Written Culture at Ten Duinen: Cistercian Monks and Their Books, c. 1125-c. 1250

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CHAPTER 2
COPYING

Chapter 1 focused on the processes and practices used to prepare folios for writing in the manuscripts from Ten Duinen's scriptorium and library. It analyzed, discussed, and quantified aspects of the parchment, dimensions, layout, and quire arrangement of both the manuscripts made at Ten Duinen and those acquired by the abbey but made elsewhere in the period between c. 1125 and c. 1250. My first chapter also considered how the choices made by Ten Duinen's monks in the first stages of book production may have differed from those made in other scriptoria, and where possible, offered explanations for why certain codicological features and techniques were chosen over others.

Chapter 2 now turns to the next step of book production: the activity of copying. The setting of pen to parchment is what turns blank sheets into what we identify as a book. Aspects of producing, by hand, the books of my corpus are central to this chapter. The style of script used to complete these manuscripts is discussed insofar as it reveals information about how the scribes of Ten Duinen carried out their tasks.

From the outset, before an abbey can even establish an active scriptorium, its monks needed books. Books are, after all, central to the practice of Western monasticism. Therefore, in this chapter I first consider what books Ten Duinen must have had at its conversion into a Cistercian abbey in 1138, and how the community may have acquired them. Secondly, I explore the meaning of 'scriptorium' in the context of my study. Next, as a means of describing scribal interaction and the division of labour among scribes, I recognize two types of production relationships — unrelated copying and sequential copying — demonstrated when multiple scribal hands appear within the same manuscript. Then, using a selection of manuscripts made at Ten Duinen, I identify nine scribes whose hands either appear in more than one manuscript, or who can be linked to other scribes in the monastery through a shared production moment.

Ten Duinen had needed and acquired books produced at other abbeys in the community's earliest days, and in turn became a source of books for other abbeys in its network as its own scriptorium matured. Finally, in this chapter I examine examples of texts that disseminated from Ten Duinen, either through the lending of books to other scriptoria to be used as exemplars, or by their possible provision of completed books to other abbey libraries. The manuscript evidence offered by my chosen corpus and the temporal limits of my study permit only brief glances into the practices of Ten Duinen's scriptorium. The insights they provide, however, are valuable in their illustration of community output and individual scribal careers in the lively first century of this important Cistercian abbey.

2.1 Books at the Beginning

The hermit Ligerius, a Benedictine of the offshoot Congregation of Savigny, arrived at the dunes of present-day Koksijde in 1107. In 1127, after a number of other hermits had gradually gathered around him, he reached out to Fontmorigny, a Savigniac abbey in central France, seeking affiliation. Fontmorigny responded in 1128 by sending a monk named Fulco and some of his brethren to visit Ligerius's hermitage. Under Fulco's leadership, and with the support of the Benedictine chapter at Veurne and local counts, the brothers from Fontmorigny constructed an abbey which the hermits then joined. Ten years later, Fulco committed his monks to the Cistercian Order as a daughter house of Clairvaux, and soon after retired there. In the following year, 1139, Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux appointed his long-time friend Robert of Bruges as the first Cistercian abbot of the re-founded Onze-Lieve-Vrouw ten Duinen.[1]

Perhaps Ligerius had carried a book or two with him — a bible and psalter, as required for even the most basic performance of the Mass and Office — when he struck out for the wilderness of the dunes. His early followers and the brothers from Fontmorigny may have brought books with them, or perhaps obtained some from the canons of St Walburga's Church in Veurne to celebrate Mass and offer a daily *lectio* to the growing community. There are, however, no known surviving manuscripts from Ten Duinen's library from the first quarter of the twelfth century, and thus nothing is known of the breadth and contents of the earlier Savigniac community's library. When Ten Duinen became Cistercian, however, it needed to obtain (by gift, purchase, or production) the liturgical books required by the General Chapter: a missal, bible, epistolary, collectarium, gradual, antiphonary, hymnary, psalter, lectionary, the Rule of St Benedict, and a calendar.[2] Bibles aside, limited liturgical material has survived among Ten Duinen's manuscripts in the Bruges Openbare Bibliotheek, perhaps because these books needed frequent replacing, not just at moments of reform, but more consistently due to the wear and tear of daily use.

There are, however, manuscripts with pastedowns and flyleaves which may have been recycled from Ten Duinen's early liturgical collection. For example, **MS 47**'s back flyleaf holds antiphons written in a northern French hand from the first half of the twelfth century. This fragment could have come from one of Ten Duinen's early liturgical manuscripts, perhaps provided by its motherhouse Clairvaux.[3] The libraries of

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[1] Vandamme and Geirnaert, 'Cisterciënzerbibliotheek', p. 59; van Royen, 'Het monastieke leven', pp. 62–63; Nuyttens, 'Ten Duinen, Ter Doest en Clairmarais', 302–05. For more on Ten Duinen's foundation and biographies of the community's early abbots, see Schockaert, *De abten der Cisterciënzerabdij*.

[2] This list of required books is found in Capitula X of the earliest surviving Cistercian customary (c. 1136/40), now **Trento, Biblioteca comunale, MS 1711** from Villers-Betnach, and a c. 1200–c. 1225 copy, now **Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1068 Helmst.** of unknown origin; see *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, ed. by Waddell, pp. 510–11, 515.

[3] The front flyleaf of **MS 47** contains collects. Both flyleaves could have belonged to a lectionary, but judging by their different palaeographical and codicological features, they are probably from an antiphonary and separate collectarium. Although clearly bound at one point, the collect bifolia has incomplete initials. It seems to date to c. 1150-c. 1175 and may have originated at Ten Duinen.

Cistercian houses were usually built up over time, with a core of important texts provided by an abbey's motherhouse, purchased from nearby abbeys (of any Order), or borrowed and copied by the community's monks themselves. This borrowing of exemplars, as well as the acquisition of completed manuscripts, could take place at the annual General Chapter, the meeting of all the Order's abbots. For example, Statute XVII of 1199's General Chapter demonstrates that borrowing took place across long distances, although this sometimes went awry: the Abbey of St Mary's at Stratford Langthorne (West Ham) was ordered to return a book borrowed from Valasse Abbey (Upper Normandy). The abbot of Stratford Langthorne's motherhouse, Savigny (which joined the Cistercians with their entire congregation in 1147), is charged with the responsibility of seeing that the book was returned across the Channel by the following Easter.[4]

The process of library growth through gifts and borrowing undoubtedly also took place at Ten Duinen. Without an early inventory or booklist we cannot know how many books the abbey owned in its first century, but as followers of the Rule of Benedict, there must have been, at minimum, one book per monk: Chapter 48 of the Rule stipulates that each monk be provided with a book to read from beginning to end during Lent.[5] This means that by 1233, when Ten Duinen housed about 120 choir monks,[6] they collectively owned at least as many books.

2.2 Early Acquisitions

Ten Duinen almost certainly received some books directly from its motherhouse. One manuscript, **MS 131**, contains three c. 1176–c. 1200 units that have been attributed to Clairvaux.[7] For the most part, these manuscript units are not particularly distinctive: at 245 mm high, this manuscript's dimensions are just below the corpus average of 271 mm; there are fewer textblock lines than usual (spanning from twenty to twenty-five lines, with a corpus average of thirty-two), and the slightly larger-than-average script by three different hands does not suggest any particular house style. Attribution to Clairvaux is based on four rather interesting texts: the *Regula pauperum commilitonum sanctae civitatis* (the Latin Rule written for the Templars), *De laude novae militiae* (a justification of the Templars), and the *Liber apologeticus Bernardi abbatis ad dominum Willem abbatem Sancti Theoderici*, all written by Bernard of Clairvaux, as well as the *Epistulae Willelmi quondam abbatis Sancti Theoderici ad fratres de Monte Dei* by William of St-Thierry. Although not considered core monastic texts (particularly the first two), the theology of both Bernard and William was identity-defining for twelfth-century Cistercians. These four texts are bound with booklets containing three other

[4] *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, ed. by Waddell, pp. 427–28; Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order*, pp. 210–11.
[5] *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, trans. by Doyle, ed. by Cotter, Chapter 48.
[6] Williams, *The Cistercians*, p. 109.
[7] De Poorter, Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque publique, pp. 173–75.

short texts copied at Ten Duinen c. 1151– c. 1175, but they might not have shared the same binding prior to the seventeenth century.[8] They are all foliated, but it is impossible to tell if the first booklet was foliated together with the two joined manuscript units (and thus bound with them in the thirteenth century) because trimming rendered the foliation remnants too small to identify their place in the sequence.[9] We do know, however, from the very existence of this foliation, that these apparently Clairvaux-made manuscript units — whether made with Ten Duinen in mind, selected from the motherhouse's library for donation, or perhaps brought along by a Clairvaux monk sent to live at Ten Duinen — reached the abbey by the end of the thirteenth century.[10] As discussed in Chapter 2.8, Ten Duinen then passed this manuscript along to its own daughter house, as some of its rare texts were copied at Ter Doest in the first quarter of the thirteenth century (**MS 130 bis**).

Although **MS 131** has somewhat peculiar contents, many of the abbey's earliest manuscript units contain texts that are monastic library staples.[11] For example, **MS 55** holds on ff. 1^{r}–72^{v} a glossed copy of the Gospel of Matthew made in Southern France c. 1126–c. 1150. Its foliation indicates that this manuscript unit reached the library before the end of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, ff. 73^{r}–101^{v} with *Expositio in Apocalypsim* and ff. 102^{r}–117^{v} with the *vita* of St William of Aquitaine and a prayer for his feast day are roughly contemporary, but clearly did not make it into the library until later; the final folio of the manuscript contains a mid-thirteenth-century booklist of 'libri de paruo aumario' that does not contain any of Ten Duinen's surviving books, suggesting that these two manuscript units probably belonged to another abbey until at least the second half of the thirteenth century.[12]

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[8] The first text (ff. 2^{r}–17^{r}) seems to have been a booklet as it ends leaving f. 17^{v} blank, with the second text (ff. 18^{r}–55^{r}) copied by a different scribe beginning on the next quire. The second and third texts (ff. 55^{v}–83^{v}) share a quire, but it is unclear if the texts were planned together, or if the second scribe took advantage of leftover parchment to add his work. All manuscript units are heavily trimmed, yet tiny remnants of foliation are visible on ff. 9^{v}, 52^{v}, and 78^{v}.

[9] Foliation is also found on ff. 95^{v} and 96^{v}, in a Ten Duinen-produced unit, and indicates that at the time of foliation these were located between ff. 125 and 150 in their binding: while the letters of the sequence are missing, two stacked dots remain to the right of the lost cipher, placing them later in the foliation sequence of their thirteenth-century binding than in their current binding. The last text (ff. 121^{r}–158^{v}) was likewise once in a different location: the quire signature IIII on what is now f. 152^{v} indicates that this unit was once closer to the front of another manuscript. The first folio was probably used as a blank flyleaf, making f. 152^{v} the thirty-second original folio (the end of the fourth quire of eight leaves).

[10] Dating of Ten Duinen's foliation is addressed in Chapter 4.7.

[11] In the twelfth century, this consisted first and foremost of the Church Fathers, as well as contemporary conservative theological works (especially those by Cistercians), sermons, and *vitae*. See Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order*, pp. 208–37.

[12] Huyghebaert, 'Ter Doest ou l'Eeckhout?', 310–18, and others following him, attributed the booklist to Ter Doest. This was later discredited by the *Corpus Catalagorum Belgii,* Vol. I, ed. by Derolez, pp. 107–08. Lieftinck provides a variety of arguments about its date and origin, and notes that the second and third units of **MS 55** were already bound together by the time the booklist was added: it is found at the end of unit III, but lists the text in unit II as the first book in the cupboard; unit I is not included (*De librijen en scriptoria*, pp. 67–68). The table of contents written by several hands at different times on the verso of the first flyleaf indicates that all three were bound together by the end of the fifteenth century.

MS 83 is probably the oldest intact manuscript — including the binding — surviving from Ten Duinen. It was written at another, possibly Cistercian, abbey c. 1126–c. 1150. Although its exact origin is unknown, it boasts an early thirteenth-century ownership inscription on f. 1[r],[13] and a contemporary ownership inscription and *ex dono* on f. 138[v]: 'liber sanctę Marię de dunis' and 'ex dono Magistri franconis' (Fig. 2.1). This 'Master Franco' was said by De Poorter to be the same donor who provided a bible to Ter Doest: Franco de Maldegem, the provost of the chapter of St Donatian's Catherdral in Bruges.[14] That bible is now **Bruges, Grootseminarie, MS 1/2**.[15] Whether the same Franco indeed donated both books deserves further investigation.[16]

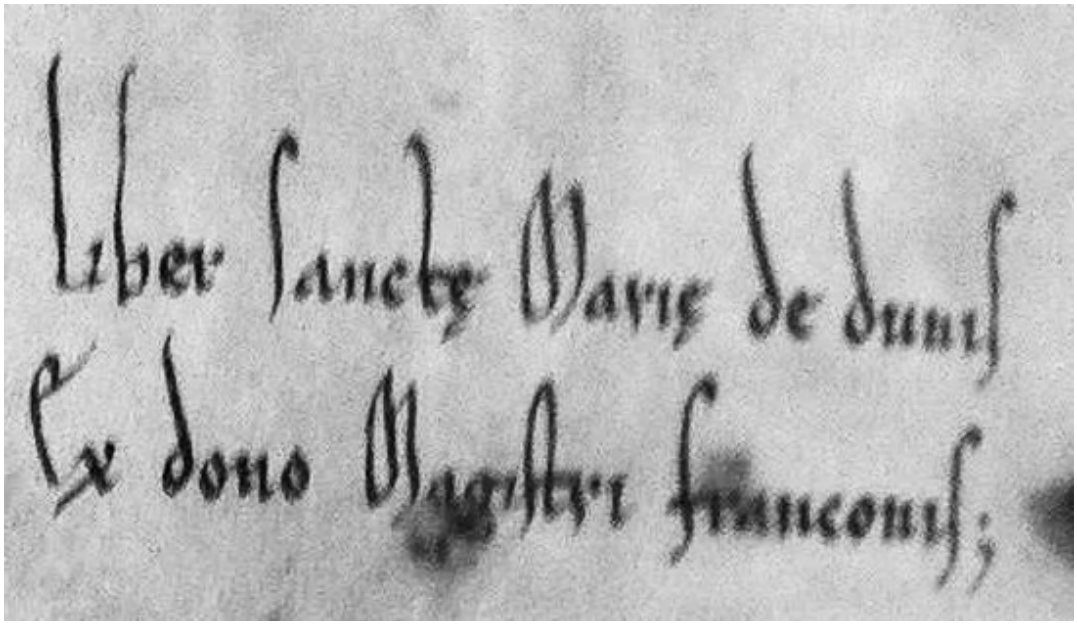

Figure 2.1. Bruges, OB, MS 83, f. 138[v]. Ownership and *ex dono* inscription, c. 1201–c. 1225

[13] Lieftinck, De librijen en scriptoria, p. 68.
[14] De Poorter, Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque publique, p. 98.
[15] 'Liber beate Marie de Thosan, quondam domini Franconis de Maldengheem, prepositi sancti Donatiani in Brugis' is found in **Bruges, Grootseminarie, MS 1/2** on f. 306[r]. Hoste, *De handschriften van Ter Doest*, p. 225.
[16] A number of issues are at play here. Firstly, **Bruges, Grootseminarie, MS 1/2** is dated by the *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges* 2 (1840), 163, to the fourteenth century. Hoste, *De handschriften van Ter Doest*, p. 225 more recently dated it to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. This is impossible: Franco de Maldegem, whose name is unmistakably that given in the *ex dono*, died in 1240, and the book was surely not made 60 years after the death of its donor. Derolez, 'Ten Duinen of Ter Doest?', p. 267 more accurately dates the manuscript to c. 1200–c. 1250. The inscription in **MS 1/2** is not dated nor pictured in any sources I have found but is necessarily contemporary to or later than the manuscript's main hand(s). Next, the inscription in **MS 83** naming a 'Magister Franco' as donor (which is, in my opinion, misidentified as being the same hand as the ownership inscription in **MS 302**, although it is roughly contemporary) is said by Lieftinck, *De librijen en scriptoria*, pp. 66 and 68, to date to the end of the twelfth century. This would make it impossible for Franco de Maldegem to be the donor of **MS 83**, as he did not arrive in Bruges until 1232. That is not to say that **MS 83** was indeed gifted by Franco; it is certainly possible that a 'Master Franco' is the donor, but as the inscription lacks the specificity provided by **MS 1/2**, it cannot be taken as a certainty that they are one and the same person. On Franco de Maldegem, see Ryserhove, 'Oud Maldegem (4)'.

2.3 Scriptorium and House Style

When speaking of monastic book production, the term 'scriptorium' is often used, but seldom adequately defined. In popular imagination, 'scriptorium' calls to mind a large room of desks occupied by monks, tonsured heads bent as they labour at their task, perhaps with a roaming master checking the quality of their work.[17] Due to the rarity of medieval descriptions of such a dedicated copying room, as well as a paucity of archaeological evidence for such spaces, most manuscript scholars consider a scriptorium more generally as a spectrum: on one end, a community of affiliated people working closely together in a single workshop on their joint-effort books, and on the other, bookmakers merely copying in the same approximate location. Cistercian practices indeed fell somewhere along this spectrum. There was, for example, no permanent, dedicated room for copying manuscripts in most early Cistercian monasteries. Instead, scribes worked where light, warmth, and supplies allowed. Archaeologists have found evidence of scribal activity in various parts of Cistercian cloisters. For example, Clairvaux had small enclosed rooms alongside the cloister gallery where copyists could work in uninterrupted seclusion.[18] While it is unclear from the archaeological site precisely where Ten Duinen's scribes worked,[19] they conceivably used the natural light of the cloister arcades during warmer months, and sought better shelter in the wet chill of Flemish winters. For my purposes, 'scriptorium' refers to a community of scribes, affiliated through the monastic institution they call home, rather than the actual physical space in which they worked.

Among the fundamental goals of the palaeographer is to determine the approximate date and origin of manuscripts. Beyond one's expertise in applying intuitive and quantitative methods,[20] the greatest help the manuscript itself can provide in this task — barring a helpful, yet rare, colophon — is to be written in a regional, or better yet, house style. Most manuscripts display some degree of regional style, with certain letter forms written in particular ways by scribes trained within a more-or-less defined region, which acts as a useful clue to the experienced eye. Moreover, a house style allows even greater accuracy in dating and locating a scribal hand: as Webber effectively explains, '[a] house style of script is the product of organisation and requires great discipline; it is characterised by a high level of consistency within the handwriting of a single scribe, and a close similarity between the handwriting of different scribes'.[21]

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[17] Such a room comes to life in the film adaption of Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*. A Google image search for 'medieval scriptorium' will likewise produce imaginings of what a scriptorium could have looked like. Medieval illustrations tend to show a single working monk, or more often an evangelist, whereas modern illustrations (including recreations in *LEGO* building blocks) show the group scenario described above.

[18] Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order*, pp. 210–15.

[19] Ten Duinen's ruins are remnants of multiple building stages; construction of the cloister and church began in 1214. For a description of standard Cistercian architecture and examples, as well as an overview of Ten Duinen's various construction phases, see Delaey, 'De cisterciënzer abdijarchitectuur', pp. 118–53.

[20] Both intuitive and quantitative methods are used, as outlined in Introduction 0.5.

[21] Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production at Christ Church', p. 147.

Creating and maintaining a house style requires not only training and effort, but also agreement and shared commitment. As such, house styles are less common than a palaeographer might hope, and perhaps especially so in liminal regions like West Flanders where abbeys had pronounced geographical, intellectual, and socio-economic ties to other houses and locales with more established script styles.[22]

My study of Ten Duinen's manuscripts reveals that their scriptorium did not have a distinct palaeographical style in the period examined here. As discussed variously in other chapters, manuscripts made at Ten Duinen usually contain a number of small codicological indicators that together suggest their origin: their parchment tends to be thick, suede-like, and light ecru-coloured, with occasional holes and repairs throughout;[23] they frequently feature inner margin pricking;[24] margins are large and mostly devoid of annotation;[25] prior to c. 1175 they share markedly similar simple red, blue, or sometimes green alternating initials, while after c. 1175 many of their initials have distinctive plant and floral elements;[26] and, naturally, Ten Duinen's characteristic foliation is evident, despite having suffered considerable trimming in some cases.[27] None of these features stand alone to declare a Ten Duinen manuscript's identity, but instead work subtly together.[28]

While there is no identifiable Ten Duinen house style, certain palaeographical features trend among manuscripts made in the same quarter century; for instance, the crossbar of **t** and ascender of uncial **d** are dragged into the margins of c. 1201–c. 1225 manuscripts. There is, however, a considerable range in script execution that suggests that Ten Duinen's scribes were not trained with an especially high degree of uniformity in mind. Great variety is found in script angularity or roundness; ascender and descender height and length, and whether they are pointed, have feet, or curl; the execution of **&** or **7** for 'et'; whether **e** has a tongue, and whether its cedilla hooks to the left or right; if the limb of **h** or base of **r**, **f**, or long **s** dip below the line or rest on it; whether consecutive **ii** or **ij** is the norm, and so on. Furthermore, if a group of manuscripts share a similar style of **&**, there is no further guarantee that they will share other letter forms to a degree at which quantitative (and even intuitive) connections hint at a palaeographical house style.

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[22] Ten Duinen is an excellent example of how location might affect, or diminish, house style through possible influence: the abbey not only had close ties with French houses (especially its motherhouse Clairvaux) as a result of the Cistercian filial system, but also had socio-economic ties to market towns and cities throughout Flanders and northern France, and as far away as Dover, because of its involvement in the wool trade. Its monks may have been exposed to and trained in a variety of regional styles, as is evident by the variety of styles — particularly in distinguishing graphs like **&** — found in their surviving manuscripts. On Ten Duinen's economic reach, see Williams, *The Cistercians*, pp. 358, 396.

[23] See Chapter 1.2.

[24] See Chapter 1.7–1.9.

[25] See Chapter 1.14 and Chapter 3.8.

[26] Various examples are provided in Chapter 2; see especially 2.6.

[27] See Chapter 4.7.

[28] A list of the shelfmarks and folios of all manuscript units, and the grounds for their attribution to Ten Duinen, is found in Appendix A.

Because of this apparent diversity in the scripts of Ten Duinen, both throughout the entire period and within each quarter century, it is more useful — and more interesting — to consider the abbey's scriptorium based on evidence of its activity, rather than forcing a description of tenuous palaeographical trends. There are two types of evidence that allow us to draw conclusions about Ten Duinen's book production in the period studied here: that of an individual's scribal career, and that of a group of scribes working contemporaneously. Therefore, the balance of this chapter investigates the division of labour between scribes, and looks at a number of cases in which a scribal hand is seen in more than one manuscript unit, or where the repeated presence of a particular scribe reveals contemporary or overlapping careers of other scribes in Ten Duinen's scriptorium.

2.4 Division of Labour in Ten Duinen's Manuscripts

For the purposes of my study, 'manuscript' refers, according to custom, to an entire codex: all folios encompassed within a single binding. Used this way, the term 'manuscript' can refer to books with a broad range of characteristics and contents. Some manuscripts were copied by a single scribe who used a consistent layout throughout, as is the case in twenty-two of the fifty-eight manuscripts in my corpus, many of which contain only one text.[29] Often, however, a manuscript contains the hands of multiple scribes using various layouts. These inhomogeneous sections can be made up of any number of lines, columns, folios, or quires. As explained in the Introduction, each of these sections — differentiated from one another by a change of scribe, a change of layout, or both — is considered a separate manuscript unit. The thirty-six manuscripts in my corpus with more than one scribe, more than one layout, or both, hold 111 different manuscript units; some of these manuscripts also contain one or more additional manuscript units excluded from my corpus by virtue of having been made at a later date.

The manuscript units of my corpus are the outcome of a range of production circumstances; even manuscript units bound together may have little in common in terms of their creation. Rebinding, sometimes occurring several times over the course of centuries, means that manuscript units accompanying one another now may not have been brought together until long after their initial production, or that they may have once accompanied other now-absent manuscript units. Folio loss may further obscure how a manuscript originally appeared.[30] Despite a myriad of potential stages in the

[29] Only the main text hand is considered here, excluding gloss, corrections, ownership inscriptions, anathemas, doodles, and fragments of other manuscripts used as flyleaves or in the binding. If these were included, none of the manuscripts in my corpus would contain only one hand.

[30] **MS 280** (c. 1176–c. 1200, unknown origin) is in a Campmans binding (c. 1625–c. 1650, see Chapter 5). Due to the significant wear of its first and last folios, it seems to have spent time unbound or in a damaged binding. Moreover, traces of red and blue alternating initials which have transferred to both the front and back folios indicate that it was also at some point bound between two other manuscript units.

lifecycle of each manuscript unit, the production relationship between units currently bound together can be grouped into two general categories of activity: unrelated copying and sequential copying.[31] As illustrated by examples discussed below, both scenarios can reveal evidence of scribal practices, and even of text reception. Furthermore, a manuscript with more than two units may show both types of production relationship: for example, the first manuscript unit may be unrelated to the second and third units, but the second and third units were copied sequentially.

Unrelated Copying

An unrelated copying relationship occurs between manuscript units which were produced at different times, at different scriptoria, or both, and subsequently bound together. Unrelated copying may also occur between manuscript units copied at the same time and place, but where the transition between units, or a non-cohesive presentation, indicates no apparent intention to bind them together. They might, for example, have wildly different features, be on unrelated topics or duplicate copies of the same text, or feature a table of contents that includes only some of the material in the binding. These unrelated manuscript units may have experienced periods as booklets or in another binding, alone or with other manuscript units.

Unrelated manuscript units bound together which present different texts are often (if not usually) linked by topic, theme, or author: this suggests that their audience at the time of binding considered them to be complementary, and perhaps used them in the same context. For example, **MS 152** contains three manuscript units, each copied by a different scribe between c. 1151 and c. 1175. The first manuscript unit, ff. 1^{v}–78^{v}, contains Hugh of St-Victor's four treatises on Noah's Ark. The third manuscript unit, ff. 82^{r}–139^{v}, holds Richard of St-Victor's *Book of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Between these two sits a thorough chapter table for Richard's work (ff. 79^{r}–80^{v}). When the first and third manuscript units were copied, they were probably not intended to be bound together, otherwise the chapter table would probably have been placed at the front of the volume and also included the contents of the first manuscript unit. Moreover, the first manuscript unit ends mid-page on f. 78^{v}, with the chapter table starting afresh in a new

[31] Scribal relationships are regularly discussed under the umbrella of 'scribal collaboration'. However, scribal collaboration is exceedingly difficult to prove, and inadequately defined in literature. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2016), 'collaboration' is defined as 'the action of working with someone to produce or create something'. It implies active cooperation: those involved divide the work to be done and complete it according to agreed-upon standards. External evidence of collaboration — such as notes or instructions outlining which scribe is to complete which section — is rare, so it is usually difficult to ascertain whether collaboration took place. Because scenarios for which one can confidently assert that scribes obviously collaborated are unusual, and because there is no clear evidence of active collaboration within my corpus, I do not use the term 'scribal collaboration'. Instead, I analyze the temporal-spatial relationships between different manuscript units which share the same binding. Different types of these relationships were defined through fruitful correspondence with Sarah Läseke about issues and instances of scribal collaboration. I am grateful to her for sharing her perspective, and credit her with coining the term 'sequential copying' to describe scenarios in which sections of a manuscript are copied one after another by contemporary scribes.

quire; it begins with space left for an initial that was never completed, unlike all other initials in the volume. This table ends on a verso, leaving f. 81 entirely blank before the beginning of the text it outlines on f. 82^{r}. The blank folio indicates that the scribes of manuscript units two and three were probably not working together; had they been collaborating, Richard's text would be more economically written directly at the end of the chapter table, rather than on a new quire. While the scribe of the second manuscript unit knew of the third, or even held it in his hands, there is nothing to suggest a shared production moment between any of the three manuscript units; the copying activity of each of these scribes was unrelated. They were, however, bound together before the end of the thirteenth century when Ten Duinen's library was foliated, as they share continuous foliation. The connection between the second and third manuscript units is self-explanatory, and the topical link between the two longer texts is also clear. Although Hugh had passed away a decade or more before Richard arrived at St-Victor, their shared monastery, and more compellingly, the contemplative mysticism for which the Victorines were known, unite these two works suitable for *lectio divina*.[32]

The connection between texts is not always apparent, however; either the rationale is lost on a modern audience or the seemingly disparate manuscript units were bound together based on similar dimensions alone. One such example is found in **MS 48**. It contains manuscript units with unrelated copying and unclear ties: the first manuscript unit (ff. 1^{r}–88^{v}, c. 1200, made at Ten Duinen) bears the latter half of Gilbert of Poitiers's commentary on the Psalms, copied by a single scribe using one layout throughout. It is followed by Martin of Opava's *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* (ff. 89^{r}–126^{v}, fourteenth century), with which it was probably bound for the first time in the second quarter of the seventeenth century.[33] A sixteenth-century anathema found on f. 88^{v} of **MS 48** indicates that it was once the final leaf of a manuscript, probably in the binding immediately previous to the current one. Without a clear thematic link between the two texts, it is possible that the shorter second manuscript unit was included in the same binding as the first merely because of its similar folio dimensions.

Sequential Copying

The other type of production relationship witnessed in my corpus, sequential copying, can be divided into two subgroups: postponed and contemporary.[34] Postponed sequential copying most often occurs when a noticeably later scribe adds text — such as a short tract or index — to the blank space before or after an earlier scribe's work. It

[32] Zinn, 'Introduction', in *The Twelve Patriarchs, The Mystical Ark, Book Three of The Trinity*, by Richard of St-Victor, trans. by Zinn, p. 3.

[33] This manuscript has a Campmans binding.

[34] I consider later corrections and glossing as distinct from sequential copying, as their intention is not to contribute to the completion of the text in question or add a separate complementary text, but to ensure accuracy in the text itself and its interpretation by the reader. They are not the main text, but instead paratext.

may also occur, for example, when a much later scribe replaces lost or damaged text. In these cases, the previous layout and script register are sometimes mimicked, and other times overlooked.[35] Postponed sequential copying is neither rare nor particularly puzzling. Because of the apparent distance in time between the careers of the two scribes, the production relationship between their work is generally clear. The first scribe is probably uninvolved in continued work on his or her quires, having left it as intended. The second scribe, however, either takes it upon him- or herself to add text, whether to complement the earlier text with another one in the same vein, to provide an apparatus to assist the reader (such as an index), or to supply an apparently unrelated item with which either the scribe was merely taking advantage of empty space, or the textual relationship between the original manuscript unit and added text is now unclear.

An example of different manuscript units with postponed sequential copying can be found in **MS 233**, which contains Peter Lombard's *Sentences* from Ten Duinen's scriptorium c. 1201–c. 1225. It was copied by a single hand on ff. 1^{v}–125^{v}, at which point its scribe presumably considered his work complete. In the early fourteenth century, however, another scribe created an index for the text using Ten Duinen's unique foliation system — which post-dates the original scribe's hand — and it was added to the end of the volume in a subsequent rebinding.[36] In another case of postponed sequential copying, two short moralizing texts were added to the originally blank final verso (f. 174^{v}) of **MS 28** (c. 1201–c. 1225) in the second half of the thirteenth century. With seven different manuscript units and nine more-or-less complementary texts, this later scribe considered his contribution useful, and even planned space for two three-line initials, although they were never executed.

The second of this type of production relationship — contemporary sequential copying — occurs when manuscript units were produced consecutively in the same time period and place. These manuscript units usually feature the same text, layout, and register of script, but show a switch from one hand to another. Contemporary sequential copying may involve collaboration between scribes; in manuscripts where a scribe appears more than once, there was probably active cooperation to complete the work. Imagine that the first scribe wrote a section, passed the exemplar to another

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[35] A good example of this type of postponed sequential copying can be found in **MS 531**, which is excluded from my corpus. It contains Boethius' *De musica* with the gloss of Pope Sylvester II, plus short musical tracts *Enchirias* and *De organo* by Pseudo-Hucbald, and is heavily illustrated with diagrams. Two eleventh-century scribes (ff. 2^{r}–29^{v} and ff. 30^{r}–43^{v}; 48^{r}–68^{r}) complete most of the text in Caroline minuscule. However, ff. 44^{r}–47^{v} are written in a fourteenth-century semi-cursive hand, presumably replacing folios that had been lost or damaged by that time. Although the later hand is much more heavily abbreviated, and uses a different script, this scribe makes a clear effort to maintain the aesthetic of the original work. He uses plummet ruling instead of blind ruling as in the earlier quires but retains the *mise en page* and dimensions. Moreover, the replacement is written below top line to accord with the other quires, although it was customary by the time it was copied to write above top line.

[36] **MS 233** remains in a medieval binding, but it is later than surviving examples of twelfth- or thirteenth-century bindings from the abbey (discussed in Chapter 5). Due to the added index and cropping of marginal notation, this is most certainly not the manuscript's original binding.

member of his or her scriptorium to continue copying, and then received it back again and resumed further copying.[37]

Although possible, contemporary sequential copying does not necessitate any active collaboration between scribes.[38] When a scribe only appears in one unit of a manuscript it is conceivable that he or she played no part in the second scribe's continuation of the work. Consider an alternative scenario to the one above: the first scribe begins a manuscript, and while working on it, suddenly dies. Taking up the first scribe's work, a second scribe carries on with the task and completes it without the first scribe's input or knowledge. While a change in scribe may take place at the change of quire (particularly if it was planned, as this would be an easy place to stop and transfer work to another), it could also take place at any other point, whether mid-quire, mid-folio, mid-column, mid-clause, or even mid-word.

There are numerous examples of contemporary sequential copying among manuscript units made at Ten Duinen. Moreover, among the fifty-five units in my corpus made at the abbey, there are five places where an obvious mid-quire scribal change occurs. For example, **MS 27** (c. 1176–c. 1200) contains one text written by two contemporary scribes, the first of whom copied ff. 3^{r}–72^{r}, and the second ff. 72^{v}–125^{v}. This second scribe frequently amended his colleague's work, and continued copying the text on the verso of his colleague's last folio, mid-quire.[39] Perhaps the frequency of corrections needed in the first scribe's work explains why the second scribe took over.

A similar example of one of Ten Duinen's scribes transferring the remaining balance of a work-in-progress to another is found in **MS 82**. This large-format (345 mm by 260 mm) manuscript of Augustine's commentaries[40] from the third quarter of the twelfth century is executed at a high, if imperfect, register. The script is roomy and serviceable, and large, simple red initials are found throughout. The first five folios are copied in one hand, but another scribe takes over halfway through the first column of f. 5^{v} (Figure 2.2) and goes on to complete the remainder of its 180 folios. As in **MS 27**, the first scribe's work in **MS 82** contains numerous corrections; multiple-line erasures with heavily abbreviated additions compensate for missing text on ff. 2^{r} and 2^{v}.[41]

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[37] There are many possible reasons why the second scribe took over: perhaps the first scribe became ill or was required to complete another task, the second scribe was to practice his hand in the style of the first, deciphering the exemplar required skill that the first scribe lacked, and so on. It is impossible to definitively identify why the scribal change occurred in most cases.

[38] There is a third possible production relationship: simultaneous copying. See Appendix B.

[39] At least one other contemporary correcting hand is present on ff. 27^{r}, 27^{v}–28^{r}, and 49^{r}.

[40] As pointed out in Bruges Openbare Bibliotheek's online catalogue, the sixteenth-century title of **MS 82**, *Tercia pars Flori collecti a venerabili Beda presbitero ex dictis Sancti Augustini* incorrectly states that it contains Bede following Augustine.

[41] The contemporary correcting hand is similar to that of the second scribe. The only clear indication that it is not the second scribe himself is the inconsistency of **&** between the two hands. Notably, as seen in Figure 2.2, the pricking was also apparently done incorrectly on the first scribe's folios. A second row of pricking corrects the placement of the first in both the inner and outer margins of ff. 1–10 (which also indicates these folios were pricked in a pile of ten, and not as a quire).

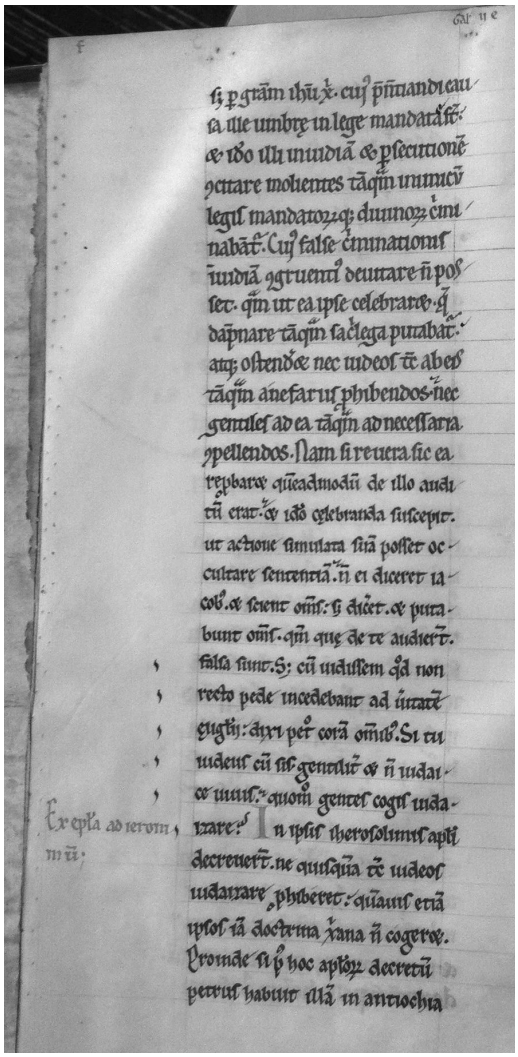

Figure 2.2. Bruges, OB, MS 82, f. 5ᵛ.
Scribal change at line 14, mid-clause

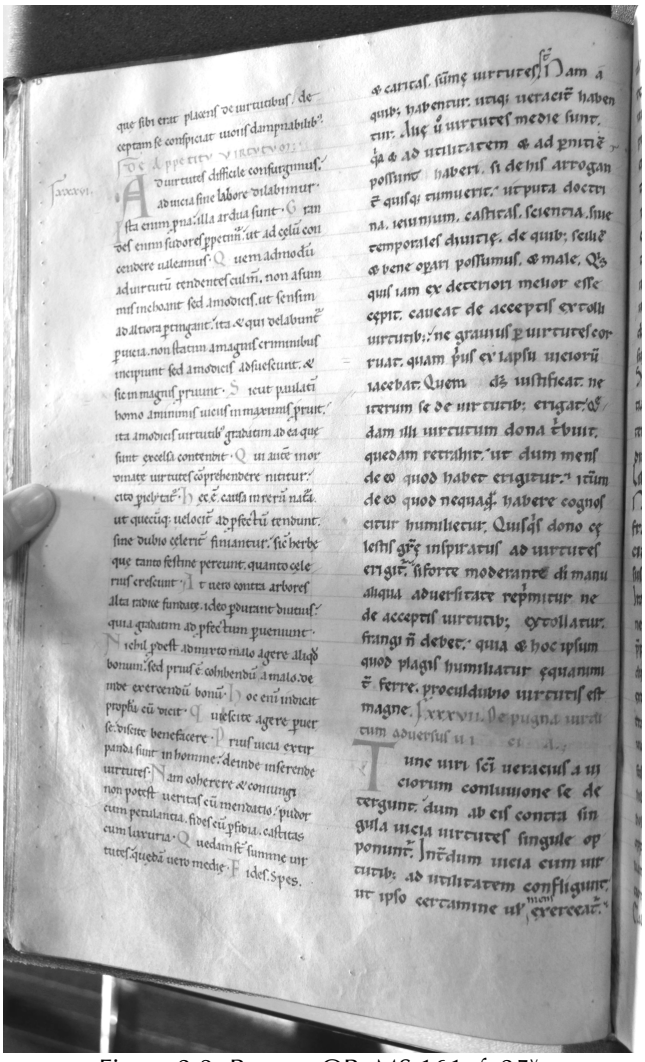

Figure 2.3. Bruges, OB, MS 161, f. 25ᵛ.
Scribe 1 in column A, Scribe 2 in column B

Another example of a mid-quire scribal change is found in **MS 161** from the mid-twelfth century. The first scribe completed the first three quires and made it nearly halfway through the fourth before his task was taken up by another scribe, mid-clause, from f. 25ᵛ (Figure 2.3).[42] Except for a long erasure and correction by an early thirteenth-century hand on f. 8ᵛ, his work does not seem to have needed as many corrections as the two scribes discussed above whose work was continued by colleagues.[43] There are no clues as to why the second scribe took over from the first.

There are two mid-quire scribal changes in **MS 28**: one mid-column on f. 28ᵛ and another taking place between ff. 133ʳ and 133ᵛ. Both occur for indeterminable reasons. This manuscript contains multiple texts, several scribes, and various layouts, all

[42] According to the foliation, the manuscript opened with a bifolium which is now lost. As a result, what is now f. 1ᵛ (previously f. 3ᵛ) is foliated with **c**. Rightfully, f. 8ᵛ (formerly f. 10ᵛ) is **k** and also features a quire signature. Either the first bifolium was lost after foliation and before the quire signature, or, because it contained the text's incipit, it was considered the obvious opening of the book and the first quire signature reserved for the first 'real' quire.

[43] Considerable notes in the lower margin (see f. 8ʳ, for example) are commentary on the text, not additions of text omitted from the textblock.

produced at different points in the thirteenth century. Some of its manuscript units were copied sequentially (both contemporary and postponed), while others are unrelated and were probably bound together due to a shared theme or context of use.[44] The overall effect of this collection is somewhat chaotic, with its numerous scribes, layouts, and decoration styles, damaged and missing folios, and multiple texts. Rebound manuscripts, such as **MS 28** which is now encased in a modern binding, are, of course, not always representative of how they originally appeared or were organized. As mentioned above, rebinding and folio loss can cause uncertainty about the production circumstances of many manuscript units, and even when and why they were united with others in their present bindings.

The following discussion is divided by 'production group', and individual scribes are identified in alphabetical sequence (i.e., Scribe A, Scribe B, and so on). A production group may include main-text scribes, correctors, annotators, rubricators, and decorators. Note that there are periods (namely, c. 1176–c. 1200 and c. 1226–c. 1250) where no production group is identified. This does not indicate that Ten Duinen's scribes were inactive in these periods. What it does mean, however, is that the relationships between scribes, or their individual careers, are not evidenced by the surviving manuscripts: no scribe recognizably appears in more than one manuscript unit from these periods, and thus who their colleagues were and the extent of their ongoing participation in book production at the abbey are uncertain. As there is no distinctive house style, moreover, little can be said collectively about Ten Duinen's palaeographical traits within these periods or their scriptorium practices. Thus, in place of a one-by-one discussion of each unique hand found in my corpus, those manuscript units which reveal a working relationship between Ten Duinen's scribes, or mark several moments a single scribe's career, are highlighted as case studies. In short, this discussion is more a series of snapshots than a panorama, favouring short stories over a general narrative.

2.5 Production Group I

As noted above, there are no surviving manuscripts from Ten Duinen's earliest years. However, a number of manuscripts point to an active scriptorium in the third quarter of the twelfth century, during the final years of Robert of Bruges' abbacy (1138–1153), and the abbacies of Albero (1153–1155), St Idesbald van der Gracht (1155/6–1167), and Walter I (1167/8–1179). Bound in twelve different manuscripts, there are twenty-two units in my corpus which were probably made at Ten Duinen between c. 1151–c. 1175. Most scribes from this period seem to appear only once, although their hands may be present elsewhere as correctors, annotators, rubricators, or decorators. It is also

[44] Four of these works are by Stephen Langton, one by Alain of Lille, and the remainder are anonymous. An index using Ten Duinen's unique foliation is found on f. 1^{r}. I have identified seven different main-text scribes; see Appendix A.

possible that I am unable to identify an otherwise familiar hand due to differences in the nature, register, or quality of their work, the evolution of their hand over time, or in the case of corrections and notes, the size of the samples. There are, however, six scribes who can be said to belong to a production group in this quarter century, probably nearer its end. Each of their hands are identifiable in more than one manuscript unit or can be placed at the same production moment as that of another scribe, therefore providing some insight into Ten Duinen's scriptorium in these years.

Scribe A. Main hand of **MS 120** and **MS 130**, ff. 10[r]–108[r]. Distinguishing characteristics include: angularity in curved letters (**b**, **c**, **d**, **e**, **o**, **q**), **g** with a unique horizontal stroke from the right of its lobe towards the following letter, simple forward-leaning **&**, compact ascenders and descenders, sharply-pointed feet (Figure 2.4).[45]

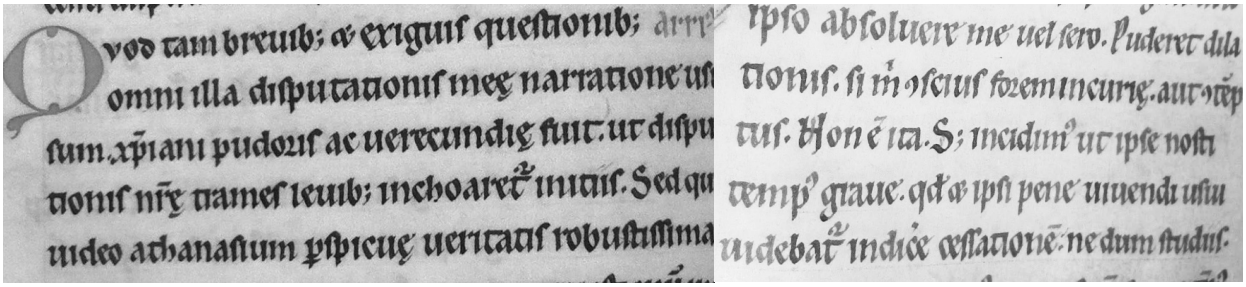

Figure 2.4. Scribe A. Bruges, OB, MS 120, f. 31[v] (left) and MS 130, f. 25[v] (right).
Photos courtesy of Evelien Hauwaerts, Bruges Openbare Bibliotheek

Scribe B. Main hand of **MS 130**, ff. 108[v]–109[r]. Only appears in one manuscript unit but uses the verso of Scribe A and recto of Scribe C; since all are contemporary, these three scribes worked in contemporary sequence or even collaboratively (Figure 2.5).

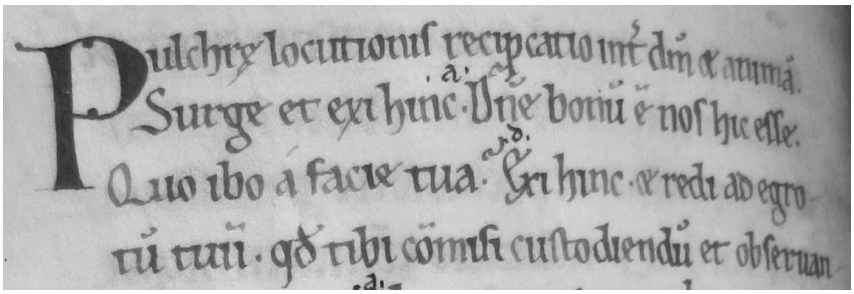

Figure 2.5. Scribe B. Bruges, OB, MS 130, f. 108[v]

[45] **MS 130** has an especially tight binding, and as such is difficult to fully open. As a result, photographs of this manuscript are skewed by slanting.

Scribe C. Main hand of **MS 130**, ff. 109ᵛ–112ᵛ, corrector of **MS 27** (see ff. 3ᵛ, 17ʳ, 27ᵛ–28ʳ, 49ᵛ, 64ʳ, 107ʳ), primarily of Scribe D. Distinguishing characteristics include: flattened loop on **g**, tails of uniquely shaped **&** and **7** trail below line, diamond-shaped uncial **d**, dotted consecutive **ij** with pronounced point on second letter (Figure 2.6).

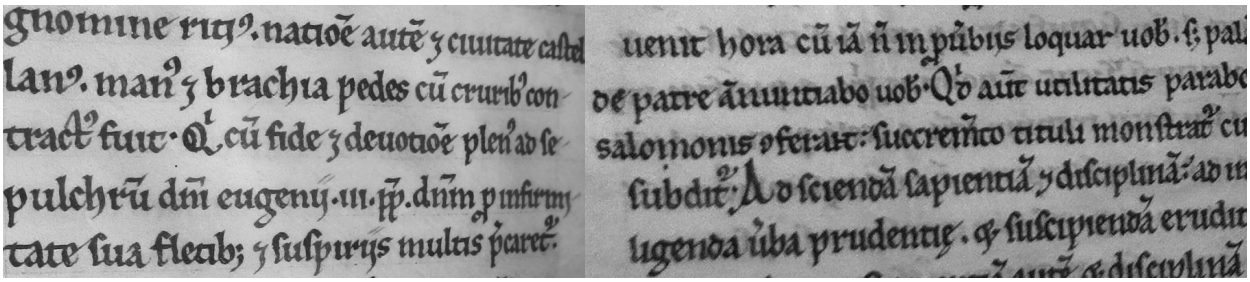

Figure 2.6. Scribe C. Bruges, OB, MS 130, f. 109ᵛ (left) and MS 27, f. 3ᵛ (right)

Scribe D. Main hand of **MS 27**, ff. 3ʳ–72ʳ. Only appears in this manuscript unit but his work is corrected by and then taken over by Scribe E on f. 72ᵛ. Codicological features, initials, and the text are the same throughout the manuscript, indicating that Scribes D and E worked in contemporary sequence or collaboratively. Scribe D's work is heavily amended with half-page erasures and plentiful interventions (Figure 2.7).

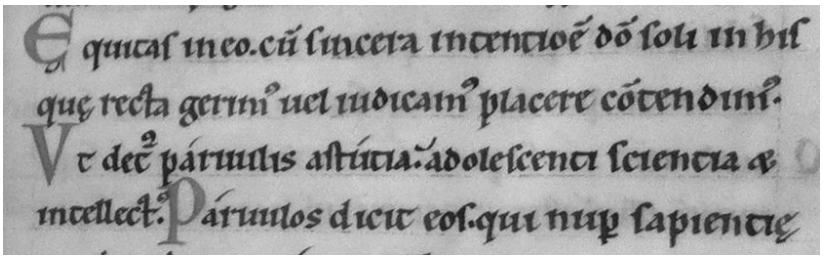

Figure 2.7. Scribe D. Bruges, OB, MS 27, f. 4ʳ

Scribe E. Main hand of **MS 27**, ff. 72ᵛ–125ᵛ, corrector of **MS 27**, ff. 1ʳ–72ʳ (see ff. 4ᵛ, 6ᵛ, 18ᵛ, 63ᵛ). Distinguishing characteristics include: use of construe marks and a thin-cut nib causing little variation between stroke thickness, **g** with flat topped loop, descenders of **p** curve left, upright **&** (perhaps indicative of English training[46]), limb of **h** bends significantly back under the arch, particularly narrow and tall aspect (Figure 2.8).

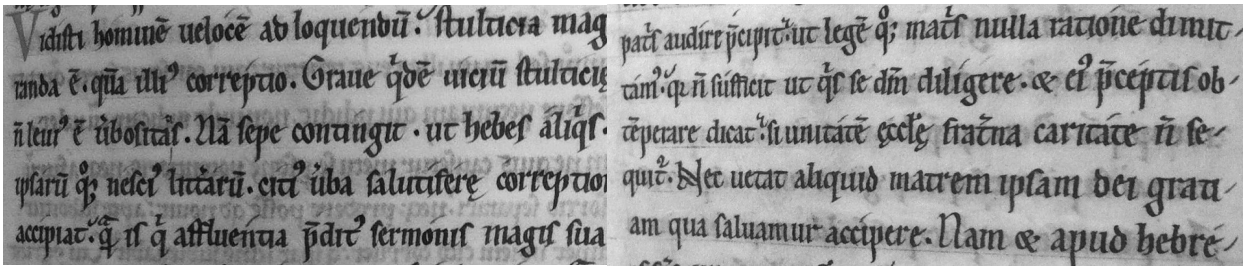

Figure 2.8. Scribe E. Bruges, OB, MS 27, f. 109ᵛ (left) and f. 6ᵛ (right)

[46] This style of ampersand is often attributed to English scribes and is said to look like a seated or crouched reader who holds a book before his face.

The hands of Scribes A through E are easily distinguished from one another, presenting, among other features, different execution of several letter forms (most obviously **&** and **g**), varying treatment of feet, and dissimilar levels of angularity. Consider the different levels of angularity or 'breaking' in the bow of **b** shown in Figures 2.4–2.8 of Scribes A, C, and E. Despite a somewhat convoluted connection to one another (as subsequently explained), they demonstrably worked at the same time, if not also collaboratively. Scribe A copied both **MS 120** and ff. 10^{r}–108^{r} of **MS 130**.[47] After his completed work in **MS 130**, Scribe B (with or without Scribe A's knowledge) began his short text on ff. 108^{v}–109^{r}, taking advantage of blank parchment to add a complementary meditation. Where his work ends, another contemporary scribe, Scribe C, adds his own short tract, likewise beginning on the verso of a completed text, perhaps to use up the rest of the quire left empty by Scribes A and B.[48]

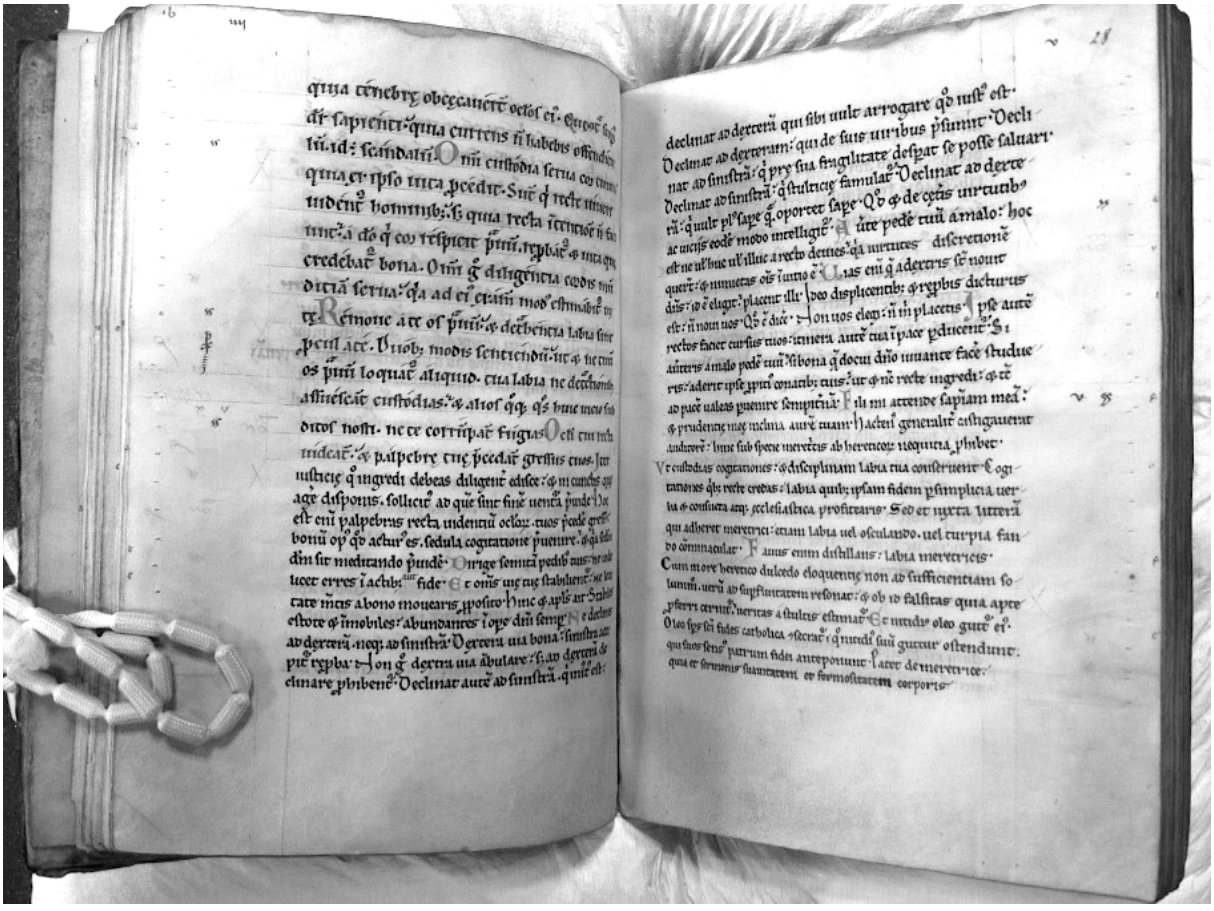

Figure 2.9. Bruges, OB, MS 27, ff. 27^{v}–28^{r}.
A considerable part of this opening by Scribe D is corrected by Scribe E

[47] The opening quire of this manuscript, ff. 1^{v}–8^{v}, contains indices written near the mid-thirteenth century, while f. 9 features Carolus de Visch's seventeenth-century title on its recto and a blank verso. They are thus not included in this production group.
[48] The two anonymous tracts copied by Scribes B and C are extant only in this and three other manuscripts; see Chapter 2.8 below.

MS 27 is copied by two scribes whose careers probably overlapped with those of Scribes A, B, and C. The first part of **MS 27** (ff. 3^{r}–72^{r}), containing Bede's *Super parabolas Salomonis*, was copied by Scribe D. Like Scribe B, his hand only appears in this one manuscript unit. Scribe E takes over from him, beginning his copying stint on f. 72^{v}. His hand also appears only in **MS 27**, but he does not keep to just this one unit: he heavily corrects Scribe D's work throughout the first part of the manuscript (Figure 2.9). Scribe D's work includes a great number of errors: erasures of whole sections, nearly half of the textblock in several cases, are frequent. Furthermore, Scribe E's corrected text is apparently significantly different from what Scribe D wrote, as indicated by his having to stretch or compress his script to fit the available space. Corrections are so abundant that they stand out as particularly surprising for a manuscript with this register of script and decoration; while not luxurious by any means, **MS 27**'s appearance does not seem otherwise careless. Nor does Scribe D look to be an inexperienced scribe; his hand is consistent and serviceable. Perhaps the exemplar he was copying was poor, and Scribe E had accessed a better one with which to correct his colleague's work and complete his own. It is also possible that some infirmity caused Scribe D's skills to suffer. While we can only guess why Scribe D's manuscript unit is so muddled, it is fair to assume that Scribe E took over for him precisely because of this issue.

Scribe E is not the only corrector of **MS 27**; this is where Scribe C appears to link **MSS 120**, **130**, and **27** to a particular generation of scribes. His is the main hand of **MS 130**, ff. 109^{v}–112^{v}, but he also heavily corrects Scribe D's work, and while much less frequently, makes some small fixes to Scribe E's as well (see f. 107^{r}). While corrections can be made at any point post-production, these three scribes have contemporary hands, although they seem to have undergone different training, or were at least not trained in any particular house style.

There is one more scribe working in c. 1151–c. 1175 (also probably at the end of that period, based on occasional touching in **de**, **pp**, and round **r** in **or**) whose hand appears in more than one manuscript unit, although he cannot be linked specifically to any other scribe at Ten Duinen. Scribe F is the main hand of **MS 47** and **MS 48**, ff. 1^{r}–88^{v}.[49] While bound separately — and foliated separately, indicating that this was always the case — these two volumes are complementary halves of Gilbert of Poitiers's *In psalmos*.[50] Either the scribe had undertaken the copying of both volumes as a single project, or he was copying from a single exemplar, making it impossible that himself and a another scribe could divide the task (without removing its binding) to work on this two-volume project simultaneously.

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[49] **MS 48** also holds a fourteenth-century manuscript unit (ff. 89^{r}–127^{v}) not included in my study's corpus.
[50] The work of Gilbert of Poitiers may be considered slightly out-of-place at a Cistercian monastery, given that Bernard of Clairvaux had brought Gilbert to trial in 1148 over his writings on the Trinity. These two manuscripts are, however, foliated, which means that they were owned by Ten Duinen before 1300. It seems there was no overt objection to creating, owning, and preserving them. The initials and codicological features are consistent with, for example, **MSS 105**, **109**, **111**, and **118,** which are most certainly products of the abbey's scriptorium (see Appendix A).

Scribe F. Main hand of **MS 47** and **MS 48**, ff. 1[r]–88[v]. Distinguishing characteristics include: pointed lobe of **g** with a small horn on the bottom, uncial **d** with a long ascender that sometimes curls back to the right at the top, considerable inconsistency in execution of Tironian **7** and **&** (both used, with **7** preferred), lozenge-shaped minims on **m**, left leg of **x** trails far below line (Figure 2.10).

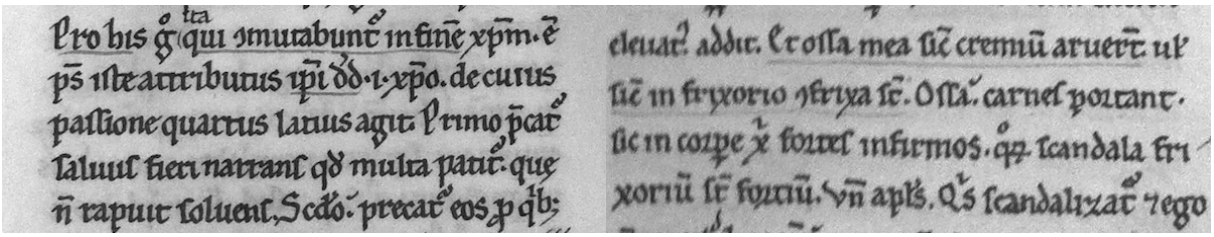

Figure 2.10. Scribe F. Bruges, OB, MS 47, f. 90[v] (left), and MS 48, f. 20[r] (right)

While six manuscript units survive from Ten Duinen's scriptorium from c. 1176–c. 1200, there are no clear surviving instances of scribes appearing in more than one unit, or of scribes working simultaneously within one manuscript. In this period, Ten Duinen was guided by four abbots: Walter I (1167/8–1179), Haket (1179–1185), Walter II (1185–1189), and Elias (1189–1203). Having converted Ter Doest, a Norbertine abbey, into a Cistercian abbey in 1175, it is probable that Ten Duinen's scriptorium undertook the usual responsibility of ensuring their new daughter house's library contained the canon of Cistercian books.[51] While beyond the limits of my study, a close analysis of the contemporary units in Ter Doest's manuscripts, or their longer-established daughter house Clairmarais (1140), may produce a familiar hand from Ten Duinen.

This last quarter of the twelfth century was unquestionably an important period for Ten Duinen marked by considerable growth; under Abbot Elias, the abbey had reached over 100 monks and about 250 lay brothers.[52] Elias himself was an important man: as an advisor to Richard I of England, he was involved in the negotiation of Richard's release from Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI's captivity in 1193/4. By 1190, Ten Duinen even had their own fleet of ships to take wool to market in Dover.[53] As mentioned in Chapter 1, the sheep that provided this wool may have also yielded a considerable amount of parchment.

2.6 Production Group II

With such a large community, it would have been necessary for Ten Duinen to amass a significant library. As the Rule of Benedict requires that each monk receive a book to read at Lent, we can expect that there were enough books to fulfil this requirement.[54] Moreover, there must have been an adequate selection of texts, especially theological

[51] Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order*, pp. 210–15.
[52] Beernaert, 'Abdij Ten Duinen in Brugge', p. 34.
[53] Southern, Western Society and the Church, p. 267.
[54] *Regula Benedicti*, <http://www.benediktiner.de/> [accessed 29 March 2016].

and patristic, to use for sermons: the Rule requires that abbots offer a sermon during daily chapter and deliver a patristic sermon at Matins, in addition to those needed for services on various liturgical holidays. While monks would be the only audience for most of these, lay brothers did attend the church sermons which were delivered in the vernacular.[55] One third of Ten Duinen's manuscript units contain either sermons, patristic texts, or *vitae*, all of which would have been read for the community's edification, while another 42 per cent contain biblical commentary, which was also used in writing original sermons.[56]

Ten Duinen's surviving books certainly attest to the important role of preaching in Cistercian monasticism. Early in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, probably close to 1200, four volumes which would have served the needs of *lectio divina*, chapter readings, and preaching were produced by the same scribe. They hold various works of St Augustine: **MSS 105**, **109** (ff. 1^{r}–87^{v}), and **118** contain a broad collection of shorter texts, but **MS 111** holds only *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*. **MS 105** is bound in an early Cistercian binding while the others are now in Campmans bindings (see Chapter 5). They are all hefty volumes, standing at 330–350 mm tall.[57] **MSS 105**, **111**, and **118** are made up of only one manuscript unit, comprising 149, 155, and 187 folios respectively. The first manuscript unit of **MS 109** holds eighty-seven folios, and is bound with two fourteenth-century units which attest to the manuscript's ongoing usefulness: commentaries on Augustine's *Civitate Dei* by Nicholas Trevet and Thomas Wallensis, and an alphabetical index of Augustinian terms complement the earlier *opera*.[58] Given the length of the other three manuscripts and the fact that **MS 109**'s first manuscript unit ends abruptly with missing text, it is possible that it had originally continued on for many more quires. Bruges Openbare Bibliotheek's online catalogue notes loss at the beginnings and ends of several texts in this manuscript; perhaps it was considerably damaged, or, more probable considering the relatively good condition of the remaining section, it was edited down by later readers to contain only the most valuable material.[59]

These four manuscript units are copied by Scribe G, a fitting moniker as **g** is his most distinguishing letter form. Although consistent script features show that they were laid down by the same hand, they were written at a slightly different register and with varying pens: the script in **MS 105** is smaller and perhaps more carefully executed, while that of **MS 118** is generally shaped with a sharper nib. Scribe G's is the only

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[55] Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order*, p. 224.
[56] For a concise account of Cistercian use of sermons, hagiography, and theological texts from c. 1100–c. 1250 see Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order*, pp. 224–30.
[57] In its present, worn thirteenth-century binding, **MS 105** weighs 3,355 grams; at the weight of a small housecat, the volume is technically portable, but certainly clumsy. Thanks are due Evelien Hauwaerts and her colleagues at the Openbare Bibliotheek for weighing this manuscript at my request.
[58] Cistercians can be credited with inventing the alphabetical index to aid in preaching and sermon writing (for which this was most certainly intended); see Rouse and Rouse, '*Statim invenire*', pp. 201–28; R. Rouse, 'Cistercian Aids to Study in the Thirteenth Century', pp. 123–34.
[59] Cross-referencing the terms found in the later index might help determine at least whether the original manuscript was intact by the time the index was compiled.

contemporary text hand appearing in these manuscript units, including in notes, running titles, and rubrics. They are each pricked in the inner margin and ruled to the same specifications — unusual given the limited layout uniformity of Ten Duinen-made manuscripts, as explained in Chapter 1.11 — which suggests that he prepared his own quires for each project according to his preferences.

Scribe G. Main hand of **MSS 105**, **109** (ff. 1[r]-87[v]), **111**, and **118**. Distinguishing characteristics include: **g** nearly balanced on top and bottom with lower lobe closed by a straight stroke, uncial **d** occasionally bent as the ascender extends slightly left of the lobe top rather than from the right, **p** and **q** with consistent heavy feet, the ascender of uncial **d** and crossbar of **t** often drag into the margin, **a** habitually tips forward with a large overhanging top compartment, light use of construe marks, majuscule **NT** ligature at line ends (otherwise uncommon within contemporary Ten Duinen manuscripts), overall round and sturdy aspect (Figure 2.11).

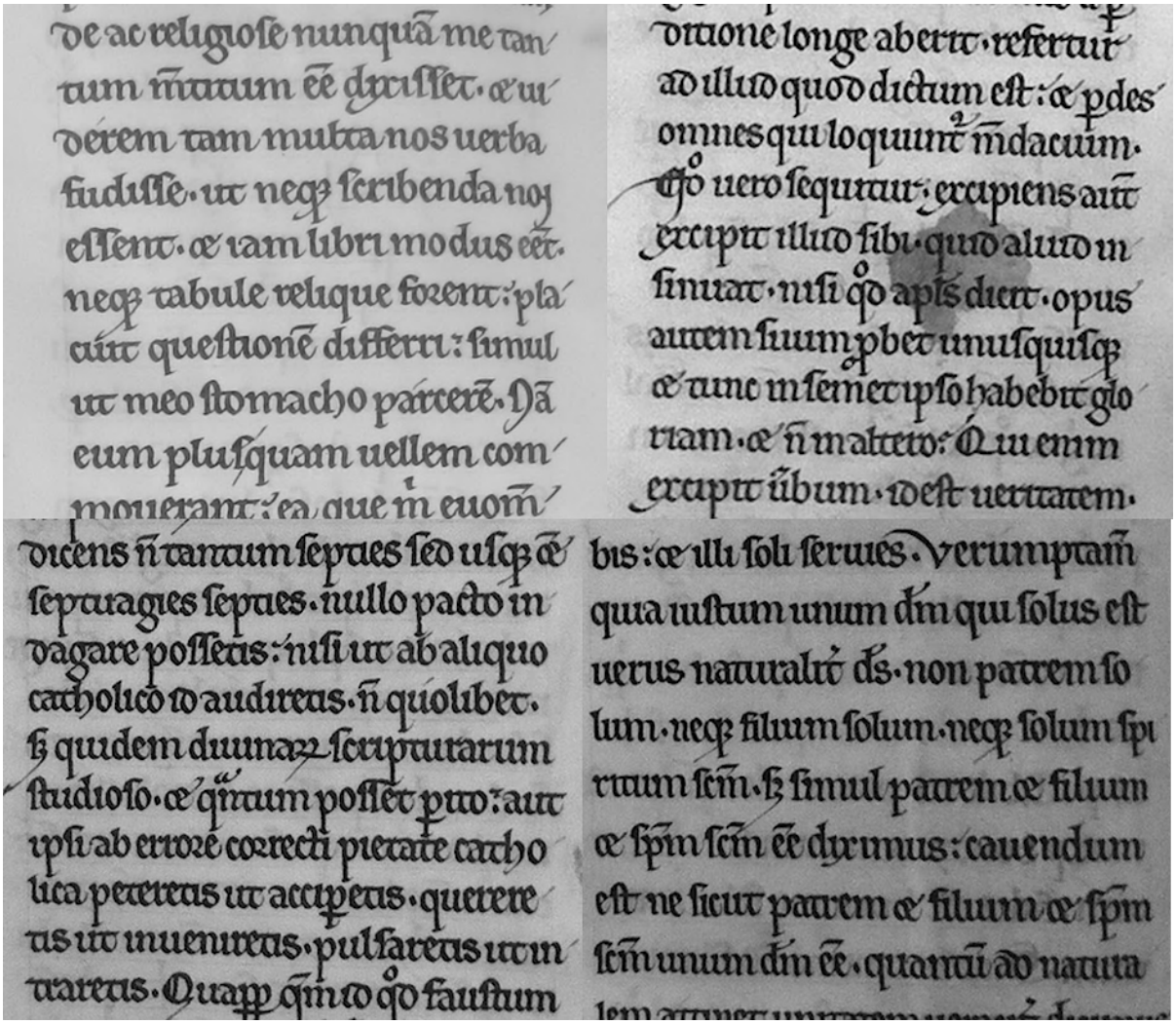

Figure 2.11. Scribe G. Bruges, OB, MS 105, f. 2[v] (top left), MS 109, f. 87[v] (top right), MS 111, f. 6[v] (bottom left), and MS 118 f. 4[v] (bottom right)

There is another important consistency between Scribe G's contributions: while his is the only text hand, it appears that the same artist completed the initials in both **MSS 109** and **111** (Figure 2.12). Note especially the clusters, fan-like foliage, and scallops placed around the knobs protruding from the initials' bodies. It may be that the same artist worked on **MSS 105** and **118**, although some design elements look slightly different, such as the way in which the scallops are placed around the knobs, the use of dots in negative spaces, and addition of yellow as a secondary colour (Figure 2.13).

Figure 2.12. Bruges, OB, MS 109, f. 26^{r} (left) and MS 111, f. 1^{v} (right)

Figure 2.13. Bruges, OB, MS 105, f. 22^{r} (left) and MS 118, f. 22^{v} (right)

These four manuscripts highlight one of the difficulties inherent to this type of research: what tasks fell within the role of a scribe? Without evidence of collaboration between members of a scriptorium beyond the book itself, or a clear distinction between bookmaking roles (i.e., scribe, corrector, rubricator, and decorator), this question is hard to address. There is a range of possibilities for how various tasks were

carried out, and by whom. Here, there are four possibilities: 1) the scribe and decorator of all four manuscripts is the same person, adapting his style slightly; 2) the scribe is the decorator of **MSS 109** and **111**, but another decorator completed initials in **MSS 105** and **118**; 3) the scribe is the decorator of **MSS 105** and **118**, but another decorator completed initials in **MSS 109** and **111**; and 4) the scribe and decorators are three different monks working in Ten Duinen's scriptorium at the same time.[60]

2.7 Production Group III

Also working around the year 1200 when Scribe G was active are two scribes whose work is similar. These two Ten Duinen brothers have no surviving work in the same manuscript, nor alongside Scribe G, but most certainly are his contemporaries. Their work may also suggest some effort towards a house style. Scribe H copied the entirety of **MS 17**, and Scribe I all of **MS 19**. Like Scribe G's work, the texts in these two manuscripts are complementary: **MS 17** contains Books I-X of Ralph of Flaix's *In Leviticum*, while **MS 19** contains the remaining ten books. There is significant text loss in **MS 17**: it contains only eighty-seven folios, while the second volume, in a hairy thirteenth-century Ten Duinen binding (see Chapter 5), retains 154 folios. Notably, a monk at Ter Doest also copied this set for his own community,[61] now **Bruges, OB, MSS 18** and **20**, probably using **MSS 17** and **19** as his exemplars. Ter Doest's second volume takes up precisely the same number of folios (after which he adds a few extracts not seen in **MS 19**), so it is quite possible that **MS 17** once, as **MS 18**, contained 168 folios.

Scribe H. Main hand of **MS 17**. Distinguishing characteristics include: horizontal ascender of uncial **d** and occasionally left limb of **v** drag into the margin, **g** with shallow lower lobe which closes with a straight diagonal stroke and sometimes with a small horn where this stroke joins the curve, short ascenders on **p** and **q** with defined feet which usually stand on the line (Figure 2.14).

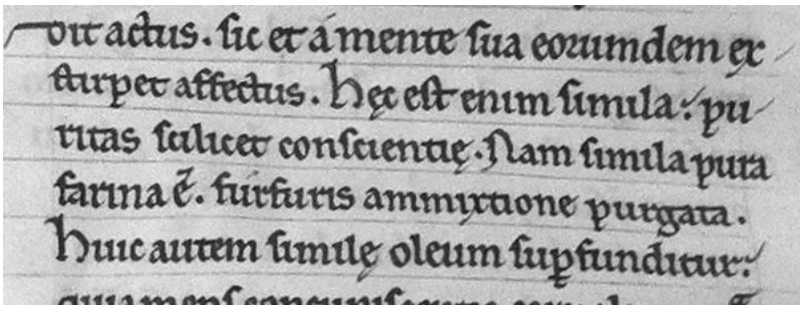

Figure 2.14. Scribe H. Bruges, OB, MS 17, f. 16^{v}

[60] Despite more elaborate initials (see Falmagne, '22. Gregorius de Grote, *Moralia in Job*') it would not surprise me to find Scribe G in Ter Doest's *Moralia in Job* volumes (**Bruges, OB, MSS 140–142**), nor **Bruges, GS, MS 19/193**. I have not viewed these manuscripts *in situ*, but the limited text I have seen in plates or low-resolution digital images looks remarkably similar, if a little more florid.

[61] A colophon on **MS 18**, f. 168^{r} reads 'Liber sancte Marie de Thosan, scriptus a quodam monacho, cuius nomen scribatur in libro vite. Amen'. Transcription by Hoste, *De handschriften van Ter Doest*, p. 90.

Scribe I. Main hand of **MS 19**. Distinguishing characteristics include: curved ascender on uncial **d** and crossbar of **t** that drags into the margin, **g** with a shallow lower lobe which closes with a straight diagonal stroke sometimes with a small horn when this stroke joins the curve, oversized rounded bodies on **b**, **d**, **h**, **o**, **p**, **q** (Figure 2.15).

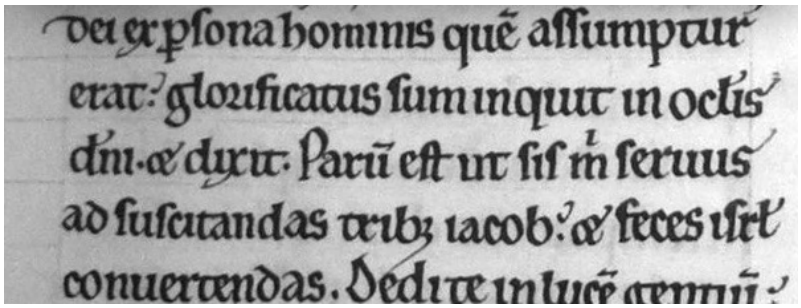

Figure 2.15. Scribe I. Bruges, OB, MS 19, f. 95r

At first glance the aspect of their scripts is so similar that it is possible to mistake Scribes H and I for the same hand. The execution of several letter forms is comparable, and their deep black ink contributes to a shared visual impression. There are, however, minor differences. In terms of codicological features, their ruling patterns are similar, but they chose different textblock dimensions for their work. Both feature quire signatures, seemingly added by the scribes in the ink they were using for the main text, but their execution is slightly different. Scribe H is exceptionally confident, writing so far above the line that his descenders balance on it, while Scribe I's letters sit more comfortably just above it. Scribe H's script is perhaps a little more restrained, while Scribe I's forms are rounder and freer. More specifically, Scribe H almost always writes out 'et', while Scribe I uses **&** and sometimes even **7** abundantly; Scribe H sometimes drags the limb of **h** below the other letters while Scribe I maintains the same baseline; Scribe H writes consecutive **i** as **ij** while Scribe I's uses **ii**; and while Scribe H brings his **ct** towards ligature, Scribe I links his fully.

Like the contemporary group of Scribe G's manuscripts discussed above, Scribes H and I almost certainly shared a decorator, who may have been one of them or another colleague in the scriptorium. Most of the large initials are monochrome, relying on designs made of negative space within the initial, bulbs added to their thinnest curves, and slight foliate ends; all are typical of contemporary Cistercian manuscripts from the region. Consultation of the plates in Glorieux-De Gand's *Cistercienzer handschriften* shows that although Ten Duinen's initials, like those of most other houses, have their own character, they share many features with initials from the abbeys around them, and also more broadly throughout the Order. This is probably due to two key factors. Firstly, statutes from the General Chapter between 1145 and 1151 specify that initials be monochrome and 'not decorated with painting' (perhaps signalling inhabited or historiated initials) and these stipulations appear to have been generally followed until the early thirteenth century; and secondly, the exchange of books and visual culture intrinsic to the maintenance of filial networks and annual

General Chapter meetings.[62] A couple of the initials in both **MSS 17** and **19** have one feature unfamiliar in other examples of Ten Duinen's decoration, but which is seen at other regional Cistercian abbeys: a sort of 'paw' at the letter ends. This signals that the decorator of **MSS 17** and **19** probably imitated decorative elements he had seen in the manuscripts of other Cistercian abbeys (Figure 2.16).[63]

Figure 2.16. Bruges, OB, MS 17, f. 58^{v} (left) and MS 19, f. 124^{r} (right)

The first initial in **MS 17** (Figure 2.17), although not executed as delicately, is the same style seen in Scribe G's manuscripts which, in addition to the similarity in script and palaeographical indicators of date,[64] suggests that the manuscripts of Scribes G, H, and I are contemporary; these three may have even shared their paint with one another.

Figure 2.17. Bruges, OB, MS 17, ff. 1^{v} (left) and 34^{v} (centre), and MS 109, f. 26^{r} (right)

[62] For rules regarding initial decoration, see Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order*, pp. 175–76.
[63] For example, a similar paw is added to the **T** of f. 77^{v} in the sixth volume and the **G** on f. 60^{v} in the eighth volume of Clairmarais' *Magnum legendarium Flandrense* (**St-Omer, Bibliothèque de l'Agglomération, MS 716**).
[64] For a description of the methodology I used to date manuscripts in my corpus, see Introduction 0.5.

2.8 Dissemination from Ten Duinen

Ten Duinen's monks not only obtained manuscripts from others, but they also lent their own books to other monasteries to copy. A Ter Doest manuscript, **MS 130 bis** from c. 1201–c. 1225,[65] contains four texts with particular Cistercian appeal: *De consideratione* by Bernard of Clairvaux, *Miracula domini Eugenii papae III*, and two other short anonymous texts, *De sacerdote qui viro Dei corripienti se detrahebat*, and *Pulchre locutionis reciprocatio inter Deum et animam*. These four texts are found in two manuscripts from Ten Duinen: **MS 130** from c. 1151–c. 1175, and in **MS 126** from the early fourteenth century (alongside several others, including the Templar texts found in **MS 131**). It is therefore probable that **MS 130** was loaned to Ter Doest in the first quarter of the thirteenth century for copying (**MS 130 bis**), and then returned to Ten Duinen's library where it was copied again (**MS 126**). The two short anonymous texts appear to be extant only in **MSS 126**, **130**, **130 bis**, and another mixed manuscript of apparently Norman origin, now **Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 285**, which contains twelfth- and thirteenth-century copies of works by Lanfranc and Anselm of Canterbury.[66] While the connection between the Flemish and Vatican copies are presently unclear, the Flemish copies indicate that Ten Duinen's library leant material to its daughter house, where it was copied and subsequently returned.

The *Magnum legendarium Flandrense*, a Passional (a book of saints' *vitae* to be read throughout the liturgical year) is thought by some to have been compiled at Ten Duinen in the mid-twelfth century and later loaned out to other houses for copying; it also survives from Benedictine houses, demonstrating cross-order sharing within Ten Duinen's network. While no copy remains from Ten Duinen's library, copies do survive from both of the abbey's daughter houses: Clairmarais's multi-volume copy from c. 1200 is now **St-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération, MS 716**, and Ter Doest's copy from later in the first quarter of the thirteenth century is now **Bruges, OB, MSS 403** and **404**.[67]

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[65] The ownership inscription on f. 106ᵛ of **MS 130 bis** appears to be by the main text hand, making it a likely product of Ter Doest's own scriptorium.

[66] Limited information is available on **BAV, Reg. Lat. 285**, and it is not yet digitized. It comprises several short texts, including an *epistolae* collection of Lanfranc of Bec, of which this is the most complete version, probably used to compose the *Vita Lanfranci* (Gibson, '*Vita Lanfranci*', p. 664). The Lanfranc material suggests Norman origin (perhaps Le Bec itself), while other sections contain ownership inscriptions for '*Brolium Benedicti*' (Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses latini*, Vol. 2, pp. 94–97): Le Breuil-Benoît Abbey in Upper Normandy. Like Ten Duinen, it had belonged to the Order of Savigny and later became a Cistercian daughter house of Clairvaux. As Huglo, 'Un nouveau manuscrit du *Dialogue sur la musique* du Pseudo-Odon', 311 points out, it contains material more common among Cistercian than Benedictine books. The precise origins of this manuscript are uncertain (and may be varied) and it could be a compilation of booklets gathered long after their creation and far from their disparate origins. If possible to discern, the connections between this manuscript and Ten Duinen's might be interesting given their filial relationship through both their Savigny roots and Cistercian motherhouse.

[67] These manuscripts are dated variously, depending on the scholar or catalogue. Dates offered here are my own, based on palaeographical indicators. Ter Doest's manuscripts are undoubtedly later than those of Clairmarais; they show significant letter biting, and their decorative initials are early penwork, and not the c. 1200 style seen in Clairmarais's volumes. Clairmarais's manuscripts feature a number of scribes,

Wilhelm Levison initially attributed the *Magnum legendarium Flandrense* to Ten Duinen: nearly all surviving copies are from Cistercian houses, including daughter houses Ter Doest and Clairmarais, as well as Cambron and Vaucelles. The oldest copy, **MSS 403** and **404** from Ter Doest's library, lists Robert of Bruges, Ten Duinen's first Cistercian abbot, in the first volume's calendar, although his *vita* is excluded. Levison concludes that it must have been compiled around the mid-twelfth century because Bernard of Clairvaux is absent; he was not canonized until 1174. However, Vander Plaetse argues strongly against Levison's attribution to Ten Duinen. The earliest of the Vaucelles manuscripts and the first Clairmarais volume both contain a sermon for the feast day of St Donatian, which he argues would only be delivered at his church in Bruges (of which he is the patron saint). He also points to the presence of Charles the Good's *vita*, which is also particularly local to Bruges.[68]

In the same year as Vander Plaetse's argument was published, Dolbeau released a study of each of the *Magnum legendarium Flandrense* manuscripts. He identified two versions (a long and a short version) and, unlike Vander Plaetse, supports Levison's claim of Ten Duinen origins, to a degree:

> Cette solution, que nous avions rejetée en 1973 est à la réflexion infiniment vraisemblable. Comme les manuscrits hagiographiques de Ter Duyn [Ten Duinen] sont actuellement disparus pour la plupart, tout discours sur les sources directes de la forme brève est cantonné a priori dans le domaine des probabilités.[69]

Vandamme and Geirnaert agree that Ten Duinen was the source of the original compilation, and likewise repeat Levison's c. 1150 date. In the same volume, Vander Plaetse, together with Sarah Staats, again considers strong links to Bruges and therefore St Donatian's.[70] A new link is introduced, however, namely to Desiderius Haket. The cathedral chapter was closely tied to Ten Duinen and Ter Doest, perhaps principally through Haket: he initially belonged to the Bruges chapter, joined Ten Duinen as a monk, became the first abbot of Ter Doest in 1175, and returned to Ten Duinen as abbot in 1179.

With this convoluted question of locating and dating in mind, I see no cause for any theory to be completely dismissed. While we will probably never know with certainty, Haket's involvement at Ten Duinen is feasible. He, or another at his request, could have certainly retained material local to Bruges given his, and Ten Duinen's, ties to the city and the likely availability of such material. Likewise, although Robert of Bruges' *vita* is not included, he is listed in the calendar; Robert died in 1157 and was eventually beatified, but not canonized. It is possible that no one ever undertook

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making them a good candidate for a study of scribal practices around 1200. Their initials and script would benefit from a comparative study with those of other manuscripts surviving from the abbey's scriptorium, including those of Ten Duinen.

[68] Vander Plaetse, 'Legendarium van Ter Doest', pp. 101–04.

[69] See Dolbeau, 'Nouvelles recherches sur le "Legendarium Flandrense"', 436.

[70] Vandamme and Geirnaert, 'Cisterciënzerbibliotheek', pp. 160–61.

writing his *vita*, considering none survive. It is questionable whether a scribe of Ter Doest would have added Robert to **MS 403** of his own accord: it seems more plausible that Robert's name was copied directly from the exemplar, which probably came from Ten Duinen given the inclusion of their founding abbot. In my opinion, with Robert's inclusion and Bernard's exclusion, the original was probably written between 1157 and 1174, during which time Haket was at Ten Duinen, and sent to the daughter house to be copied c. 1200. Another possibility which I have not seen discussed elsewhere is that although **MSS 403** and **404** are from Ter Doest's library, they were copied at Ten Duinen and gifted to Ter Doest. The same might be said of Clairmarais's copy: the hands and initials are consistent with Ten Duinen models, and also deserve a closer look lest they contain the hand of a familiar Ten Duinen scribe.

The community also apparently lent their copy of Hugh of Fouilloy's *De avibus*, now known as the Ten Duinen Aviary (**Bruges, Grootseminarie, MS 89/54**) to at least one other scriptorium.[71] This heavily illustrated manuscript, a rare case among Ten Duinen's books and generally those of other Cistercian houses, was made c. 1200 for the instruction of lay brothers.[72] According to Clark, the Clairmarais manuscript (**St-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération, MS 94**, c. 1201–c. 1225) is a direct copy of Ten Duinen's text, although the illustrations differ in design; they were perhaps done at Clairmarais itself or by a professional artist in St-Omer patronized by both Clairmarais and their neighbouring Benedictine house, St-Bertin.[73] Moreover, several other *De avibus* manuscripts are related in such a way that they were either copied from the Ten Duinen Aviary itself, from one of its copies, or perhaps even from its now-lost model.[74] As mentioned above, it is entirely possible that new (or newly popularized) works circulated rather quickly through the Cistercian network through filial bonds and General Chapter meetings. It is also demonstrable that copies of *De avibus* and the

[71] **Bruges, GS, MS 89/54** is not included in my corpus, although it is known to be a product of Ten Duinen's scriptorium c. 1200, as my corpus includes only manuscripts held at the Bruges Openbare Bibliotheek (see Introduction 0.6). This manuscript warrants a closer look in light of the findings of my study; for example, Derolez notes that it was copied by a single hand, with only pp. 28–29, which hold the first two full-page illustrations on different parchment, written by a different contemporary scribe. I suggest that yet another hand completes all miniature captions as well as any text in the illustrations; it is not the hand of the rubricator but perhaps the hand of the artist (excluding the later hand which overdraws worn blue text). A closer comparison between the hands in **MS 89/54** and those of other Ten Duinen manuscript units (as well as those of books attributed to Ter Doest and Clairmarais) is worthwhile; after cursory analysis, the main hand of **MS 89/54** is remarkably similar, and certainly contemporary to, that found in several manuscripts including **MSS 17, 166**, **257**, and the work of Scribe G (the shared hand of **MSS 105**, **109**, **111**, and **118,** although they were written at a higher register than **MS 89/54**). Derolez's brief analysis of the text and (one) scribe of **MS 89/54** was featured from 2001 to 2016 on the *Historische Bronnen Brugge* website as 'Over het schrift: de kopiist aan het werk'.

[72] For its use, as well as that of other copies of *De avibus*, see Clark's commentary in her edition and translation *The Medieval Book of Birds*, particularly pp. 61–71, and 'The Illustrated Medieval Aviary and the Lay Brotherhood', 63–74.

[73] It is possible that the Ten Duinen copy did not yet contain illustrations when it was sent to Clairmarais to be copied. It too may have been illustrated by an artist outside the monastery, as the abbey's scribes (judging from contemporary manuscripts) do not seem to have been well-practiced in illustrating their rather austere manuscripts; Clark, *The Medieval Book of Birds*, pp. 64–65.

[74] Clark, The Medieval Book of Birds, pp. 62–63.

abovementioned *Magnum legendarium Flandrense* were shared beyond the Cistercian network in the vast exchange of knowledge taking place throughout Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. That Ten Duinen made early copies demonstrates that they participated as both givers and receivers in this intellectual exchange. This cultural environment, together with the growing population of Ten Duinen's community, prompted the monks to develop an active scriptorium by the third quarter of the twelfth century, at the latest.

2.9 Conclusions

In the transitional period between Caroline minuscule and Gothic book hands, the monks of Ten Duinen did not develop their own house style, instead producing manuscripts with diverse palaeographical features. As with aspects of their *mise en page* and structure, however, their script shares some general qualities, among which 'quality' itself is characteristic. Broadly speaking, the various script features in this period are comparable to those witnessed in other Cistercian monasteries in their network including, unsurprisingly, in their daughter houses Ter Doest and Clairmarais.[75] This familiarity speaks to the exchange of visual culture that occurred as a side effect of loaning and borrowing books, as described in this chapter, which was fostered by the filial bonds and governing statutes of the early Cistercian Order.

This cultural exchange was not only visual, however, but also textual. Without embarking on an exhaustive study of textual dissemination, we can still see how Ten Duinen participated in this exchange in the few examples provided: like other Cistercian houses, the library would have acquired texts from its motherhouse Clairvaux, and loaned or gifted texts to daughter houses Ter Doest and Clairmarais. The material manifestation of this textual transmission is, of course, the manuscript. With over one hundred monks by the end of the period considered here, Ten Duinen probably had a prolific scriptorium: the community had many members to carry out scribal work, and many readers to create demand for the fruits of their labour. This labour could be divided variously, with scribes working together or independently to provide the necessary books.

In the corpus studied here, there is evidence of two types of copying relationship between distinct manuscript units bound together: unrelated copying (where the units show no indication of a shared production moment or intention to bind them together), and sequential copying (where one unit was made to complement another, whether sharing the same production moment, or made at another place and time). Despite evidence of the production relationships (unrelated or sequential) shared by manuscript

[75] As mentioned in Chapter 2.7 regarding decoration, Ten Duinen's scribes could easily assimilate with other twelfth-and early thirteenth-century hands found in Glorieux-De Gand's *Cistercienzer handschriften*, not to mention a wide range of Cistercian manuscripts owned by French, English, and German centres found in the online digital collections of numerous international institutions.

units bound together, it is impossible to construct a full picture of the copying, correcting, rubricating, and decorating roles of Ten Duinen's scribes across the studied period. However, valuable snapshots of the inner workings of their scriptorium — showing scribes undertaking independent or shared projects, and acting in just one or in several capacities while producing their manuscripts — can be captured from the case studies of the nine scribes profiled in this chapter.

With the production of the physical book as a material object and as a vehicle for text behind us, Chapter 3 looks at its use: how did the readers of Ten Duinen employ reading aids to interpret the texts they consumed? Furthermore, how did they respond to these texts in the margins of their manuscripts?