperibus Christi, qui pro te orent et plorent ut prosperum iter faciat Deus salutarium nostrorum".

47. See, e.g., *Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, recognovit A. Hofmeister. Ed. altera. Hannover & Leipzig, 1912, p. 114: "...L. Seneca, non tam philosophus quam pene Christianus dicendus" (II, 40) and p. 153: "Hic [i.e. Seneca] enim vita et scientia clarus philosophiae studium coluit frequentesque ad Paulum apostolum litteras mittens et ab eo rescripta suscipiens Christianae religionis amicum se fore ostendit" (III, 15).

48. See L. D. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's "Letters"*. Oxford, 1965, pp. 105-106.

In a Pontigny manuscript there is even a digest in verse.⁴⁹ Next most popular are the *De beneficiis* and the *De clementia*, usually in the abridge versions, which were generally in circulation in the twelfth century. And finally we have the numerous writings ascribed to Seneca: *De remediis fortuitorum bonorum*, *De quattuor virtutibus*, *De moribus*, *De copia verborum* and *Proverbia Senecae*.

Sometimes the texts, particularly the *Letters to Saint Paul*, are isolated from their Senecan context and inserted into greater collections of patristic or theological texts. The most modest example is perhaps a copy of the *De moribus* without title and without the author's name, to be found in a twelfth century manuscript with a contemporary *ex libris* of Cîteaux.⁵⁰ Often two or more texts are joined together, as *De beneficiis* and *De clementia*. But we also have instances of the great collections of Seneca's works, the *Corpora Senecana*, which began to gain a foothold in the twelfth century. These have as a nucleus the *Life of Seneca* by Saint Jerome, taken from his *De viris illustribus*, the *Epitaph* of Seneca, the first part of the *Letters to Lucilius*, the *De beneficiis* and *De clementia* with a choice of the writings of Pseudo-Seneca. Such *corpora* were present at least at Beaupré, Igny, Pontigny and Signy.⁵¹

Turning to the philosophical works of Cicero, the results are more disappointing. The most remarkable examples are two copies of the *De finibus bonorum et malorum* and the *Posterior Academics*, which were extremely rare in the Middle Ages. They were made at Pontigny. The oldest of them, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris,⁵² has been described at length in the library catalogue. It is particularly interesting because an almost contemporary reader has noted in the margins his personal reactions to the text of Cicero. His judgments are extremely panegyric: "an excellent recommendation of dialectics and quite true", "a beautiful irony against Epicurus", "o what a most ardent love of intelligence", and so on. There are no critical remarks, whatever Cicero may say. The reader only feels obliged now and then to restrain his enthusiasm a little by introducing a discrete "satis": "a rather magnificent recommendation of fortitude", "a rather laudable description of justice".

49. Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 35, see *Appendix II*, no. 37.

50. Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, 572, see *Appendix II*, no. 8.

51. See *Appendix II*, nos. 3, 33, 35 and 54.

52. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6331, see *Appendix I* (Pontigny) and *Appendix II*, no. 42; the annotations are edited in *Appendix III*.

Another manuscript of Cicero was possibly copied at Pontigny at the end of the century, after the redaction of the catalogue which fails to mention it.⁵³ It contains *De officiis* and *De amicitia* with a short introduction to the latter and numerous marginal summaries. It ends with the *Epitoma rei militaris* of Vegetius, the utility of which is less evident for a Cistercian context.

This seems almost to exhaust what we have, apart from some excerpts and a very interesting alphabetical *florilegium* giving three hundred and eighty-seven definitions of important notations such as friendship, affection, love, clemency and so on. Four of the definitions are taken from Seneca or ascribed to him, and about ninety-eight, nearly a fourth, are from Cicero. This manuscript is from the second half of the century and has an almost contemporary *ex libris* from Clairvaux. There are abridged versions of the text in *florilegia* which were at Clairmarais and Clairvaux towards the end of the century.⁵⁴

It is rather strange that there was apparently no copy of the *De amicitia* at Rievaulx, which Ailred might have used when he composed his *De spiritali amicitia*, where it is often quoted. But possibly he knew the text by heart. The English house did, however, own the *Sinonima Ciceronis*, a list of synonyms commonly attributed to Cicero, and a "Rethorica in uno volumine", which probably corresponds to the *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the most widespread manuals of rhetoric. On the whole, the abbey of Rievaulx seems to have been quite open to the arts of the *trivium*, and in the catalogue we find two volumes of Priscian (*Priscianus magnus* and *Priscianus de constructionibus*), with a commentary on the latter text and an "Expositio libri Donati grammatici". There is even an "Ysagoge Porphyrii in cathedrias Aristotilis et alii libri dialectici in uno volumine". That would have been a nasty surprise for Walter Daniel, Ailred's biographer, for he declares categorically in his *Sermon on Saint John the Baptist* that "in the church (of God) we don't read the *Topics* of Cicero, the *Categories* of Aristotle or the *Isagoge* of Porphyry".⁵⁵

53. Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 133, see *Appendix II*, no. 41. Philosophical works of Cicero were present too, at any rate in the fourteenth century or later, at Byland, Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl, see *Appendix II*, nos. 5, 29, 58 and 60.

54. Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 854, see *Appendix II*, no. 19. The abridged versions are found in the manuscripts Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 8, and Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 215, see *Appendix II*, nos. 10 and 16.

55. C.H. Talbot, *The "Centum Sententiae" of Walter Daniel*. *Sacris erudiri* 11 (1960), p. 375: "... Non, inquam, leguntur in ecclesia Ciceronis topica, non Aristotilis cathedriae, non Porphyrii Ysagoge".

In other libraries we also find handbooks on dialectics, rhetoric and grammar, most frequently *Priscianus maior*, which is mentioned in the catalogue of Marienfeld and survives in manuscripts from Clairvaux, Dunes, Eberbach, Heilsbronn, Heiligenkreuz and Signy.⁵⁶ In the catalogue of Pontigny there are even the *Greater Declamations* of Pseudo-Quintilian and the "Declamationes Seneca", i.e. the *Controversiarum excerpta* of Seneca the Elder, of which extracts also are extant in a Seneca manuscript from Beaupré and in several *florilegia*.

Like the *trivium* subjects, natural science also seems to have had a certain place in Cistercian libraries. The standard text was the *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* of Solinus, a rather strange collection of geographical, zoological and botanical anecdotes, universally employed from the very outset of the ninth century. It could be found at least at Baumgartenberg, Chaalis, Clairvaux and Pontigny, and possibly at Preully and Salem.⁵⁷ The *Natural questions* of Seneca began to emerge at the end of the twelfth century, and two of our oldest copies come from Heiligenkreuz and perhaps Cîteaux.⁵⁸

The presence of the *Natural History* of Pliny is more dubious. The text is very long and it was laborious and costly to copy it. The only complete copy which can be connected with a Cistercian house comes from Orval.⁵⁹ But I doubt that it actually was made there. It is a very large book in folio with one hundred and seventy-nine leaves and beautifully painted initials. The collections of extracts were easier to handle and they can be found, together with selected passages from Solinus, in a manuscript which was copied in the English abbey of Sawley about 1190, and as an epitome, in a manuscript which was at Clairvaux at least in the fourteenth century.⁶⁰

The Cistercians took a vivid interest in ancient history, not - or not only - out of shameful curiosity, but because it gave an excellent background for Biblical exegesis. It also allowed them to be acquainted with

56. See M. Passalacqua, *I codici di Prisciano*. Rome, 1978, nos. 57, 99, 126, 128, 177, 235, 236, 461, 617.

57. See *Appendix I* (Baumgartenberg) and *Appendix II*, nos. 7, 13, 38, 40, 44 and 50.

58. Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 213, see *Appendix II*, no. 27, and Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 445, see L. D. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's "Letters"*. Oxford, 1965, pp. 105-106 and 111.

59. Luxembourg, Bibliothèque Nationale, 138, see *Appendix II*, no. 34.

60. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 66, and Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 473, see *Appendix II*, nos. 51 and 15.

the "distressful tragedies of human calamities", as Otto of Freising states in the preface to the first book of his *Chronicle*.⁶¹ Here Pontigny took pride of place, with Suetonius, Caesar, Dares Phrygius, Valerius Maximus, and a lot of texts about Alexander the Great. But other abbeys were not far behind. Clairvaux, for example, had at least Suetonius and Valerius Maximus. The most popular text was probably the rather mediocre *De excidio Troiae* of Dares Phrygius, which was followed - *mirabile dictu* - by the "Versus Petri Abailardi ad filium" in a manuscript from Rievaulx, now in the British Library.⁶²

As might be expected, the works of the poets are absent from the Cistercian libraries. The only notable exception is two copies of the *Disticha Catonis*, which are mentioned in the catalogues of Marienfeld and Rievaulx. In the Middle Ages the *Disticha* were frequently used as a primer, and thus it cannot be absolutely ruled out that there was some kind of elementary instruction during the year of noviciate.

Even if the manuscripts of the poets were missing from the cupboards, it was not quite impossible for monks to make their acquaintance. In general the Cistercians were very fond of extracts, which allowed them to meditate at their leisure on the most essential passages of patristic and theological literature or even of the writings of Bernard. At least towards the end of the century we find a fairly large number of poetical *florilegia* or of *florilegia* with poetical extracts. Some of them are mentioned in the catalogues: Marienfeld, for example, had "Versus proverbiales excepti de libris philosophorum et auctorum", and Rievaulx could draw on "Proverbia de libris poetarum", and a "Versarium de libris ethnicorum", ascribed to a certain Reynald in a later version of the catalogue. But we also have extant manuscripts. Thus there was at Thame in Oxfordshire a copy of the *Opus prosodiacum* composed by Micon, monk of Saint Riquier, in the middle of the ninth century.⁶³ It is a very comprehensive compilation with more than four hundred verses, arranged in the alphabetical order of the *lemmata*, where quite a number of pagan poets, even very rare ones, are represented.

61. *Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis Chronica*, ed. A. Hofmeister (1912), p. 7: "Extant super hoc Pompei Trogi, Iustini, Cornelii, Varronis, Eusebii, Ieronimi, Orosii, Iordanis aliorumque quam plurium tam nostrorum quam illorum, quos longum est enumerare, monumenta preclara, in quibus non tam historias quam erumpnosas mortalium calamitatum tragedias prudens lector invenire poterit".

62. London, British Library, Royal 6 C. viii + Cotton Vitellius C. viii (part I), see *Appendix II*, no. 47.

63. London, British Library, Burney 357, see *Appendix II*, no. 55.

Thame's copy is incomplete, stopping abruptly after the first eighty-one verses. One wonders if the monks were particularly fond of the first letters of the alphabet, from A to C, or if they realized that the words studied were rather odd and not very useful for their purposes. A similar *florilegium*, the *Florilegium prosodiacum Florentino-Erlangense*, was at Heilsbronn, at least in the fifteenth century.⁶⁴

Now and then, anonymous extracts from classical poets slipped into collections of medieval Latin verse. This is the case with a manuscript copied at Rufford in Nottinghamshire, where excerpts from the *Satires* of Juvenal (7.197-198) and the *Fasti* of Ovid (1.217-218) are hidden at the end of some pious "Versus Girardi archiepiscopi Eboracensis", and a quotation from the *Georgics* of Virgil (3.25) has been added at the bottom of a page under a very serious text called "Quid significet crux allata".⁶⁵

Of greater interest in our context are two important *florilegia* called *Florilegium Duacense* and *Florilegium Sancticrucianum*. The first⁶⁶ is planned on very generous lines and consists of four parts: A Biblical *florilegium*, a collection of excerpts from Augustine, a *florilegium* of patristic extracts beginning with Ambrose, and the last part, called "Flores auctorum et philosophorum" in the table of contents. The latter contains, among many other things, large extracts from the *Disticha Catonis*, Sallust, Terence, Cicero and most of the works of Seneca and Pseudo-Seneca. Among its different sections there is also a very curious systematic *florilegium* entitled "Defloratio auctorum" with more than six hundred and fifty anonymous verses from Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Statius and Virgil. It is divided into forty-six paragraphs with titles such as: Fame, virtue, probity, honour, patience, faith, hope, friendship, love and so on. It was no doubt an excellent repertory for writing sermons or letters and for literary activity as a whole. The *Florilegium Duacense* is still extant in at least five manuscripts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One of them, from the end of the twelfth century, has an old *ex libris* from Clairmarais and is mentioned in the library catalogue as "Deflorationes ex libris s. Augustini, Ambrosii et aliorum diversorum doctorum in uno volumine".⁶⁷ Another contemporary copy, which contains only the

64. Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 390, see *Appendix II*, no. 30.

65. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxiv, see *Appendix II*, no. 48.

66. See B. Munk Olsen, *Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux*. *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 9 (1979), pp. 84-89.

67. Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 8, see *Appendix II*, no. 10.

patristic *florilegium* and the "Flores auctorum et philosophorum" comes from Clairvaux.⁶⁸ At the end of the volume, a later hand, from the first half of the thirteenth century, has added, partly on an adventitious leaf, a small collection of poems with the subscription: "Explicit opusculum domni Yterii de Wascheio venerabilis et Deo digni monachi Clarevallensis cuius anima requiescat in pace. Amen". The poems of Itier de Wassy have been edited by Dom Leclercq⁶⁹ and give us much interesting information about monastic life in a Cistercian abbey. Among other things Itier tells us that a monk should never write verse and that he should reject the flowers and allurements of secular literature. A fine conclusion for a classical *florilegium*!

I do not think that the last part at least of the *Florilegium Duacense* is a Cistercian product: we have an earlier copy, which comes from the Benedictine abbey of Anchin and contains the Augustinian section and a first draft of the classical section,⁷⁰ and it would be quite unlikely that Cistercians exported such *florilegia* to Benedictine houses. Furthermore the classical texts used for the compilation were hardly available at the time, as we have seen, even at Clairvaux or Clairmarais.

The *Florilegium Sancticrucianum*⁷¹ derives its name from the oldest manuscript, from the second half of the twelfth century, which is preserved in the Cistercian abbey of Heiligenkreuz in Austria. I am not quite sure that it was copied there: The hand is somewhat different from those of the *scriptorium* of Heiligenkreuz in the same period; but as the book holding of the abbey seems rather stable, it might have been there at an early date. It consists of two parts, called the "Scripta poetarum" and the "Scripta orthodoxorum". The poetical part is divided into nine books and has extracts from Virgil, Lucan, Persius, Maximianus, Juvenal, and especially Ovid and Horace, who occupy respectively four and two of the nine books. The extracts are arranged in small groups dealing with a multitude of subjects, mostly of religious character. In the beginning there is a very interesting preface, where the compiler explains the scope of his work, and two small introductory poems. The second is entitled "Argumentum generale in scripta poetarum" and has only four verses taken from Horace's

68. Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 215, see *Appendix II*, no. 16.

69. J. Leclercq, *Textes et manuscrits cisterciens dans diverses bibliothèques. V. - Les divertissements poétiques d'Itier de Wassy*. *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 12 (1956), pp. 296-304.

70. Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, 285.

71. Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 227 (part IV), see *Appendix II*, no. 28.

Ars poetica: "Poets aim either to benefit, or to amuse, or to utter words at once both pleasing and helpful to life... He has won every vote who has blended profit and pleasure, at once delighting and instructing the reader" (333-334, 343-344).⁷² Two of the verses (333 and 343) are quoted by Guerric of Igny in his second sermon for Whitsun, where he explains that he would like to have two tongues: one to praise God (the *dulce*) and another to heal the wounds of those who confess their faults (the *utile*).⁷³ The presence of the verses in both Guerric and the *florilegium* is probably only a coincidence, but one with some significance, because it evinces a common attitude to the pagan texts.

Unfortunately we have no traces of such *florilegia* before the middle of the century, and it is not possible to prove that they were available to the first generation of Cistercian writers.

On the basis of the sparse sources at our disposal, it is not easy to provide a clear answer to the question whether the Cistercians in the twelfth century were friends or enemies of classical culture. As a matter of fact, they show no fanaticism, at the most a certain reserve towards the classics. This can also be found outside Cistercian circles and was a natural reaction to the spread of classical studies. These could easily lead scholars to forget what was most important and give them too much confidence in human understanding.

In accordance with the justification of the Cluniac in Idung's *Dialogue* there seems, however, to have been general agreement that classical literature could have some importance in the interpretation of the *Bible* and in the understanding of patristic writers. At the same time classical texts were useful models for a high level of style and language.

It is also noteworthy that the best Cistercian libraries, at least from the middle of the century, were receptive to pagan texts and that even the poets eventually slipped in via the *florilegia*, which seem to have been quite common. It is already during this period that the foundations were made for the great Cistercian libraries of the following centuries, which contained as it were all branches of human knowledge.

72. Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, with an English Translation by H. Rushton Fairclough. London & New York, 1926, pp. 478-479.

73. *In festo Pentecostes sermo II*; P.L. 185, 162 B.

APPENDIX I

CATALOGUES OF CISTERCIAN LIBRARIES

PRIOR TO THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

ALTZELLE (diocese of Meissen - German Democratic Republic).

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 54 (*Psalter*, s. XII ex.).

F. 170r (addition, s. XII/XIII, mostly illegible): "Istos libros contulit dominus abbas de Porta «et» eius conventus domino abbati et conventui id est mater dilectissime f«ilie»[?] in cella sancte «Ma»rie...", cf. ff. 168v-169r (lower margins, s. XIII): "Liber Veteris Celle sancte Marie". About twenty-five volumes including liturgical texts.

Edition: L. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Studien in sächsischen Klöstern. I. Altzelle*. Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde 18 (1897), p. 209.

Apparently no classical texts.

BAUMGARTENBERG (diocese of Passau - Austria).

Lin, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek, 473 (*Vitae sanctorum*, s. XII).

F. 168r-v (addition, s. XII/XIII or XIII in.): "Isti sunt libri pertinentes ad armarium beate et gloriose semper Virginis Dei genitricis Marie in Boumgarten". About ninety-five volumes including liturgical texts.

Edition: *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. V. Vienna, 1971, pp. 15-18.

Classical texts: ... "Seneca in uno"... "De expeditione Ierosolimitanorum tempore Gotfridi ducis et Solinus in uno volumine"...

CHAALIS (diocese of Senlis - France).

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 351 (*Augustine*, s. XII).

Ff. 123vb-127ra (additions, s. XII ex.-XII/XIII): "Hic continentur numerus librorum sancte Marie Karoliloci". One hundred and thirty-two volumes (the liturgical books are listed separately on f. 127ra: "Hic continentur libri ecclesie ad officium divinum pertinentes").

Edition: H. Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, vol. VIII. Paris, 1899, pp. 440-445.

Classical texts: ... "Liber magistri Hugonis de archa Noe. Et de inventione sancte Crucis. Et vita sancti Augustini. Et epistole Senece ad Paulum. Et de Theophilo vicedomino. In uno vol." (f. 126va; s. XII ex.).

CLAIRMARAIS (diocese of Thérouanne - France).

Catalogue transcribed by Dom Bertin de Wissery in his still manuscript *Historia domestica Claromarisci* (1751) "d'après le parchemin original, vermoulu et presque illisible", now lost. It is difficult to date the catalogue on the basis of the description of Dom Bertin, but the first part (about one hundred and sixty volumes exclusive of liturgical texts) might be from the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century ("Ce catalogue me parait très ancien, tant par sa défectuosité, que par les différents caractères de plusieurs écrivains qui l'ont rempli à mesure que le nombre des m.^s augmentoit").

Edition: H. de Laplane, *Catalogue inédit de l'ancienne bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairmarais*. Société des antiquaires de la Morinie. Bulletin historique 2 (1853), pp. 216-226.

Classical texts: ... "De edificatione, et epistola cuiusdam heremitae. - Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Paulus ad Senecam. - Liber Senecae de verborum copia Alexandri regis Bragmannorum. - De philosophia per litteras ficta collatio [read: *Alexandri regis Bragmannorum de philosophia per litteras ficta collatio*]. - Ysagoge in moralibus philosophorum, in I^o vol."... "Deflorationes ex libris s. Augustini, Ambrosii et aliorum diversorum doctorum, in I^o vol." (= Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 8; *Appendix II*, no. 10: *Florilegium Duacense*)... "Evangelium Missus est ritmice digestum cum aliis versibus diversarum rerum, in I^o vol." (= Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 115; *Appendix II*, no. 11).

CLAIRVAUX (diocese of Langres - France).

Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 32 (Garnier de Rochefort, *Angelus*, s. XIII in.).

F. 1r-v (flyleaf in the beginning of the manuscript): Fragment of a catalogue from the end of the twelfth century. About one hundred and six volumes (90 entries) in the extant fragment.

Editions: A. Wilmart, *L'ancienne bibliothèque de Clairvaux*. Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatum 11 (1949), pp. 101-122; *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle*, vol. I. *Catalogues et répertoires* publiés par A. Vernet et alii. Paris, 1979, pp. 349-356.

No classical texts in the extant part of the catalogue.

HAUTE-FONTAINE (diocese of Châlons-sur-Marne - France).

Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 53 (Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, s. XII).

Ff. 159va-160rb (additions, s. XII²-XII/XIII): List of about one hundred and thirty volumes including liturgical texts; f. 159va: "Liber beate Marie de Alto Fonte" (s. XII).

Edition: Ch. Kohler, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Notre-Dame-de-Haute-Fontaine au diocèse de Châlons*. Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes 50 (1889), pp. 571-574.

Classical texts: ... "De confessionibus et sententia Seneca in .I^o volumine" (f. 159vb, s. XII², in the section "De libris Augustini")... "Seneca" (f. 160ra, s. XII ex.)... "Historia de Iherusalem et gesta Alexandri in uno volumine" (f. 160rb, s. XII/XIII).

HEILIGENKREUZ (diocese of Passau - Austria).

Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 205.

Ff. Iv-IIr (flyleaves, bound with a copy of *Homiliae in Ezechielem* of Gregory the Great, s. XII): List of about sixty-five volumes, exclusive of liturgical texts. F. Iv: "Isti sunt libri s. Crucis sub d. G. conscripti" ("d. G." refers probably to Godschalcus, abbot of Heiligenkreuz from 1134 to 1147).

Edition: *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. I. Vienna, 1915, pp. 19-21.

Classical texts: "Idem [i. e. Ieronymus] contra Iovinianum. et apologeticum eius ad Pammachium et idem adversus Helvidium de perpetua virginitate s. Marie et quidam sermones eius et epistole Pauli et Seneca et epistola Baccarii in uno simul volumine" (f. Iv).

MARIENFELD (diocese of Münster - German Federal Republic).

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. fol. 735 (Theological texts, s. XII/XIII).

F. 1ra-vc (almost contemporary additions): "Hic notatur ordo librorum Campi beate Marie quorum singuli in singulis vel plures in uno volumine continentur". Seventy-five volumes.

Edition: H. Degering, *Der Katalog der Bibliothek des Klosters Marienfeld vom Jahre 1185*. Beiträge zum Bibliotheks- und Buchwesen Paul Schwenke zum 20. März 1913 gewidmet. Berlin, 1913, pp. 53-64.

Classical texts: ... "XXXI. Expositio in Cantica Canticorum. Palladius de agricultura. Liber de medicina in uno volumine"... "XXXVI. Liber qui speculum caritatis qui sic incipit Nichil dignius. Epistole Pauli et Seneca. Liber Sedulii. Collectum sancti Isidori. Diverse sententie catholicorum patrum in unum collecte. Hugo altercatio felicitatis dyvinitatis et miserie humanitatis. Hugo de laude caritatis. Versus sancti Hildeberti de natiuitate baptismo passione resurrectione ascensione qui sic incipiunt Natus purus homo. Liber Seneca de remediis futurorum bonorum. Rithmus magistri Iordanis. Versus de differentiis dictionum. Quid sit eternum qui sic incipiunt Rem que principio caret. Sermo magistri Serlonis in dictionis partibus qui sic incipiunt Dactile quid lati. Versus proverbiales excepti de libris philosophorum et auctorum qui sic incipiunt Non census magnos [cf. OV. Pont. 1.9.39-40; H. Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum*. Göttingen, 1969, no. 11989]. Liber sermonum Amarii metricae. Expositiones quorundam evangeliorum. Visio Theophili confessoris. Liber Boecii qui sic incipit Carmina qui quondam. Regula inclusorum et varia excerpta librorum in uno volumine"... "Cato in uno volumine. LVII. Donatus et regule versuum et nominum in uno volumine"... "LIX. Item Donatus in uno volumine"... "LXIII. Priscianus magnus. Priscianus constructionum et Priscianus accentuum in uno volumine"...

MORIMONDO (diocese of Milan - Italy).

Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Library, fms Typ 223H (*Lectiōnary*, s. XII).

F. 227v and on a parchment fragment pasted on the margin of f. 190r (additions, s. XII-XII/XIII): "Nomina librorum ecclesiae sancte Marie de Morimondo". About ninety-six volumes including liturgical texts.

Edition: J. Leclercq, *Manuscripts cisterciens dans les États-Unis*. Traditio 17 (1961), pp. 176-181.

Classical texts: ... "Priscianus maior" (f. 227v)... "Item Seneca" (on the fragment of f. 190r).

POBLET (diocese of Tarragona - Spain).

Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitária, 2632 (Beatus of Liébana, *In apocalipsin libri XII*, s. XII).

F. 193v (additions, s. XII ex.): "In nomine Domini. Incipit comemoracio de libros Populeti". Forty-four volumes including liturgical texts.

Edition: A. Altisent, *Notes de cultura i art de Poblet (s. XII-XVII)*. II Col·loqui d'història del monaquisme català. Sant Joan de les Abadesses 1970, vol. II. Poblet, 1974, p. 134.

No classical texts.

PONTIGNY (diocese of Auxerre - France).

Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 12.

Ff. 176-182 (independent quire, s. XII², with additions, s. XII ex. and XIII in., bound with a copy of Radulphus Flaviacensis, *Explanatio in Leviticum*, s. XII ex.): "Annotatio librorum Pontiniacensium" (f. 176ra). Two hundred and seventy-one entries including liturgical texts.

Edition: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* (Quarto Series), vol. I. Paris, 1849, pp. 697-717.

Classical texts: ... "DE LIBRIS LANFRANCI. Volumine uno Lanfrancus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus de corpore et sanguine Domini nostri libris --- Eodem quedam sententie de libero arbitrio. Postremo quedam excerptiuncule ex regulis Prisciani"... "DE LIBRIS SENECE PHILOSOPHI. Volumine uno Seneca de beneficiis libris sex. De clementia duobus. De remediis fortuitorum bonorum uno. De finibus bonorum et malorum VI" (= Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6331; the order of the two parts has been inverted; *Appendix II*, no. 42). "Eiusdem epistole in alio volumine ad Lucilium numero CIII" (= Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 132, first part; *Appendix II*, no. 39). "DE QUINTILIANI LIBRO. Quintilianus de causis XVIII volumine uno"... "DE LIBRIS HISTORIARUM"... "Suetonius de vita Cesarum uno volumine et libris XII"... "Historia Alexandri regis Macedonum volumine uno. Epistola eiusdem Alexandri ad Aristotilem magistrum suum. Collatio Dindimi regis Bragmanorum et Alexandri regis facta per litteras de philosophia. De bellis Gallicis historia Iulii Cesaris libris VII. Item de agricultura Palladii libri duo". "Historia de gestis Romanorum atque Francorum libris tribus. Historia Longobardorum libris sex. Historia Troiana Frigii Daretis uno libro. Historia Apollonii Tyrii uno libro" (the article corresponds to the contents of the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 905, but the order of the texts is different, see *Appendix II*, no. 43). "Valerius Maximus de dictis et factis egregiis volumine uno. Eodem Solinus de mirabilibus mundi" (= Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 131; *Appendix II*, no. 38) ... "Questiones Odonis et declamationes Seneca volumine uno" (addition, s. XII/XIII or XIII¹). "Historia Alexandri magni. Liber qui vocatur paradysus. Epistole Gileberti" (addition, s. XII ex.).

RIEVAULX (diocese of York - England).

Cambridge, Jesus College, Q.B.17 (34).

An originally independent quire (a ternion: ff. 1-6), now bound at the beginning of a composite manuscript (s. XII-XIII). There are two catalogues: the first (ff. 1r-5r, s. XII ex.) is divided into sixteen sections (from "A" to "Q"), the second (ff. 5v-6v, s. XII/XIII, with some later additions) is divided into fourteen sections (from "A" to "O") and seems for the most part to be an abridged version of the first. F. 1r: "Hi sunt libri sancte Marie Rievallensis". About two hundred and fifty volumes.

Edition: A. Hoste, *Bibliotheca Aelrediana. A Survey of the Manuscripts, Old Catalogues, Editions and Studies Concerning St. Aelred of Rievaulx*. Steenbrugge, 1962, pp. 149-175.

Classical texts: ... "Epistole Seneca in uno volumine" (no. 83)... "Orosius de ormenta mundi. Historia Daretis de bello Troiano et versus Petri Abailardi ad filium et cronica de Anglia in uno volumine" (no. 119; = London, British Library, Royal 6 C. viii + Cotton Vitellius C. viii; *Appendix II*, no. 47)... "Expositio super cantica canticorum. Ambrosius super cantica canticorum. Expositio super Priscianum de constructionibus. Expositio super Apocalipsim. Item expositio super cantica canticorum. Glose

Boecii et expositio brevis super quosdam psalmos in uno volumine" (no. 122) ... "Boecius de trinitate. Liber Catonis. Passio s. Laurencii. Proverbia de libris poetarum. Vita s. Marie Egiptiace. Hildebertus de edificio anime. Item versus eiusdem. Quidam hymni. Odo de viribus herbarum. Marbodius de generibus lapidum. Passio s. Mauricii. Vita Taisidis et alii versus. Cosmographia Bernardi Silvestris. Passio s. Thome et alii versus et dictamina in uno volumine" (no. 127). "Versarium de libris ethnicorum. Passio s. Laurencii. Argorismus in uno volumine" (no. 128)... "Priscianus magnus in uno volumine" (no. 154). "Priscianus de constructionibus in uno volumine" (no. 155)... "Sinonima Ciceronis. Quedam de compoto. Regule versificandi in uno volumine" (no. 160). "Rethorica in uno volumine" (no. 161)... "Ysa-goge Porphirii in categorias Aristotilis et alii libri dialectici in uno volumine" (no. 163)... "Bernardus super cantica canticorum. Ieremias glosatus. Item opuscula Bernardi et epistole et sentencie plurimorum. Barbarismus glosatus. Epistole Senece et Pauli in uno volumine" (no. 179)...

SANTES CREUS (diocese of Barcelona - Spain).

Santes Creus, Biblioteca del Monasterio, 139 (Sermons, s. XII).

Ff. 137v-138r (addition, s. XII ex., in the middle of a homily): "Hec sunt nomina librorum sancte Marie de Sanctis Crucibus". About forty volumes.

Edition: J. Domínguez Bordona, *El escritorio y la primitiva biblioteca de Santes Creus. Noticia para su estudio y catálogo de los manuscritos que de dicha procedencia se conservan*. Tarragona, 1952, pp. 15-16.

No classical texts.

SCHÖNTAL (diocese of Würzburg - German Federal Republic).

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Theol. 2^o 235 (*Compendium historiale, Epistolae canonicae glosatae*, works of Bernard and of Hugh of Saint-Victor, s. XII²).

F. 107v (addition, s. XII/XIII): "Heinricus sacerdos portavit secum ad Speciosam Vallem libellos...". About nine volumes.

Edition: *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. IV, 2, Munich, 1979, p. 938.

No classical texts.

STAFFARDA (diocese of Saluzzo - Italy).

Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, D.I.11 (392) (Bible with commentary, s. XII).

F. 1ra (additions, s. XII/XIII): "Libri sancte Marie Staphareda". About fifty-nine volumes.

Edition: C. Berardi-Varvello, *I Manoscritti de Staffarda conservati nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino*. Bollettino della Società per gli studi storici archeologici ed artistici della provincia di Cuneo 60 (1969), p. 39.

No classical texts.

VAUX-DE-CERNAY (diocese of Paris - France).

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 209 (*Lectionary*, s. XII).

F. 176va-b (additions, s. XII²-XII ex.): "Posteritati monachorum fidelium cenobio Sarniensi degentium librorum suorum actores nominatim cum titulis prenotando ne forte oblivioni dentur solliciti ac breviter capitula memorantes numerum ipsorum esse volumus. De quibus si quis aliquem aut furto aut rapina quoquoque modo auferre temptaverit delatur nomen eius de libro

viventium et cum iustis non scribatur sed gehennalibus flammis traditus sine fine crucietur. Amen. Hec igitur sunt librorum nomina". About seventy-six volumes exclusive of liturgical texts.

Edition: H. Martin, *Inventaire des biens et des livres de l'abbaye des Vaux-de-Cernay au XII^e siècle*. Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France 13 (1886), pp. 39-42.

No classical texts.

ZWETTL (diocese of Passau - Austria).

Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 32, second part (Augustine, *De vera religione*, etc., s. XII ex.).

F. 346v (contemporary addition): List of works of Augustine. Forty-eight items.

Edition: *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. I. Vienna, 1915, p. 511.

No classical texts.

APPENDIX II

TWELFTH CENTURY CLASSICAL MANUSCRIPTS
OF CISTERCIAN ORIGIN OR PROVENANCE

Manuscripts of doubtful provenance or of provenance posterior to the beginning of the thirteenth century are placed between square brackets. The following classical authors are included in the list: Cicero (Pseudo-Cicero), Dares Phrygius, Dionysius Cato, Justinus, Pliny the Elder, Sallust, Seneca (Pseudo-Seneca), Solinus, Suetonius, Terence, Valerius Maximus, Pseudo-Varro, and *florilegia* with classical excerpts. Particulars about the manuscripts can be found in B. Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins* vol. I. *Catalogue des manuscrits classiques latins copiés du IX^e au XII^e siècle: Apicius-Juvénal*. Paris, 1982; vol. II. *Catalogue des manuscrits classiques latins copiés du IX^e au XII^e siècle: Livius-Vitruvius. Florilèges. Essais de plume* (in print).

ALDERSBACH (diocese of Passau).

(1) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2544.

S. XII ex. 165 ff., 29 x 19. F. 1v: "Liber sancte Marie in Aldersbach" (s. XII/XIII).

Ff. 113r-155r: Seneca, *De beneficiis*. - Ff. 155r-165r: Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (1-10).

Bibliography: *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, vol. I, 2. Munich, 1871, p. 5.

(2) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2560.

S. XII ex. 135 ff. 28,2 x 19. F. 135v: "Liber sancte Marie in Aldersbach" (s. XII/XIII).

Ff. 120vb-121ra: Jerome, *Vita Senecae* (excerpt of the *De viris illustribus*). - F. 121ra: *Epitaphium Senecae* (*Anthologia latina*, no. 667). - Ff. 121ra-123rb: Ps. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*.

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, p. 6.

BEAUPRÉ (diocese of Beauvais).

[(3) Saisons, Bibliothèque municipale, 123 (part II)].

S. XII². 96 ff. (ff. 34-128, 36^{bis}), 25,6 x 15,6. [F. 128v: "Liber sancte Marie de Bello Prato" (s. XIV)].

F. 36^{bis}r: Jerome, *Vita Senecae* (fragment). - F. 36^{bis}r-v: Ps. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum* (fragment). - Ff. 36^{bis}v-37r: Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (excerpts from the letters 1-2). - F. 37r-v: Seneca Rhetor, *Controversiarum excerpta* (excerpts). - Ff. 37v-38r: Seneca, *De beneficiis* (excerpts). - F. 38r-v: *De clementia* (excerpts).

Bibliography: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. III. Paris, 1885, pp. 103-104.

BUILDWAS (diocese of Chester).

[(4) Cambridge, Trinity College, B.1.29 (27)(part III)].

S. XII/XIII. 40 ff. (ff. 104-143), 21,5 x 15. [F. 2v: "Liber monachorum s. Marie de Buildwas", cf. N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*. London, 1964, p. 14].

Ff. 136vb-143vb: Justinus, *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum* (excerpts).

Bibliography: M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, vol. I. Cambridge, 1900, pp. 33-36.

BYLAND (diocese of York).

[(5) London, British Library, Royal 15 A. xx (part I and II)].

S. XII ex. 141 ff., 21,2 x 14. [Cf. N. R. Ker, *op. cit.*, p. 23; ff. 140v-141v: Ghost stories from the neighbourhood of Byland Abbey, s. XIV/XV].

Ff. 1r-58v: Cicero, *De officiis*. - Ff. 59r-66r: *Paradoxa Stoicorum*. - F. 66v: *De amicitia* (excerpt). - Ff. 67r-83v: *De amicitia*. - Ff. 84r-98v: *De senectute*. - Ff. 99r-140v: *De inventione*.

Bibliography: G. F. Wilson & J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, vol. II. London, 1921, pp. 147-148.

CHAALIS (diocese of Senlis).

[(6) Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 704].

S. XII/XIII. 31 ff., 13 x 9. [F. 29v: "Anno gratie MCC quadragesimo septimo III^o idus decembris obiit frater Iohannes de Ver supprior Karoliloci" (a. 1247)].

Ff. 1r-10v: Ps. Seneca, *Proverbia*.

Bibliography: H. Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium*. Bern, 1875, pp. 507-509.

(7) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 17569.

S. XII ex. 148 ff., 31 x 23,5. F. 148r: "Liber sancte Marie Karoliloci. Quisquis eum abstulerit furto vel rap-// et anatema erit" (s. XII/XIII or XIII in.).

Ff. 1ra-12vb: *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*. - Ff. 12vb-23vb: "Historia de Alexandro rege magno Macedonum". - Ff. 23vb-30vb: *Epistula Alexandri Macedonis ad Aristotelem*. - Ff. 30vb-35vb: *Alexandri et Dindimi per litteras facta collatio*. - Ff. 103ra-147ra: Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*.

Bibliography: L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Notre-Dame et d'autres fonds*. Paris, 1871, p. 54.

CÎTEAUX (diocese of Chalon-sur-Saône).

(8) Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, 572.

S. XII². 128 ff., 33,3 x 24,2. F. 2r: "Liber Cistercii" (s. XII/XIII or XIII in.), f. 128va: "Liber sancte Marie Cistercii" (s. XII ex.); cf. Ch. Samaran & R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, vol. VI. Paris, 1968, p. 579: "Manuscrit d'origine évidente, mais non prouvée".

Ff. 126vb-127vb: Ps. Seneca, *De moribus* (anonymous).

Bibliography: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. V. Paris, 1889, p. 141.

CLAIREFONTAINE (diocese of Besançon).

(9) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2000.

s. XII². 119 ff., 20,1 x 14. F. 118r: "Liber sancte Marie de Claro Fonte" (s. XII ex.); the homonymous monastery of regular canons in the diocese of Chartres is less probable.

Ff. 112r-114r: Ps. Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (excerpts). - Ff. 114r-118r: Cicero, *De inventione* (excerpts).

Bibliography: B. Nogara, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. III. Vatican City, 1912, p. 400.

CLAIRMARAIS (Diocese of Théroutanne).

(10) Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 8.

S. XII ex. 213 ff., 43,7 x 31. F. 214vb: "Liber sancte Marie de Clarmaresch" (s. XIII¹); f. 3vb: "Qui servare libris preciosis nescit honorem illius a manibus sit procul iste liber. Liber sancte Marie de Clarmaresco" (s. XIII).

Ff. 150va-151ra: Alphabetical *florilegium* with excerpts from Cicero and (Pseudo-)Seneca. - Ff. 165vb-214vb: *Florilegium Duacense* (classical section: "Flores auctorum et philosophorum") with excerpts from Dionysius Cato, Sallust, Terence, Cicero, Seneca and Pseudo-Seneca (ff. 167vb-171ra: "Defloratio auctorum", systematic *florilegium* with excerpts from Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Ovid, Statius and Virgil).

Bibliography: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* (Quarto Series), vol. III. Paris, 1861, pp. 14-15.

(11) Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 115.

S. XII ex. 114 ff., 33,8 x 24. F. 114r: "Liber sancte Marie de Clarmaresch" (s. XIII in.).

Ff. 99vb-100rb: Alphabetical *florilegium* with excerpts from Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Ovid and Virgil.

Bibliography: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* (Quarto Series), vol. III. Paris, 1861, pp. 65-67; Ch. Fierville, *Notice et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Saint-Omer n^{os} 115 et 710*. Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques, vol. XXXI, 1. Paris, 1884, pp. 49-145; B. Munk Olsen, *Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux antérieurs au XIII^e siècle*. *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 10 (1980), pp. 148-149.

CLAIRVAUX (diocese of Langres).

(12) Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 117.

S. XII². 150 ff., 30 x 20,5. F. 151r: "Liber sancte Marie Clarevallis" (s. XIII¹), cf. Ch. Samaran & R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, vol. VI. Paris, 1968, p. 582: "manuscrit d'origine évidente, mais non prouvée". [The volume corresponds to the pressmark "Q 29" in the catalogue of 1472, cf. A. Vernet, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle*, vol. I. Paris, 1979, no. 1404, p. 241].

Ff. 2ra-149vb: Suetonius, *Vitae Caesarum*. - F. 150r-v: Ausonius, "De Cesaribus versus".

Bibliography: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* (Quarto Series), vol. I. Paris, 1849, pp. 325-326.

(13) Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 121.

S. XII m. 56 ff., 33,5 x 24,5. F. 56v: "Liber sancte Marie Clarevallis" (s. XII/XIII or XIII¹), cf. Ch. Samaran & R. Marichal, *op. cit.*, p. 582: "manuscrit d'origine évidente, mais non prouvée". [The volume corresponds to the pressmark "Q 28" in the catalogue of 1472, cf. A. Vernet, *op. cit.*, no. 1403, p. 241].

Ff. 1r-39v: Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. - Ff. 39v-49r: Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Troiae*. - F. 50ra: Priscian, *Perihegesis* (excerpt).

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, p. 327.

[(14) Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 335].

S. XII ex. 96 ff., 24 x 15,5. [The volume corresponds to the pressmark "T 2" in the catalogue of 1472, cf. A. Vernet, *op. cit.*, no. 1656, p. 272; but the addition, s. XII/XIII, on f. 93v: "Finito libro frangantur crura magistro" does not agree with the usual cistercian style].

Ff. 1r-47r: Cicero, *De inventione*.-Ff. 47v-93v: Ps. Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, p. 422.

[(15) Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 473].

S. XII/XIII. 117 ff., 23,4 x 15,5. [The volume corresponds to the pressmark "L 85" in the catalogue of 1472, cf. A. Vernet, *op. cit.*, no. 1000, p. 193].

Ff. 1r-117vd: Pliny, *Historia naturalis* (excerpts).

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, p. 467; D. J. Campbell, *A Mediaeval Excerptor of the Elder Pliny*. *Classical Quarterly* 16 (1932), pp. 116-119.

(16) Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 215.

S. XII ex. 135 ff., 37,5 x 25,5. F. 130vb (after a series of poems on monastic life added s. XIII): "Explicit opusculum domni Yterii de Wascheio venerabilis et Deo digni monachi Clarevallensis cuius anima requiescat in pace. Amen" (s. XIII¹); Itier de Wassy has been identified by A. Vernet as a monk of Clairvaux in the beginning of the thirteenth century. cf. Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France 1948-1949, p. 227. [The volume corresponds to the pressmark "L 51" in the catalogue of 1472, cf. A. Vernet, *op. cit.*, no. 966, p. 188].

Ff. 53va-53bisra: Alphabetical *florilegium* with excerpts from Cicero and (Pseudo-)Seneca. - Ff. 71rb-129ra: *Florilegium Duacense* (classical section: "Flores auctorum et philosophorum") with excerpts from Dionysius Cato, Sallust, Terence, Cicero, Seneca and Pseudo-Seneca (ff. 73rb-76va: "Defloratio auctorum", systematic *florilegium* with excerpts from Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Ovid, Statius and Virgil).

Bibliography: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* (Quarto Series), vol. II. Paris, 1855, pp. 101-112; B. Munk Olsen, *Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux antérieurs au XIII^e siècle*. *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 9 (1979), pp. 87-89; 10 (1980), pp. 145-146.

(17) Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 513.

S. XII ex. 238 ff., 32,2 x 22,8. F. 238r: "Liber sancte Marie Clarevallis" (s. XII/XIII or XIII¹). [The volume corresponds to the pressmark "H 23" in the catalogue of 1472, cf. A. Vernet, *op. cit.*, no. 664, p. 150].

Ff. 102vb-238va: Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*.

Bibliography: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* (Quarto Series), vol. II. Paris, 1855, p. 224.

(18) Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 518.

S. XII ex. 165 ff., 32,7 x 23,2. F. 161v: "Liber sancte Marie Clarevallis" (s. XII/XIII or XIII in.). [The volume corresponds to the pressmark "L 70" in the catalogue of 1472, cf. A. Vernet, *op. cit.*, no. 985, pp. 190-191].

Ff. 36vb-39vb, 96ra-vb, 151ra-160rb: Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (excerpts).

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, pp. 225-226.

(19) Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 854.

S. XII². 170 ff., 28,3 x 19. F. 170r: "Liber sancte Marie Clarevallis" (s. XII ex.). [The volume corresponds to the pressmark "D 15" in the catalogue of 1472, cf. A. Vernet, *op. cit.*, no. 290, p. 98].

F. 128va-136vb: Alphabetical *florilegium* with excerpts from Cicero and (Pseudo-)Seneca.

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, pp. 352-354; B. Munk Olsen, *Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux antérieurs au XIII^e siècle*. *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 10 (1980), pp. 149-150.

(20) Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 1926 (part III).

S. XII m. 64 ff. (ff. 96-159), 20,9 x 14,6. The first parts of the manuscript at least (ff. 1-95) corresponds to the entry no. 35 in the twelfth century catalogue: "Item enchiridion aliud volumen et collectum Hildeberti in uno volumine". [The volume corresponds to the pressmark "G 33" in the catalogue of 1472, cf. A. Vernet, *op. cit.*, no. 583, p. 139].

Ff. 96r-159v: Patristic *florilegium* with excerpts of Gellius (ff. 97v-98r), Solinus (f. 98r), Ps. Pliny (f. 112r) and Ps. Seneca (ff. 131v and 136r-v).

Bibliography: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* (Quarto Series), vol. II. Paris, 1855, p. 794.

EBERBACH (diocese of Mainz)

[(21) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Lat. 47 (part I)].

S. XII ex. 152 ff. (ff. 2-153), 32,5 x 23. [F. 2r: Ex libris of Eberbach (s. XV)].

Ff. 92va-93va: Ps. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*. - Ff. 93vb-153v: Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (1-88).

Bibliography: H. O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library. Quarto Catalogues II: Laudian Mss.* Reprinted from the edition of 1858-1885 by R. W. Hunt. Oxford, 1973, col. 23 and p. 539.

(22) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 350.

S. XII m. 126 ff., 23 x 16. F. 1r: "Liber sancte Marie in Eberbach. Excerpta patrum" (s. XII).

Ff. 94r-95r: Ps. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*.

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, cols. 265-266.

FONTAINES-LES-BLANCHES (diocese of Tours).

[(23) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8542 (part V)].

S. XII². 8 ff. (ff. 176-183), 25,1 x 16,5. [F. 176r: "Liber beate Marie de Fontanis" (s. XIII)].

Ff. 176r-183r: Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (excerpts). - F. 183ra-vb: "Proverbia Varronis".

Bibliography: *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, vol. III, 4. Paris, 1744, pp. 468-469.

FONTENAY (diocese of Autun).

[(24) Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1086].

S. XII². 121 ff., 29,3 x 19. [F. 121v: pressmark "C 26"].

F. 1ra: Jerome, *Vita Senecae; Epitaphium Senecae*. - Ff. 1rb-3va: Ps. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*. - Ff. 4ra-121vb: Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (1-88).

Bibliography: H. Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, vol. II. Paris, 1886, p. 269.

HAUTE-COMBE (diocese of Geneva).

(25) Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Library, fms Typ 424.
s. XII. 187 ff., 36 x 25. F. 187v: "Liber sancte Marie Altecombe"
(s. XII?).

Ff. 185v-187r: Ps. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*.

Bibliography: W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. New York, 1962, pp. 277-278.

HEILIGENKREUZ (diocese of Passau).

[(26) Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 158].

S. XII². 134 ff., 27,4 x 19,5. [The volume corresponds probably to the entry "Epistole ad Lucilium LXXX. Ad Paulum XI. Pauli ad Senecam III. Prologus Ieronimi. Epytaphium Seneca" in the catalogue of 1381, cf. *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. I. Vienna, 1915, p. 73].

F. 1v: Jerome, *Vita Senecae*. - Ff. 1v-3r: Ps. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*. - F. 3r: *Epitaphium Senecae*. - Ff. 3r-100v: Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (1-88). - Ff. 100^{bis}v-134v: Texts concerning Alexander the Great.

Bibliography: *Xenia Bernardina. Pars secunda. Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Cicercienser-Stifte*, vol. I. Vienna, 1891, pp. 160-161.

[(27) Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 213 (part III)].

S. XII/XIII. 56 ff. (ff. 145-200), 25,9 x 18. [Part II and part III correspond to the entry "Passio s. Thome episcopi et martiris. Regule de musica. Liber Seneca unus" in the catalogue of 1381, cf. *MBKÖ*, I (1915) p. 69].

Ff. 145r-200v: Seneca, *Quaestiones naturales*.

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, p. 173.

[(28) Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 227 (part IV)].

S. XII². 38 ff. (ff. 73-110), 26,3 x 18,5. [The volume corresponds to the entry: "De colloquio Symonis ad Iesum [part I]. Sermo super ewangelium Iohannis 'Stabat iuxta crucem' [part III]. Sermo cuiusdam episcopi factus in synodo episcoporum. Tractatus Petri monachi ad Alexandrum papam 'quod licet renunciare episcopatu' et epistole eorundem mutue multe [part II]. Flores excerpti ex diversis poetis. Versus hortantes ad psallendum [part IV]" in the catalogue of 1381, the order of part II and part III has been inverted, cf. *MBKÖ*, I (1915), p. 50].

Ff. 73ra-95vb: *Florilegium Sancticrucianum* ("Scripta poetarum") with excerpts from Ovid, Horace, Virgil, Lucan, Persius, Maximianus and Juvenal.

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, pp. 178-179; J. Huemer, *Zur Geschichte der classischen Studien im Mittelalter*. Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien 32 (1881), pp. 415-422; G. Glauche, *Einige Bemerkungen zum "Florileg von Heiligenkreuz"*. Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff. Stuttgart, 1971, pp. 295-306; B. Munk Olsen, *Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux antérieurs au XIII^e siècle, I*. Revue d'Histoire des Textes 9 (1979), pp. 115-117.

[(29) Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 228].

S. XII². 130 ff., 26,5 x 16. [Except for the last title, the volume corresponds to the entry "De officiis li. III. De senectute li. unus. De amicitia li. unus. De republica li. unus" in the catalogue of 1381, cf. *MBKÖ*, I (1915), p. 73].

Ff. 1r-61r: Cicero, *De officiis*. - Ff. 63r-82r: *De senectute*. - Ff. 82v-95v: *De amicitia*. - Ff. 96r-124v: *In L. Catilinam orationes*. - Ff. 124v-129r: Ps. Cicero, *In Sallustium invectiva*. - Ff. 129v-130v: Ps. Sallust, *In Ciceronem invectiva*.

Bibliography: *Xenia Bernardina* II, 1 (1891), p. 179.

HEILSBRONN (diocese of Eichstätt).

[(30) Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 390].

S. XII². 51 ff., 23,2 x 15,8. [F. 50v "Liber iste est sancte Marie in Fonte Salutis" (s. XV)].

Ff. 1r-50v: Sallust, *Catilina* and *Jugurtha*.

Bibliography: H. Fischer, *Die lateinischen Pergamenthandschriften*. Erlangen, 1928, p. 463.

[(31) Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 395].

S. XII ex. 95 ff., 26 x 17. [F. 1r: "Liber s. Marie Virginis in Heylsbrun ordinis Cist." (s. XV); f. 95r: "Liber beate Virginis in Haylsprun" (s. XV)].

F. 86r-95r: *Florilegium prosodiacum Florentino-Erlangense* with excerpts from Homer Latinus, Horace, Juvenal, Lucretius, Ovid, Persius, Q. Serenus, Statius and Virgil.

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, p. 470; S. A. Hurlbut, *Florilegium Prosodiacum Florentino-Erlangense*. Edited from the Manuscripts with Introduction and "Index auctorum et Locorum". Mount St. Alban (Washington D.C.), 1932; B. Munk Olsen, *Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux*. Revue d'Histoire des Textes 9 (1979), p. 65.

HIMMEROD (diocese of Trier).

[(32) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 123].

S. XII ex. 55 ff., 26 x 18. [F. 56r (flyleaf): "Liber monachorum sancte Marie in Himmerode ordinis Cisterciensis Treverensis diocesis" (s. XIV)].

Ff. 1r-53ra: Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (89-124). - Ff. 53rb-55va: Ps. Seneca, *De quattuor virtutibus*.

Bibliography: S. Endlicher, *Catalogus codicum philologicorum latinorum Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis*. Vienna, 1836, no. CXCV, p. 93; A. Schneider, *Skriptorium und Bibliothek der Cistercienserabtei Himmerod im Rheinland*. Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 35 (1952-1953), p. 178; L. D. Reynolds, *The Mediaeval Tradition of Seneca's "Letters"*. Oxford, 1965, p. 155.

IGNY (diocese of Rheims).

(33) New Haven, Yale University Library, Marston 45.

S. XII². 110 ff., 29 x 21. Ff. 49v-50r: "Liber sancte Marie Igniaci" (s. XII²).

F. 1va: Jerome, *Vita Senecae*. - Ff. 1va-2vb: Ps. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*. - F. 3ra: *Epitaphium Senecae*. - Ff. 3ra-79rb: Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (1-85). - Ff. 79va-99vb: *De beneficiis* (excerpts). - Ff. 100ra-103rb: *De clementia* (excerpts). - Ff. 105vb-107va: *De remediis fortuitorum*. - F. 107vb: *Proverbia* (excerpts).

Bibliography: W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. New York, 1962, p. 69; C. H. Talbot, *Verses Attributed to William of Saint-Thierry*. *Scriptorium* 8 (1954), pp. 117-119.

ORVAL (diocese of Trier).

[(34) Luxembourg, Bibliothèque Nationale, 138].

S. XII². 179 ff., 52 x 35. [F. 179vb: "Liber beate Marie Aureevallis qui eum abstulerit anathema sit" (s. XVI?)].

Ff. 1ra-179va: Pliny, *Historia naturalis*.

Bibliography; N. Van Werveke, *Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Luxembourg*. Luxembourg, 1894, pp. 328-330; B. Weicherding-Goergen, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Luxembourg. Catalogue descriptif et critique*. Luxembourg, 1968, pp. 53-56; J. Leclercq, *Spiritualité et culture à Orval au siècle de saint Bernard d'après les manuscrits*. Aureavallis. Mélanges historiques réunis à l'occasion du IX^e centenaire de l'abbaye d'Orval. Liège, 1975, pp. 78-79.

PONTIGNY (diocese of Auxerre).

(35) Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, I.C.47 (77).

S. XII². 152 ff., 33,7 x 23,5. The manuscript is a copy of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6331, part II and part I (see no. 42 and Appendix III).

F. 1ra: Jerome, *Vita Senecae*. - Ff. 1ra-2rb: Ps. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*. - F. 2va: *Epitaphium Senecae*. - Ff. 2va-73vb: Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (1-88). - Ff. 73vb-93rb: *De beneficiis* (excerpts). - Ff. 93rb-102ra: *De clementia*. - Ff. 102ra-103vb: Ps. Seneca, *De remediis fortuitarum*. - Ff. 103vb-148va: Cicero, *De finibus bonorum et malorum*. - Ff. 148va-152vb: *Posteriora Academica I*.

Bibliography: B. Mendes da Costa, *De handschriften der Stedelijke Bibliotheek*, vol. II. Amsterdam, 1902, pp. 17-18.

(36) Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, 91 (part I).

S. XII². 132 ff. (ff. 1-132), 34,6 x 23,3. Ch. Samaran & R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, vol. VI. Paris, 1968, p. 576: "manuscrit d'origine évidente, mais non prouvée", cf. H. Talbot, *Notes on the Library of Pontigny*. *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 10 (1954), p. 168.

Ff. 108va-109va: "Incipiunt diffinitiones philosophorum de omnibus rebus contra querulos sermocinandi. Diffinición Ciceronis" ("Nulle sunt occultiores insidie..."). - Ff. 109va-116vb: *Epistula Alexandri Macedonis ad Aristotelem*. - Ff. 116vb-127rb: Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Troiae*.

Bibliography: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. VI. Paris, 1887, pp. 38-39.

(37) Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 35 (part II).

S. XII ex. 8 ff. (ff. 5-12), 36,5 x 26. Ch. Samaran & R. Marichal, *op. cit.*, pp. XII-XIII: "Très cistercien d'aspect - peut-être Pontigny".

F. 12va-d (s. XII/XIII): Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (versified excerpts).

Bibliography: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* (Quarto Series), vol. I. Paris, 1849, p. 300.

(38) Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 131.

S. XII². 177 ff., 31 x 21. The volume corresponds probably to the entry: "Valerius Maximus de dictis et factis egregiis volumine uno. Eodem Solinus de mirabilibus mundi" in the twelfth century catalogue (see Appendix I); cf. Ch. Samaran & R. Marichal, *op. cit.*, pp. XII-XIII: "très cistercien d'aspect - peut-être Pontigny".

Ff. 1r-111v: Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*. - Ff. 112r-165r: Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. - Ff. 165r-177v: Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Troiae*.

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, p. 334.

(39) Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire, Section de médecine, 132 (part I).

S. XII². 64 ff. (ff. 1-64), 35 x 25,3. The first part of the volume corresponds to the entry "Eiusdem epistole in alio volumine ad Lucilium numero CIII" in the twelfth century catalogue (see *Appendix I*).

Ff. 1ra-5ra: *Alexandri et Dindimi per litteras facta collatio*. - Ff. 5ra-6va: Ps. Seneca, *De moribus*. - F. 6va: Jerome, *Vita Senecae*. - Ff. 6vb-8ra: Ps. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*. - F. 8ra: *Epitaphium Senecae*. - Ff. 8ra-63vb: Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (1-88).

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, p. 334.

(40) Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 132 (part II).

S. XII². 24 ff. (ff. 65-88), 35 x 25,3. Same origin as no. 39.

Ff. 65ra-88vb: Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*.

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, p. 334.

(41) Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 133.

S. XII/XIII. 97 ff., 32,3 x 23,4. Ch. Samaran & R. Marichal, *op. cit.*, p. XIII: "très cistercien d'aspect - peut-être Pontigny".

Ff. 1r-52r: Cicero, *De officiis*. - Ff. 52r-66r: *De amicitia*. - Ff. 66v-97v: Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris*.

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, p. 334.

(42) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6331.

S. XII². 144 ff. (two parts: ff. 1-93 and ff. 94-141), 25 x 19,3. The volume is described in the twelfth century catalogue: "Volumine uno. Seneca de beneficiis libris sex. De clementia duobus. De remediis fortuitorum bonorum uno. De finibus bonorum et malorum VI"; the order of the two parts has been inverted (see *Appendix I*).

Ff. 1r-85r: Cicero, *De finibus bonorum et malorum*. - Ff. 85v-93v: *Posteriora Academica I*. - Ff. 94r-123v: Seneca, *De beneficiis* (excerpts). - Ff. 124r-137r: *De clementia*. - Ff. 137v-140v: Ps. Seneca, *De remediis fortuitorum*.

Bibliography: *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, vol. III, 4. Paris, 1744, p. 230; see *Appendix III*.

[(43) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 905].

S. XII². 204 ff., 32,2 x 24,5. [F. 204v: "Liber beate Marie Pontignacensis" (s. XIV/XV)].

Ff. 2ra-13va: Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Troiae*. - Ff. 14va-30vb: *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*.

Bibliography: *Manuscripts classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. II, 1. Paris, 1978, pp. 127-128.

PREUILLY (diocese of Rheims).

[(44) Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 431].

S. XII ex. 208 ff., 32,8 x 21. [F. 208vb: "Liber sancte Marie Pruliacensis obligatus bursariis collegii sancti Bernardi in XXXII francis cum secunda secunde sancti Thome" (s. XV)].

Ff. 136ra-160vb: Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. - Ff. 161ra-va: Ps. Ovid, *De mirabilibus mundi* ("Incipiunt Ovidii de mirabilibus mundi"). - F. 168va: *Epitaphium Senecae*. - F. 205rb-vb: Dionysius Cato, *Monostica* ("Versus aurei Platonis"). - Ff. 205vb-207rb: Ps. Seneca, *De quattuor virtutibus*. - Ff. 207rb-208va: *De moribus*.

Bibliography: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. XXXVIII, 1. Paris, 1904, pp. 579-584.

REIN (diocese of Salzburg).

[(45) Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, 21].

S. XII ex. 195 ff., 19,5 x 13. [F. 195v: "Hic liber est sancte Marie in Runa quem quicumque abstulerit anathemate perit" (s. XIII)].
Ff. 167r-185r: Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Troiae*. - Ff. 185v-195v: *Alexandri et Dindimi per litteras facta collatio*.

Bibliography: *Xenia Bernardina. Pars secunda. Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Cistercienser-Stifte*, vol. I. Vienna, 1891, pp. 16-18.

[(46) Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, 23].

S. XII ex. 132 ff., 21,5 x 14 [Provenance only].
Ff. 1r-4r: Ps. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*. - Ff. 82r-124r: Texts concerning Alexander the Great.

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, pp. 19-21.

RIEVAULX (diocese of York).

(47) London, British Library, Royal 6 C. viii + Cotton Vitellius C. viii (part I).

S. XII². 151 ff., 33 x 21. F. 1r (Royal): "Liber sancte Marie Rievalensis" (s. XIII or XIV); the volume corresponds to the entry "Orosius de ormenta mundi, historia Daretis de bello Troiano et versus Petri Abailardi ad filium et cronica de Anglia in .I^o. volumine" in the twelfth century catalogue (see *Appendix I*).

Ff. 123ra-133vb (Royal), f. 6ra-vb (Cotton): Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Troiae*.

Bibliography: G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, vol. I. London, 1921, pp. 145-146; J. Planta, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library*. London, 1802, p. 424.

RUFFORD (diocese of York).

(48) London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxiv.

S. XII/XIII. 158 ff., 16 x 10,5. F. 5r: "Liber sancte Marie de Ruford" (s. XII/XIII or XIII in.).

Ff. 61r and 102v: Excerpts from Juvenal, Ovid and Virgil in a collection of mediaeval verse.

Bibliography: J. Planta, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library*. London, 1802, p. 566-567; J. H. Mozley, *The Collection of Mediaeval Latin Verse in Ms Cotton Titus D. xxiv*. *Medium Aevum* 11 (1942), pp. 1-45.

SAINT-AUBIN-DES-BOIS (diocese of Saint-Brieuc).

[(49) Lamballe, Bibliothèque municipale, 3].

S. XII ex. 64 ff., 26,5 x 18. [Provenance only].

Ff. 1r-43v: Cicero, *De inventione* (incomplete). - Ff. 43v-64v: Ps. Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (incomplete).

Bibliography: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. IV. Paris, 1886, p. 110.

SALEM (diocese of Constance).

[(50) Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Salem 9.23].

S. XII/XIII. 168 ff., 24 x 16,8. [Flyleaf: "Iste liber est beate Marie Virginis in Salem" (s. XIV)].

Ff. 1r-80r: Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*.

SAWLEY (diocese of York).

(51) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 66.

S. XII ex. (c. 1180-1190). 51 ff. (pp. 1-114), 30 x 21. P. 2: "Liber sancte Marie de Salleia" (s. XII/XIII).

Pp. 58b-60b: Pliny, *Historia naturalis* (excerpts). - P. 62: Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (excerpts).

Bibliography: M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, Vol. I. Cambridge, 1912, pp. 137-145; C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066-1190*. London, 1975, p. 123 (A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, III); B. Munk Olsen, *Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux*, *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 9 (1979), pp. 109-110.

SIGNY (diocese of Rheims).

[(52) Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale, 67 (part III)].

S. XII². 8 ff. (ff. 140-147), 21,6 x 14,5. [Provenance only].

Ff. 140v-147r: Cicero, *Oratio pro Q. Ligario*.

Bibliography: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* (Quarto Series), vol. V. Paris, 1879, pp. 577-578.

[(53) Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale, 121].

S. XII². 55 ff., 17,2 x 12. [F. 55v: "De Signiaco" (s. XV)].

Ff. 36r-54v: Seneca, *De beneficiis* (excerpts). - F. 54v: Jerome, *Vita Senecae*. - Ff. 54v-55r: Ps. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*.

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, p. 604.

[(54) Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale, 206].

S. XII/XIII. 143 ff., 30,5 x 21. [F. 146r: "De Signiaco" (S. XV)].

F. 3ra: Jerome, *Vita Senecae*. - Ff. 3ra-4vb: Ps. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*. - F. 4vb: *Epitaphium Senecae*. - F. 4vb-109ra: Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (1-88). - Ff. 109ra-137ra: *De beneficiis* (excerpts). - Ff. 137rb-141va: *De clementia* (excerpts). - Ff. 141va-144va: Ps. Seneca, *De quattuor virtutibus*. - Ff. 144va-145vb: *De remediis fortuitorum*.

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, pp. 641-642.

THAME (diocese of Lincoln).

(55) London, British Library, Burney 357.

S. XII/XIII. 24 ff., 20,9 x 12,4. F. 24v: "Liber sancte Marie de Thama" (s. XII/XIII).

Ff. 1r-2r: Micon Centulensis, *Opus prosodiacum* (vv. 1-81) with excerpts from Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Lucretius, Martial, Ovid, Statius and Virgil.

Bibliography: *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. New Series*, vol. I, 2. London, 1840, pp. 96-97; B. Munk Olsen, *Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux*. *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 9 (1979), pp. 60-61.

VAUCLAIR (diocese of Laon).

[(56) Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Philol. 142].

S. XII ex. 52 ff., 14,5 x 10,5. [F. 53r: "Liber beate Marie Vallis Clare" (s. XV)].

Ff. 2r-39v: Seneca, *De beneficiis* (excerpts). - Ff. 40r-49v: *De clementia*. - Ff. 49v-52va: Ps. Seneca, *Proverbia*.

Bibliography: *Verzeichniss der Handschriften im preussischen Staate*, vol. I, 1, 1. Berlin, 1893, p. 33.

[(57) Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 471 (part IX)].

S. XII/XIII. 15 ff. (ff. 78-92), 20,2 x 12,8. [Ff. 39v (part I), 98v and 103v (part X): "Liber sancte Marie Vallis Clare" (s. XIII)].

F. 90vb: Horace, *Epistulae* (excerpts). - Ff. 91ra-92rb: Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (excerpts).

Bibliography: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* (Quarto Series), vol. I. Paris, 1849, pp. 252-253.

ZWETTL (diocese of Passau).

[(58) Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 253 (part II)].

S. XII ex. 60 ff. (ff. 81-140), in-4^o. [Provenance only].

Ff. 81r-132v: Cicero, *De officiis*. - Ff. 133r-140v: *De amicitia*.

Bibliography: *Xenia Bernardina. Pars secunda. Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Cistercienser-Stifte*, vol. I. Vienna, 1891, p. 385.

[(59) Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 313 (part II)].

S. XII ex. 57 ff. (ff. 72-128), in-4^o. [Provenance only].

Ff. 72r-128r: Terence, *Comoediae*.

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, pp. 406-407.

[(60) Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 313 (part III)].

S. XII ex. 13 ff. (ff. 129-141), in-4^o. [Provenance only].

Ff. 129r-139v: Cicero, *De amicitia*. - Ff. 140r-141r: *In L. Catilinam orationes* (incomplete).

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, pp. 406-407.

[(61) Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 371 (part III)].

S. XII ex. 65 ff. (ff. 51-115), 19,5 x 13,5. [Provenance only].

Ff. 51v-115v: Sallust, *Catilina* and *Jugurtha*.

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, p. 429.

PROBABLY CISTERCIAN MANUSCRIPTS OF UNDETERMINED PROVENANCE.

(62) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8541.

S. XII/XIII. 70 ff., 27,5 x 21. F. 70v: "Liber sancte Marie de /// quem dedit ei sacerdos de Domna Petra qui eum furatus fuerit anathema sit" (s. XII/XIII).

F. 1r: Jerome, *Vita Senecae*. - Ff. 1r-2r: Ps. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*. - F. 2r: *Epitaphium Senecae*. - Ff. 2r-68r: Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (1-88). - Ff. 68v-70r: Ps. Seneca, *De remediis fortuitorum*.

Bibliography: *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, vol. III, 4. Paris, 1744, p. 468.

(63) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8616.

S. XII². 129 ff., 22,5 x 17. F. 129r: "Liber sancte Marie de ///" (s. XII²).

F. 1r: Jerome, *Vita Senecae*. - Ff. 1r-2v: Ps. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*. - F. 2v: *Epitaphium Senecae*. - Ff. 2v-129r: Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (1-88).

Bibliography: *Op. cit. supra*, p. 476.

(64) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 16849.

S. XII². 189 ff., 34 x 24. Ff. 1r and 189v: "Liber sancte Marie de P ///" (s. XII ex.).

F. 189ra-b: Ps. Seneca, *De moribus* (excerpts).

Bibliography: L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Notre-Dame et d'autres fonds*. Paris, 1871, p. 12.

APPENDIX III

MARGINAL ANNOTATIONS TO CICERO'S "DE FINIBUS
BONORUM ET MALORUM" IN A MANUSCRIPT FROM PONTIGNY.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6331, copied, probably at Pontigny, in the second half of the twelfth century (Appendix II, no 42). The first part of the manuscript (ff. 1-93) contains the *De finibus bonorum et malorum* (ff. 1r-85r) and the *Posteriora Academica* (ff. 85v-93v); the annotations are added in the margins by an almost contemporary hand. A copy of the texts, including most of the annotations, is found in the manuscript Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, I.C.47 (77) of approximately the same date (Appendix II, no. 35); cf. R. H. and M. A. Rouse, *The Medieval Circulation of Cicero's "Posterior Academics" and the "De finibus bonorum et malorum"*. Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries. Essays Presented to N. R. Ker. London, 1978, pp. 333-367, and the review by M.-C. Garand in *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), p. 95*.

- F. 17r: "\$Preclara dialectice commendatio atque admodum vera" (ad 2.6.18).
 F. 18r: "\$Instantia brevis efficax et necessaria" (ad 2.7.22).
 F. 21bisr: "\$Rei tante satis elegans significatio" (ad 2.13.41).
 F. 21bisv: "\$Negotium magnopere necessarium" (ad 2.14.44).
 F. 22r: "\$Prime virtutis id est prudentie plena ex parte descriptio" (ad 2.14.45).
 F. 22r: "\$Iusticie laudabilis satis descriptio" (ad 2.14.45).
 F. 22r: "\$Fortitudinis magnifica satis commendatio" (ad 2.14.46).
 F. 22r: "\$Temperantie laus decentissima" (ad 2.14.47).
 F. 23r: "\$Yronia pulcra in Epicurum" (ad 2.15.50).
 F. 27v: "\$Vrbana satis derisio in Epicureos" (ad 2.23.75).
 F. 29r: "\$Diligentissime tene" (ad 2.25.81).
 F. 33r: "\$Hinc arguuntur Herodis atque Pharaonis in luxu et epulis dierum natalium observantie" (ad 2.31.102).
 F. 34v: "\$Vox hec digna viro rectum sequiturque tenetque" (ad 2.33.109).
 F. 35r: "\$Honestae estimatio voluptuosum hominem iam non esse" (ad 2.34.114).
 F. 37v: "\$Ampla satis laus viri prudentissimi Marci Catonis paucis expressa sillabis" (ad 3.2.6).
 F. 37v: "\$Erubescant moderni qui in ipsa sua ignorantia etiam delectabiliter consopiantur" (ad 3.2.7).
 F. 43r: "\$Huiusmodi est illud in philosopho [*supra lineam*:] .B.: Gaudia pelle. Pelle timorem. Spemque fugato Nec dolor assit. Nubila mens est. Vincitque frenis. Hec ubi regnant [*BOETH. cons. 1. metr. 7.25-31*]. Et illud: Nec speres aliquid nec extimescas. Exarmaveris iram impotentis [*BOETH. cons. 1. metr. 4.13-14*]. In heroyco [*supra lineam*:] .V. quoque versu: Hinc cupiunt metuunt gaudentque dolentque [*VERG. Aen. 6.733*]. De quibus etiam in libro de civitate Dei beatus Augustinus diligentius pertractat" (ad 3.10.35).
 F. 45v: "\$Vide unde prolapsi sunt Stoici in hunc errorem ut putarent vicia inter se equalia esse similiter et virtutes" (ad 3.14.48).
 F. 48v: "\$Ecce quomodo a natura sit exorta iusticia" (ad 3.19.63).
 F. 49v: "\$Pulcra satis atque admodum subtilis proportionata similitudo" (ad 3.20.67).
 F. 50v: "\$O ardentissimus amor intelligentie. Erubescant igitur consopiti" (ad 3.2.73).

- F. 70r: "\$Splendida correctio atque multo pondere partem impetens contrariam" (ad 5.8.22).
- F. 70r: "\$Gloriosa beate vite notio que certe nichil aliud est quam vacate et videte [*Ps.* 45.11] quam dulcis est Dominus [cf. 1 *Petr.* 2.3] id est a seculi actibus alienum se facere" (ad 5.8.23).
- F. 71r: "\$Pulcra exempli collatio subtilis et vera prorsus" (ad 5.9.26).