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. 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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* Paper read at the conference "The Mind of the Middle Ages", arranged by the Centre for European Medieval Studies, Copenhagen University, on 1 September 1983. I wish to thank Brian Patrick McGuire for revising the English text.


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, ostensibly 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 figenta") 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

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4. Epistola XV (before 1151). P.L. 196, 1610 B-C: "Versus Galerti mei, i mo et tui nondum habui. Sed et si viderim, non perlegissim quia nos nihil recipimus quod meretricis [i.e. metricis] legibus coercetur".
and teachers of Paris, De conversione ad clericos, 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 ("turfis curiositas"), shameful vanity ("turfis vanitas"), and shameful profiteering ("turfis quaeastus"). 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. 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".

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. 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

8. Commentarii in Cantica Canticorum, X; P.L. 206, 670 B.
This form of curiosity distracts from more important matters. Gunther of Paris, for example, in his De oratione, ieunio 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. 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". 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).

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.

When everything is in its proper place, there are no problems, and to use an image from the Exordium Magnum Cisterciense, one can build ("supraedificare") 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.

12. III, 5; P.L. 212, 131 C.
14. Sermo XV, In ascensione Domini II; P.L. 212, 603 A-B.
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".  

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". 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". There is an echo in the Exordium Magnum Cisterciense: "We do not say this in order to condemn those who search for knowledge", and Gilbert of Hoyland, in his second letter to a certain Adam, emphasizes that it is not his intention to deprecate 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.

Dei collocare in fossato humilitatis, quia timor Domini secundum veram diffinitionem initium sapientiae est. Dehinc, quantumcumque voluerit scientiae superaedificet, 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 quia eis legitime utatur, id est tamquam gradum et vestigio, non quo stetur et inhaereatur, sed quo utendum sit ad superiora quaedam et sanctiora et magis intima arcana sapientiae..."


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". 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. 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. 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, and which he might have found in Satires of Juvenal (6.165), is to be found again, for example, twice in

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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".
the sermons of John of Ford, where they easily can be loans from Bern-
ard.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 in-
fluenced 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 Epistle28 and in some letters from Adam of Ebrach29 that Seneca is system-
atically exploited, whereas Cicero's De amicitia provides a point of departure for Ailred of Rievaulx's De spiritali amicitia, which tries to

27. B. Jacqueline, Répertoire des citations d'auteurs profanes dans les oeuvres de saint Bernard. Bernard de Clairvaux. Paris, 1953, p. 553 (Tac-
itus); J. Leclercq, Lettres de S. Bernard: histoire ou littérature? Studi medievali, Ser. 3°, 12 (1971), p. 66 (Cicero, Letters to Atticus); L.C.
see also the critical remarks by E. Franceschini in Aevum 28 (1954), pp. 572-573.
Paris, 1975; see also J.-M. Déchanet, "Seneca Noster". Des Lettres à Lu-
cilius 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
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,
12-13).
reshape Cicero's work on a Christian basis. 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.

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). 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.

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).

Borrowings are sometimes placed in the text without its being made explicit where they come from, especially to give an idea a striking formu-
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" of 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.\(^\text{35}\)

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,\(^\text{36}\) 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.\(^\text{37}\) 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).\(^\text{38}\)

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?"\(^\text{39}\) Fundamentally, however, Gilbert is in agreement with the other Cistercian authors, in spite of this statement.

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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 spirituali 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. 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. 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

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 Epistolarium, 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, 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 Beauvais acquired an important book collection in Caen under abbot John. 45

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 Senecae 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 correspondence 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 correspondence 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 thiasaurum tuum nobilem, bibliothecam loquor: quam utique tam mirabiliter, quam incomparabiliter congrsissisti, vide ut relinquas pauperibus Christi, qui pro te orent et plorent ut prosperum iter faciat Deus salutarium nostrorum".
47. See, e.g., Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis Chronicas 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. Senecae] enim vita et scientia clarus philosophiae studium coluit frequentesque ad Paulum apostolum litteras mittens et ab eo rescripta suscipientis Christianae religionis amicum se fore ostendit" (III, 15).
In a Pontigny manuscript there is even a digest in verse. 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. 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.

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, 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 panegyrical: "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. 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.

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 Porphirii in cathegorias Aristotelis 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".

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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.
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. In the catalogue of Pontigny there are even the Greater Declamations of Pseudo-Quintilian and the "Declamationes Senecae", 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 Preuilly and Salem. 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.

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. 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.

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

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

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 Aged 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. 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.

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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.  

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".

Of greater interest in our context are two important florilegia called Florilegium Duacense and Florilegium Sancticrucianum. The first 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".  

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64. Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 390, see Appendix II, no. 30.  
67. Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 8, see Appendix II, no. 10.
patristic *florilegium* and the "Flores auctorum et philosophorum" comes from Clairvaux. 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 Leclercq 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, 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* 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.
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 Guerriec 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 Guerriec 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.

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 con-
tulit dominus abbas de Porta <et> eius conventus domino abbati et con-
ventui id est mater dilectissime f<ille>?[?] 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).

Linz, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek, 473 (Vitae sanctorum, s.
XII).
F. 168r–v (addition, s. XII/XIII or XIII in.): "Isti sunt libri per-
tinentes ad ararium beate et gloriose semper Virginis Dei genitricis Marie
in Boumsgarten". 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 Ierosolimita-
norum 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 nu-
merus 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

Classical texts: ... "Liber magistri Hugonis de arche Noe. Et de in-
vitentie sancte Crucis. Et vita sancti Augustini. Et epistole Senece ad
Paulum. Et de Theophilv vicedominio. 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 paroit 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.8 augmentoit").

Classical texts: ... "De edificatione, et epistola cuiusdam heremita. - 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]. - Yasage in moralisbus philosophorum, in 10 vol."... "Deflorationes ex libris s. Augustini, Ambrosii et aliorum diversorum doctorum, in 10 vol." (= Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 8; Appendix II, no. 10: Florilegium Duacense)... "Evangelium Missus est ritmice digestum cum aliis versibus diversarum rerum, in 10 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. lr-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.


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/III): List of about one hundred and thirty volumes including liturgical texts; f. 159va: "Liber beate Marie de Alto Fonte" (s. XII).


Classical texts: ... "De confessionibus et sententie Seneca in 10 volume" (f. 159vb, s. XII2, in the section "De libris Augustini")... "Seneca" (f. 160ra, s. XII ex.)... "Historia de Iherusalem et gesta Alexandri in uno volume" (f. 160rb, s. XII/III).

HEILIGENKREUZ (diocese of Passau - Austria).

Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 205.

Ff. Iv-I1r (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).


Classical texts: "Idem [i.e. Ieronymus] contra Iovinianum. et apollologicum 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 volume" (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.


MORIMONDO (diocese of Milan - Italy).

Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Library, fMS Typ 223H (Lec-tionary, s. XII).
F. 227v and on a parchment fragment pasted on the margin of f. 190r (additions, s. XII-XII/XIII): "Nomina librorum aeclesiæ sancte Marie de Morimonde". About ninety-six volumes including liturgical texts.


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

POBLET (diocese of Tarragona - Spain).

Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitària, 2632 (Beatius of Liébana, In apo-calipsis libri XII, s. XII).
F. 193v (additions, s. XII ex.): "In nomine Domini. Incipit comemora-cio de libros Populetii". Forty-four volumes including liturgical texts.


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 Pontiniacsium" (f. 176ra). Two hundred and seventy-one entries including liturgical texts.


Classical texts: ... "DE LIBRIS LAFRANCII. Volumine uno Lanfrancius Cantuariensis archiepiscopus de corpore et sanguine Domini nostri libris --- Eodem quedam sententie de libero arbitrio. Postremo quedam excerpti-uncule ex regulis Prisciani"... "DE LIBRIS SENECE PHILOSOPHI. Volumine uno Seneca de beneficiis libris sex. De clementia duobus. De remediis fortui-torum 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 volume uno"... "DE LIBRIS HISTORIARUM"... "Suetonius de vita Cesarum uno volume et libris XII"... "Historia Alexandri regis Macedonum volume uno. Epistola eiusdem Alexandri ad Aristotilem magistrum suum. Collatio Dindimi regis Braganorum et Alexandri regis facta per litteras de philosophia. De bellis Gallicis historia Iulii Cesaris libros VII. Item de agricultura Palladii libri duo". "Historia de gestis Romanorum at-que Francorum libris tribus. Historia Longobardorum libris sex. Historia Troiana Frigii Daretis uno libro. Historia Apollonii Tyrri 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 Senece volume 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 cata-logues: 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.


SANTES CREUS (diocese of Barcelona - Spain).

Santes Creus, Biblioteca del Monasterio, 139 (Sermones, 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.
No classical texts.

SCHÜNTAL (diocese of Würzburg - German Federal Republic).

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Theol. 2° 235 (Compendium historiale, Epistolae canonicae glosatae, works of Bernard and of Hugh of Saint-Victor, s. XII).
F. 107v (addition, s. XII/XIII): "Heinricus sacerdos portavit secum ad Speciosam Vallem libellos" ... . About nine volumes.
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.
No classical texts.

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

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 209 (Lectionary, s. XII).
F. 176vo-b (additions, s. XII-XII ex.): "Posteritati monachorum fi- delium censio Sarniensis degentium librorum suorum actores nominatim cum titulis porentando ne forte oblivionis dentur sollicitate ac breviter capita memontes 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.


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.


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 IXe au
XIIe siècle: Apicius-Juvénal. Paris, 1982; vol. II. Catalogue des manuscrits
classiques latins copiés du IXe au XIIe siècle: Livius-Vitrutius.
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 Alders-
pach" (s. XII/XIII).
Ff.113r-155r: Seneca, De beneficiis. - Ff. 155r-165r: Seneca, Epistu-
lae ad Lucilium (1-10).
Bibliography: Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Mona-

(2) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2560.
S. XII ex. 135 ff. 28,2 x 19. F. 135v: "Liber sancte Marie in Al-
derspach" (s. XII/XIII).
Ff. 120vb-121ra: Jerome, Vita Senecae (excerpt of the De viris illu-
stribus). - F. 121ra: Epitaphium Senecae (Anthologia latina, no. 667). -
Ff. 121ra-123rb: Ps. Seneca, Epistulae ad Paulum.

BEAUPRÉ (diocese of Beauvais).

[3] Soissons, Bibliothèque municipale, 123 (part II)].
S. XII ². 96 ff. (ff. 34-128, 36₃₈), 25,6 x 15,6. [F. 128v: "Liber
sancet Marie de Bello Prato" (s. XIV)].
F. 36₃₈: Jerome, Vita Senecae (fragment). - F. 36₃₈v-37r: Ps. Seneca,
Epistulae ad Paulum (fragment). - Ff. 36₃₈v-37r: Seneca, Epistulae ad
Lucilium (excerpts from the letters 1-2). - F. 37r: Seneca Rhetor, Con-
troversiarum excerpta (excerpts). - Ff. 37v-38r: Seneca, De beneficiis
(excerpts). - F. 38r-v: De clementia (excerpts).
Bibliography: Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques pub-

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

BYLAND (diocese of York).

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


CHAALIS (diocese of Senlis).

[(6) Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 704].

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

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


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

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


CÎTEAUX (diocese of Chalon-sur-Saône).

(8) Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, 572.

S. XII/12. 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).


CLAIREFONTAINE (diocese of Besançon).

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

s. XII/2. 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.


CLAIRMARAI (Diocese of Thérouanne).

(10) Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 8.
S. XII ex. 213 ff., 43,7 x 31. F. 214vb: "Liber sancte Marie de Claro-
mareshc" (s. XIII); f. 3vb: "Qui servare libros precisosis nescit hono-
rem illius a manibus sit procul iste liber. Liber sancte Marie de Claro-
marescno" (s. XIII).

(11) Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 115.
S. XII ex. 114 ff., 33,8 x 24. F. 114r: "Liber sancte Marie de Claro-
mareshc" (s. XIII in.).
Ff. 99vb-100rb: Alphabetical florilegium with excerpts from Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Ovid and Virgil.

CLAIRVAUX (diocese of Langres).

(12) Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 117.
Ff. 2ra-149vb: Suetonius, *Vitae Caesarum*. - F. 150r-v: Ausonius, "De Cesaribus versus".

(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: Da-
[(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 curo magistrio" does not agree with the usual cistercian style].
Ff. 1r-47r: Cicero, De inventione.-Ff. 47v-93v: Ps. Cicero, Rhetorica ad Herennium.

[(15) Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 473].
Ff. 1r-117vd: Pliny, Historia naturalis (excerpts).

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 Washeio venerabilis et Deo digni monachi Clarevallensis cuius anima requiescat in pace. Amen" (s. XIII); 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].

(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 XIII). [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.

(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]).
(19) Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 854.
S. XII 2. 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.
latins dans les florilèges médiévaux antérieurs au XIIIe 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 alium volumen et collectum Hildeberti
in uno volume". [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 pub-
liques 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 Eber-
bach (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 Ms. Reprinted from the edition of 1858-1885 by R. W. Hunt. Ox-

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.

FONTAINES-LES-BLANCHES (diocese of Tours).

[(23) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8542 (part V)].
S. XII 2. 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.

FONTENAY (diocese of Autun)

[(24) Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1086].
S. XII 2. 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 Lucili-
um (1-88).
Bibliography: H. Martin, Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque
HAUTE-COMBE (diocese of Geneva).

(25) Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Library, EMS 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.

HEILIGENKREUZ (diocese of Passau).

[(26) Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 158].
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. 100bisv-134v: Texts concerning Alexander the Great.

[(27) Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 213 (part III)].
Ff. 145v-200v: Seneca, Quaestiones naturales.

[(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 eangelium Iohannis 'Stabat liucta crucem' [part III]. Sermo cuiusdam episcopi factus in synodo episcoporum. Tractatus Petri monachi ad Alexandrum papa\'m 'quod licet renunciare episcopatum' et epistole eorumdem mutue multitude [part II]. Flores excerpti\'\' diversi poetae. Versus hortantes ad psallendum [part IV]" in the catalogue of 1381, the order of part II and part III has been inverted, cf. MBKO, I (1915), p. 50].
Ff. 73ra-95vb: Florilegium Sancticrucianum ("Scripta poetarum") with excerpts from Ovid, Horace, Virgil, Lucan, Persius, Maximianus and Juvenal.

[(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. MBKO, I (1915), p. 73].
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 Heyls-
brun ordinis Cist." (s. XV); f. 95r: "Liber beate Virginis in Haylsprun"
(s. XV)].
F. 86r-95r: Florilegium prosodiacum Florentino-Erlangense with excerpts
from Homerus Latinus, Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Ovid, Persius, Q. Serenus,
Statius and Virgil.
Bibliography: Op. cit. supra, p. 470; S. A. Hurlbut, Florilegium Pro-
sodiacum Florentino-Erlangense. Edited from the Manuscripts with Introduc-
tion and "Index auctorum et Locorum". Mount St. Alban (Washington D.C.),
1932; B. Munk Olsen, Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux.

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. CKCIV,p. 93; A.
Schneider, Skriptorium und Bibliothek der Cistercienserabtei Himmerod im
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. 100
ra-103rb: De clementia (excerpts). - Ff. 105vb-107va: De remediiis fortui-
torum. - 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. Scrip-

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,

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, 1at. 6331, part II and part I (see no. 42 and Appendix III).

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

(37) Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 35 (part II).
F. 12va-d (s. XII/XIII): Seneca, Epistulae ad Lucilium (versified excerpts).

(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 egregii volumine uno. Eodem Solinus de mirabilibus mundi" in the twelfth century catalogue (see Appendix I); cf. Ch. Samarant & 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.

(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 epistle in alio volumine ad Lucilium numero CIII" in the twelfth century catalogue (see Appendix I). 

(40) Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 132 (part II).
Ff. 65ra-88vb: Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.

(41) Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire. Section de médecine, 133.
Ff. 1r-52r: Cicero, De officiis. - Ff. 52r-66r: De amicitia. - Ff. 66v-97v: Vegetius, Epitome rei militaris.

(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).

[(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)].

PREUILLY (diocese of Rheims).

[(44) Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 431].
S. XII ex. 208 ff., 32,8 x 21. [F. 208vb: "Liber sancte Marie Prulliacensis obligatus bursariis collegii sancti Bernardi in XXXII francis cum secunda secunde sancti Thome" (s. XV)].
REIN (diocese of Salzburg).

[(45) Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, 21].
S. XII ex. 19,5 ff., 19,5 x 13. [F. 195v: "Hic liber est sancte Marie in Runa quern quicumque abstulerit anathematè perit" (s. XIII)].
Ff. 167r-185r: Dares Phrygius, De excidio Troiae. – Ff. 185v-195v: Alexandri et Dindimi per litteras facta collatio.

[(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.

RIEVAUX (diocese of York).

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 ormesta mundi, historia Dareit de bello Troiano et versus Petri Abailardi ad filium et cronica de Anglia in .10. volumine" in the twelfth century catalogue (see Appendix I).
Ff. 123ra-133vb (Royal), f. 6ra–vb (Cotton): Dares Phrygius, De excidio Troiae.

RUFFORD (diocese of York).

S. XII/XIII. 158 ff., 16 x 10,5. F. 5r: "Liber sancte Marie de Ruford" (s. XII/XIII or XIII in.).
Ff. 1r and 102v: Excerpts from Juvenal, Ovid and Virgil in a collection of mediaeval verse.

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).

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).

SIGNY (diocese of Rheims).

[(52) Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale, 67 (part III)].
S. XII 2. 8 ff. (ff. 140-147), 21,6 x 14,5. [Provenance only].
Ff. 140v-147r: Cicero, Oratio pro Q. Ligario.

[(53) Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale, 121].
S. XII 2. 55 ff., 17,2 x 12. (F. 55v: "De Signiaco" (s. XV)].

[(54) Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale, 206].
S. XII/XIII. 143 ff., 30,5 x 21. (F. 146r: "De Signiaco" (s. XV)].

THAME (diocese of Lincoln).

(55) London, British Library, Burney 357.
S. XII/XIII. 24 ff., 20,9 x 12,4. P. 24v: "Liber sancte Marie de Thama" (s. XII/XIII).
Ff. 1r-2r: Micon Centulensis, Opus prosodiacum (v. 1-81) with excerpts from Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Lucretius, Martial, Ovid, Statius and Virgil.

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)].
[(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)].

Zwettl (diocese of Passau).

[(58) Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 253 (part II)].
S. XII ex. 60 ff. (ff. 81-140), in-6°. [Provenance only].
Ff. 81r-132v: Cicero, De officiis. - Ff. 133r-140v: De amicitia.

[(59) Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 313 (part II)].
S. XII ex. 57 ff. (ff. 72-128), in-6°. [Provenance only].
Ff. 72r-128r: Terence, Comoediae.

[(60) Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 313 (part III)].
S. XII ex. 13 ff. (ff. 129-141), in-6°. [Provenance only].
Ff. 129r-139v: Cicero, De amicitia. - Ff. 140r-141r: In L. Catilinam orationes (incomplete).

[(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.

PROBABLY CISTERCIAN MANUSCRIPTS OF UNDETERMINED PROVENANCE.

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).

(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. - Ff. 2v: Epitaphium Senecae. - Ff. 2v-129r: Seneca, Epistulae ad Lucilium (1-88).

(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).
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 Am-
sterdam, Universiteitsbibliothek, I.C.47 (77) of approximately the same
date (Appendix II, no. 35); cf. R. H. and M. A. Rouse, The Medieval Cir-
culation of Cicero's "Posterior Academica" and the "De finibus bonorum et
malorum". Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries. Essays Presented to
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: "$Yronia pulca in Epicurum" (ad 2.15.50).
F. 27v: "$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: "$Vox hec digna viro rectum sequiturque tenetque" (ad 2.33.109).
F. 35r: "$Honesta 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
consopintur" (ad 3.2.7).
F. 43r: "$Huiusmoris est illud in philosopho [supra lineam] .B.: Gaudia
Vincatque frenis. Hec ubi regnant [BOETH. cons. 1. metr. 7.25-31].
Et illud: Nec speres aliquid nec extimescas. Exsamaris iram impo-
tentis [BOETH. cons. 1. metr. 4.13-14]. In heroico [supra lineam:]
.V. quoque versus: Hinc cupiunt metuunt gaudentque dolentque [VERG.
Aen. 6.733]. De quibus etiam in libro de civitate Dei beatus Augusti-
nus diligentiis pertractat" (ad 3.10.35).
F. 45v: "$Vide unde prolati sunt Stoici in hunc errorem ut putarent vicia
inter se equalia esse similiter et virtutes" (ad 3.14.48).
F. 48v: "$Ecce quomodo a natura sit exorta iustitia" (ad 3.19.63).
F. 49v: "$Pulcras satis atque admodum subtilis proportionata similitudo"
(ad 3.20.67).
F. 50v: "$O ardentiissimus amor intelligentie. Erubescent igitur consopiti"
(ad 3.2.73).
F. 70r: "Splendida correctio atque multo pondere partem impetens contrarium" (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 secoli actibus alienum se facere" (ad 5.8.23).
F. 71r: "Pulcra exempli collatio subtilis et vera prorsus" (ad 5.9.26).