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

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CHAPTER 3

INTERPRETIVE AIDS

The first two chapters of this study explored the preparation and copying of Ten Duinen's manuscripts surviving from the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in the Bruges Openbare Bibliotheek. My study of 133 manuscript units (fifty-five produced at Ten Duinen, seventy-eight made elsewhere) has thus far focused on the preparation and copying of the text, the mechanics of creating their tangible characteristics and, where possible, the motivations behind choosing certain features and techniques over others. The structure and design of these manuscript units (parchment, pricking, layout, and quires) have been presented and analyzed in regard to their distinguishing characteristics, and their place within the 'norm' of contemporary book production.

The codicological features and scriptorium practices discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 speak not only of resources and skill, but also of intention: the choices made by Ten Duinen's scribes in the material presentation of texts tell us much about how the makers of these manuscripts envisioned, or wished, their books to be used. Chapter 3 delves deeper into their intentions for use, focusing on interpretive reading aids added as paratext at or near the time of copying. It then switches gear from intention to actual interaction with the page as evidenced by marginal notation. As this study is dominated by materiality, as opposed to text and reception, notation is approached in terms of presence and relative quantity, rather than content.

3.1 Reading Aids: Meaning, Scope, and Distinction

Broadly considered, and as demonstrated by their name, reading aids are tools designed to help the reader use the text. Within this loose definition, however, they collectively serve one or both of two purposes: to help the reader in interpreting the text on the one hand, and in steering their way through the page or the volume on the other. Literature on reading aids, while recognizing their various uses to clarify, organize, and search the text, does not usually differentiate between what I call 'interpretive' and 'navigational' aids,¹ and instead refers to them as part of the same 'reading aid' apparatus.² While the two groups — interpretive and navigational — are undoubtedly similar and may occasionally overlap, I find division between the two

¹ While I do not recall encountering the term, or indeed the distinction, of 'interpretive' aids in literature, 'navigational' aids have been identified elsewhere, including recently in my colleague Jennifer A. Weston's work, 'The Spirit of the Page', and that of Tether, '*Mise en page*', 21–36.

² The Rouses do not categorize what we might call 'traditional' reading aids (i.e. initials, rubrics, running titles, etc.) into different subgroups, but they do emphasize the development of 'research tools' or 'finding devices' that are external or supplemental to the text, including alphabetized indexes, chapter tables, concordances, and *distinctiones*, as well as internal or page-by-page tools such as foliation and layout. See the complementary articles by Rouse and Rouse, '*Statim invenire*', and R. Rouse, 'The Development of Research Tools in the Thirteenth Century', pp. 244–46.

types practical. Not only does it more carefully define these tools and their uses, but it also accentuates an important distinction: while many reading aids in general have centuries-long traditions, several navigational reading aids are specifically used for searching the text in a manner particular to the changing needs of thirteenth-century readers, which is explored more extensively in Chapter 4.

Mine is not the first study to emphasize a distinction between different kinds of reading aids. Weston, in her dissertation on eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts from Fécamp, distinguishes between what she calls 'organizational reading aids' and 'navigational reading aids'. Weston's organizational reading aids include large and small initials marking new sections or sentences, chapter numbers, punctuation, rubrics, hierarchy of script, incipits and explicits, and paragraph marks, depending on their use.³ Navigational reading aids, in the context of her corpus, include 'chapter tables, running titles, and certain types of paragraph marks'.⁴ For the needs of her study, and the evident types of and motivations for reading at Fécamp, this is a useful and practical method of distinction. My study, in the same vein, and perhaps with an almost medieval appreciation for classification, recognizes the value of sorting reading aids into more specific, use-based categories.⁵

Because I ask some different research questions, witness some different reading aids, and cover a different time period than does Weston's study, the categories of reading aids are outlined differently. 'Interpretative' aids here include reading aids which are primarily added to help the reader understand the meaning of the text, from both syntactic and literary standpoints. Interpretive aids include accents for correct pronunciation of the text when read aloud; quotation marks to signal text borrowed from other sources; abbreviated authors' names to distinguish and legitimize cited text or ideas; *notae* to emphasize the importance of certain sections over others; and diagrams to illustrate and visually explain concepts. The other category developed in Chapter 4, 'navigational' aids, are those which are primarily added to signal to readers the order and structure of the text, to lead them through the page open before them, and through the volume as a whole. These include paragraph marks, initials (in-text and multi-line), incipit and explicit rubrics, running titles, chapter and content tables, and foliation. There are additional twelfth- and early thirteenth-century reading aids — in the literal sense of their purpose of helping the reader — that are not addressed here; namely, layout itself, especially that of organized glosses like the *Glossa ordinaria*,⁶ and external aids such as alphabetical *distinctiones* or concordances which could be

³ Weston, 'The Spirit of the Page', p. 64.

⁴ Weston, 'The Spirit of the Page', p. 72.

⁵ As simplified by Rouse and Rouse, '*Statim invenire*', p. 202: 'Order is not a twelfth-century creation, but it certainly was reemphasized in the first half of that century'. One could say, using an Aristotelian approach, that these marks and signs share a *genus* ('reading aid'); they are distinct but related *species* (interpretive reading aid and navigational reading aid).

⁶ Layout is discussed in a codicological context in Chapter 1. A discussion of its function as a reading aid is found in Rouse and Rouse, '*Statim invenire*', especially pp. 207–09; and, in regard to chapter divisions, 'The Development of Research Tools', pp. 244–46.

consulted in their own right as guides for sermon writing or as indices to search material in other sources.⁷ Layout as a reading aid is absented here in favour of the various elements it contains which are addressed separately, while external aids are not found in my corpus. Alphabetical order is discussed briefly in the context of Ten Duinen's unique thirteenth-century foliation.

As noted, navigational aids lead the reader through the page or through the text. Some do both; for example, a running title tells you what chapter or book of a text is open, and in doing so is also a marker of the opening's approximate place within the book. As chapters of common works are placed in a more-or-less fixed order in most medieval copies, readers can locate themselves relatively (although not absolutely) within the volume. Some navigational aids are dependent on another tool in order to function; a chapter table, for example, is useful only when the listed chapter titles are also easily located throughout the book. This mutual presence, and indeed reliance, reflects the 'cooperative' role played by reading aids; as noted by Rouse and Rouse: 'One cannot give a precise *terminus ante quem* for general acceptance of the individual elements, save to say that by about 1220 they were all standard'.⁸ Many reading aids are well-attested, together and alone, in centuries-earlier manuscripts. What sets them apart in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is their relative abundance, used in combination and thus with increased efficacy, to assist the reader in understanding, traversing, and searching text.

3.2 Interpretive Aids at Ten Duinen

As outlined above, interpretive reading aids serve the primary function of helping readers understand the text before them from both linguistic and literary perspectives. 'Primary function' must here be stressed, however: as visual marks, they also have the potential to act mnemonically as signposts to the reader, particularly to a reader familiar with the text, or even more so, the exact volume in front of him. For example, accents may be added with the direct purpose of clarifying the correct inflection, pronunciation, or rhythm of a text meant (or used) for reading aloud. The monk frequently responsible for mealtime readings, when flipping through the text chosen for the day, may recall (either deliberately or subconsciously) that the section of text in question is accented and located near the bottom of a folio's recto. Thus, he dismisses

⁷ Notably, the Rouses classify – quite reasonably – chapter tables, alongside concordances and *distinctiones*, as 'research tools', specifically linked to the changing needs of early thirteenth-century scholars. I have no arguments against their description as such; the role of research aids is 'finding', which is closely linked to 'navigation' (although navigating can help one find something, it is not necessary that one be searching in order to navigate). Chapter tables are the earliest, and simplest of such research tools, and the only one of these included in my corpus, hence their discussion here as a navigational aid. Concordances and *distinctiones*, as well as the creation and use of such materials, are discussed in Rouse and Rouse, '*Statim invenire*' (see especially pp. 210–15 in regard to Cistercians Alain of Lille and Gilbert Foliot); and their 'The Development of Research Tools', pp. 221–55.

⁸ Rouse and Rouse, '*Statim invenire*', p. 207.

all sections in his search which do not fit this mental image. Therefore, while not their primary purpose, interpretive aids may also play subtle, indirect navigational roles because of the visual cues they offer. Indeed, this memory-function is discussed in the *Didascalicon* by Hugh of St-Victor, who advocated classical memory training in which one assigns visual or spatial cues to words or ideas in order to recall them again.⁹

The interpretive aids found in my corpus include the abovementioned accents, quotation marks, abbreviated author citations, *notae*, and, albeit rarely, diagrams. Each is discussed in turn with an indication of their apparent popularity within these books. For the most part, it can be difficult to determine when interpretive aids were added. They are not incorporated into the text line as most navigational aids are: while initials, for example, contain letters of the text itself and are therefore integral to the line, accents are placed interlineally, and citations often in the margin. Their inclusion is not disruptive, making interventions that are added later or unplanned by the main scribe less perceptible as such. It is generally possible to tell (although one can rarely be absolutely certain) when paratext is added by the same pen and ink as the main scribe, but unless betrayed by an obviously later style of script or *siglum*, whether a reading aid was penned by one of the main scribe's contemporaries or a much later reader is sometimes unclear.

The data I collected for this study does in fact differentiate between aids that appear to be made by the main scribe (insofar that they appear to be in the same ink and made with the same nib) and those made by later readers. Because interpretive reading aids contain such little 'writing' — a few stylized letters for citations and *notae*, and often cramped or heavily abbreviated text in diagrams — they are often virtually impossible to date palaeographically.¹⁰ Therefore, if the aid is perceptibly made by a hand other than that of the main scribe (a seldom occurrence in my corpus), no date is attempted; aids clearly added long after the main hand, as indicated by style of the aid, identification with a much later marginal hand, or a very thin nib characteristic of the late or post-medieval period, are not considered.

3.3 Accents

The Cistercians, born of conservative reforms and a desire for truly coenobitic monasticism, developed statutes guiding all aspects of life within the Order, from the mundane practicalities of daily life to deeper issues of spiritual practice.¹¹ This dedication to living strictly according to rule extended to texts and their physical appearance: while a detailed consideration of this perceived shared aesthetic is beyond the scope of this study, it has been explored, particularly in an art historical context,

⁹ On Hugh of St-Victor's *Didascalicon* and memory, see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*. On the *ars memoriae* and its broad history from Antiquity to the modern era, see Yates, *The Art of Memory*.

¹⁰ Occasionally a later aid can be identified with a datable later reader, through ink and pen, if they have left longer marginal notes or corrections elsewhere in the manuscript.

¹¹ See *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, ed. by Waddell.

elsewhere.¹² Twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Cistercian manuscripts, while showing some regional or stylistic variety, often share similar visual characteristics despite having far-flung origins: consider the three c. 1200 examples containing works of St Augustine pictured below (Figure 3.1). The folio on the left (**London, BL, MS Egerton 3775**, f. 2^v) was made in southeast England, the folio in the centre (**Paris, BnF, lat. 3819**, f. 66^v) in central or northern France, and the folio on the right (**Bruges, Openbare Bibliotheek, MS 257**, f. 125^v) was made at Ten Duinen in West Flanders. Their shared visual heritage and standard is instantly and plainly apparent.



Figure 3.1. Left to right: London, BL, MS Egerton 3775, f. 2^v, c. 1200; Paris, BnF, lat. 3819, f. 66^v, c. 1200; Bruges, OB, MS 257, f. 125^v, c. 1200. Photos respectively owned by the British Library, Bibliothèque nationale de France, and the author

Commitment to conformity and rule not only dictated how Cistercian manuscripts should look, but also who should read them, when, and where this reading should take place. Readings were an essential part of Mass, but also took place at Matins (discussed in Chapters 8–11 of the Rule of St Benedict), at mealtimes, during Chapter, and at collation.¹³ *Lectio divina* — individual, ruminative, spiritually-enriching reading — is also outlined as a daily undertaking prescribed for each monk in Chapter 48 of the Rule of St Benedict.¹⁴ Moreover, Chapter 38 of the Rule outlines the task of the weekly reader, charged with reading selections aloud to the entire community during mealtimes. It is stipulated that the monks are not to simply take turns at the task, but rather ‘only those who edify their hearers’ are to read,¹⁵ but little else is said about the ‘how’ of reading. This ‘how’ was a relevant issue, concerning both the Order’s commitment to living strictly according to rule (both the Rule of St Benedict and their

¹² Broader studies of a shared visual aesthetic within various media in Cistercian art include, for example, the volumes of *Cistercian Art and Architecture* as part of the ongoing Cistercian Studies Series (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications).

¹³ Webber, ‘Reading in the Refectory’.

¹⁴ *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, trans. by Doyle, ed. by Cotter, Chapter 48.

¹⁵ *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, trans. by Doyle, ed. by Cotter, Chapter 38.

own statutes), and their efforts towards uniformity. An anonymous twelfth-century Cistercian, apparently of Cîteaux, compiled a volume of various texts on accentuation and punctuation, noting in his Prologue:

Utinam nos qui sub regula vivimus et regulariter cantamus etiam regulariter legeremus. Si enim lectio nostra nusquam a regula discreparet, nihil apud nos extra regulam fieret.

Would that we who live under a rule and sing according to rule should even read according to rule. For if our way of reading were not to depart from a rule in any way, then nothing about us would be exempt from a rule.¹⁶

As remarked by Parkes, this statement's context within such a volume, and the type of instructions offered in the Rule of St Benedict — the who, when, and where of reading¹⁷ — show 'that the writer is referring to the manner of reading and not the matter'.¹⁸

Returning to the Rule: what distinguishes reading that is edifying from that which is unedifying? Surely, the best readers had some oratorical skill; they were experienced or charismatic enough to give their performances some life and auditory interest without bordering on ostentatiousness (which would, no doubt, be frowned upon). At minimum, readers needed acceptable elocution: pronunciation, articulation, and modulation proficient enough to be effortlessly understood. A satisfactory performance required two key conditions, namely, enough Latin literacy to understand and thus relate the narrative to listeners, and a text that was both correct and legible to the reader. Legibility, not only of letters and words, but also of symbols and *mise en page*, might be enhanced with reading aids for optimal reading aloud. Punctuation was at this point ubiquitous, and indeed Cistercians had developed their own, more prescriptive system.¹⁹ The text could, however, also be enhanced by tonic accents, which it occasionally was at Ten Duinen.

Accents were not simply a tool designed to help the reader perform acceptably for listeners. That the reading be not only understood linguistically but in fact 'edifying' as stipulated by the Rule, is a legitimate concern: perhaps the reader of the present

¹⁶ This manuscript survives as **Université de Montpellier Faculty of Medicine, MS II 322**, and this statement found on f. 42^r; trans. Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, pp. 38–39.

¹⁷ The 'what' and 'why' of this public reading in the monastery, namely Scripture and the Fathers in order to prevent meaningless discussion or gossip at table and to provide spiritual edification, are discussed by Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory'.

¹⁸ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 39.

¹⁹ Twelfth-century Cistercian punctuation featured an enhanced set of marks for medial and final pauses. I have not undertaken a thorough study of punctuation marks and their contextual meanings within Ten Duinen's books, although final *punctus*, *punctus flexus*, *punctus elevatus*, and *punctus interrogativus* are all witnessed in manuscripts made at Ten Duinen. These marks, their development within the context of the Cistercian liturgy, and their uses are outlined in Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, pp. 39–40. The foremost study on Cistercian punctuation is, of course, Palmer's 'Simul canternus, simul pausernus'.

chapter can recall her or his own lack of engagement by lecturers who read by rote or in monotone, or the confusion that results when an actor does not himself understand the soliloquy he delivers. The way a text is spoken – inflection, pauses, rhythm, and speed, all of which can be manipulated through punctuation – greatly impacts its sense, and can change its meaning.²⁰ The effect of delivery on the sense of a text read aloud is described by Isidore of Seville in his discussion of the qualities of a suitable Lector:

Whosoever is to be promoted to a rank of this kind shall be deeply versed in doctrine and books, and be thoroughly adorned with the knowledge of meanings and words [...] In this way he will control the technique of oral delivery without impediment, in order that he may move the minds and feelings of all to understand, by distinguishing between the kinds of delivery, and by expressing the feelings of the *sententiae*: now by the tone of one expounding, now [...] of one who is suffering [...], chiding [...], exhorting, or by those according to the kinds of appropriate delivery.²¹

That accents, over and above sufficient punctuation, could help the reader perform his task effectively was long acknowledged. In the first half of the ninth century, Hildemar of Corbie deliberated at length the placement of pauses and signs for vocal inflection in a letter to Bishop Ursus of Benevento, noting afterwards that tonic accents are also occasionally added ‘for the sake of lazy readers’ (*propter inertes lectores*) who, rather than truly lazy, were conceivably just unskilled in choosing the correct syllable to emphasize in longer Latin words; it was, after all, a non-native language to virtually every speaker.²² Accents are also specifically discussed in surviving texts of the early Cistercian Order; Leclercq notes that Cistercian attention to well-accented texts surpass that of other orders.²³ One such witness is found in a letter by Lambert of Pothières, a Benedictine friend of Robert of Molesme, to Alberic, second abbot of Cîteaux discussing accentuation,²⁴ as well as a psalter sent to Alberic with accents marked for correct pronunciation.²⁵

Within my corpus of 133 manuscript units, twenty include tonic accents in all or part of the main text.²⁶ Of these, seventeen were produced in Ten Duinen’s scriptorium. These accents indicate two things: that the accented text was probably intended, either

²⁰ An excellent explanation of the effect of punctuation on the meaning of a text, with examples from contemporary exegesis, is found in Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, pp. 70–75.

²¹ Abridged from the translation of Parkes, ‘Reading, Copying and Interpreting’, p. 92.

²² Boyle, ‘Tonic Accent, Codicology, and Literacy’, pp. 5–6. Correct interpretation and pronunciation were particularly challenging for native speakers of non-Romance languages, as evidenced by vernacular glossing and other methods used by Germanic and Insular scribes to better read their Latin texts; see Parkes, ‘Reading, Copying and Interpreting’, pp. 94–95.

²³ Leclercq, ‘Textes cisterciens’, 67; as cited and discussed in Turcan-Verkerk, ‘Twelfth-Century Cistercians’, p. 68.

²⁴ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 38; Turcan-Verkerk, ‘Twelfth-Century Cistercians’, p. 68.

²⁵ Hunt, ‘The Preface to the *Speculum ecclesiae*’, 201.

²⁶ Accents are found in part or all of the main texts in manuscript units belonging to **MSS 27, 33, 56, 102, 120, 128, 131, 139, 152, 156, 161, 297, and 302.**

by the scribe or later user who added accents, to be read aloud, and that there were at least some members of the community who needed them to ensure their reading was indeed edifying. They are present in varying degrees: for example, they are abundantly applied in **MS 27** by the two main scribes, as demonstrated on f. 4^v where both hands are present (Figure 3.2),²⁷ yet minimally applied in **MSS 105, 109** (ff. 1^r–87^v), **111**, and **118** copied by the same scribe, where they are reserved for words in which the stressed syllable is more difficult to determine (Figure 3.3).²⁸

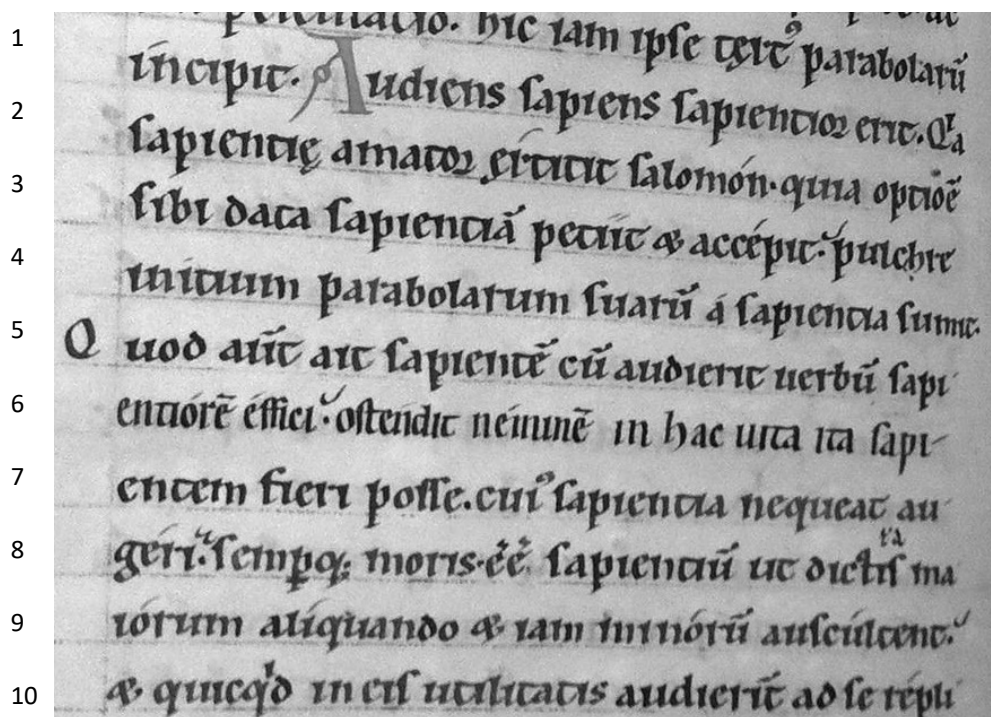


Figure 3.2. Bruges, OB, MS 27, f. 4^v. Both scribes use tonic accents (e.g. line 3, 'sapientiae amator **é**xtitit salom**ón**' and lines 5-6, 'sapi/enti**ó**rem **é**ffici; oste**é**ndit **n**eminem')

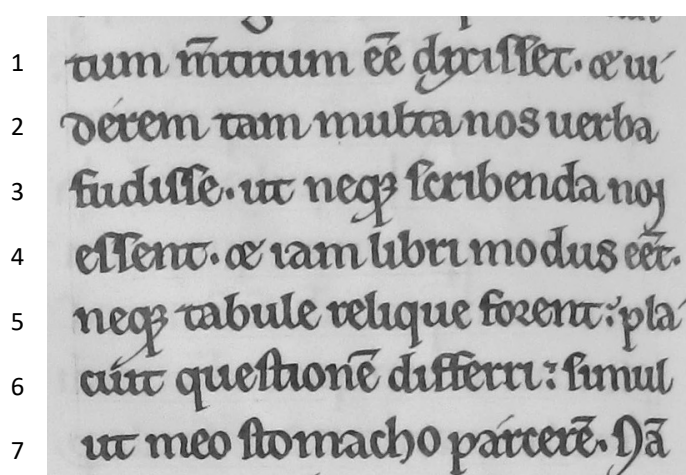


Figure 3.3. Bruges, OB, MS 105, f. 50^v, col. B. Tonic accents are present, but used sparingly (e.g. lines 1-2, 'uid**é**rem' and line 7, 'párcerem')

²⁷ These scribes are identified in Chapter 2 as Scribes D and E; Scribe C, the corrector of **MS 27** and main scribe of **MS 130** ff. 109^v–112^v, does not accent his corrections.

²⁸ This scribe is identified in Chapter 2 as Scribe G.

Three quarters of the twenty accented texts are present in manuscript units copied prior to 1200.²⁹ Of the manuscript units from c. 1151–c. 1175, nearly a quarter contain accents, dropping to one sixth between c. 1176–c. 1200, and finally a mere one-in-nine after c. 1200. The proportion of accented texts from each quarter century might suggest that Ten Duinen’s monks increased their overall Latin literacy over time; accents became less necessary in texts after 1200. As the abbey had grown significantly by the early thirteenth century and education became increasingly common among Cistercians,³⁰ perhaps there were more competent readers within the community to serve as Lector, and less accurate readers (those requiring the tonic accents) were no longer tasked with the responsibility.

Not only do accents speak to Cistercian attentiveness to correctly performed readings, but their presence may also be one of a manuscript’s best internal clues as to whether its text was read aloud at Ten Duinen. Although accents do not necessitate that a text was read aloud, one could reasonably expect that they appear more frequently in texts typically read aloud than those which were only used for silent perusal. How do Ten Duinen’s accented texts compare to those known to be commonly read aloud within monastic communities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries?

As mentioned above, reading aloud took place at Mass, Matins, and mealtimes, during Chapter, and at collation. Webber outlines these readings as follows: during Chapter an excerpt from a martyrology, a chapter of the Rule of St Benedict, and a homily on that chapter were read. On Sundays and major feast days, the Gospel pericopes and a Gospel homily were read in place of the Rule and its homily. At collation, patristic and early authoritative texts which promote monastic life or model monastic virtues were shared.³¹ Refectory readings during mealtimes, Webber demonstrates, are more challenging to identify; evidence for what was read in the twelfth century is determined ‘by later medieval lists of the books used in the refectory, individual entries in booklists that identify the item in question as a refectory book, and inscriptions and annotations in surviving manuscripts’.³² Evidence collected in other studies indicate that refectory readings were sometimes related to the day’s scheduled liturgical readings: Scripture assigned for Matins that was not completed was finished in the refectory; patristic commentaries and homilies relating to the liturgical season were options; and *vitae* or martyrologies were read to further commemorate saints beyond the liturgy of their feast day, or at all if the community did not recognize them in the liturgy.³³ A number of Cistercian houses laid out in their customals when particular

²⁹ From 1126–c. 1150, **MS 139** (one manuscript unit); from c. 1151–c. 1175, **MSS 27, 102, 120, 152, and 161** (eight manuscript units); from c. 1176–c. 1200, **MSS 33, 56, 128, 156, and 297** (six manuscript units); and from c. 1201–c. 1225, **MSS 105, 109** (ff. 1^r–87^v), **111, 118, and 302** (five manuscript units).

³⁰ On increased Cistercian interest in education in the early thirteenth century, see Lekai, *The Cistercians*, pp. 79–82.

³¹ Webber, ‘Reading in the Refectory’, pp. 8–9.

³² A thorough investigation of inscriptions or annotations for information about refectory readings could be a fruitful topic for future study.

³³ Webber, ‘Reading in the Refectory’, p. 18.

readings were to be performed, although it is unclear how much variation occurred in these prescriptions from house to house.³⁴

Broadly speaking, the accented texts from Ten Duinen's library generally reflect the reading trends outlined by Webber (Figure 3.4).³⁵ Not all of the genres she identifies are represented, but the surviving accented texts from Ten Duinen's library do include patristic and other authoritative texts with particularly monastic appeal (for example, Augustine's *De opere monachorum*, found on ff. 26^r–46^r of **MS 109**, or Hugh of St-Victor's *De laude caritatis* on ff. 65^r–77^r of **MS 156**), commentaries and homilies on Scripture (by Augustine, Bede, Ambrose, and Geoffrey Babion), books of the Bible, and hagiographical material.³⁶

Figure 3.4 Texts Accented in Whole or Part from Ten Duinen's Library

MS	Section (ff.)	Text
27	1 ^r –72 ^r	<i>In proverbial Salomonis</i> , Bede
27	72 ^v –125 ^v	<i>In proverbial Salomonis</i> , Bede
33	1 ^r –64 ^v ; 69 ^r –181 ^v	<i>Iob</i> , <i>Liber Salomonis</i> , <i>Ecclesiastes</i> , <i>Canticum canticorum</i> , <i>Sapientia</i> , <i>Sirach</i> , <i>Isaias</i> , <i>Hieremias</i> , <i>Threni</i> , <i>Hiezechiel</i> , <i>Daniel</i>
56	101 ^r –126 ^v	<i>Enarrationes in Mattheum</i> , Geoffrey Babion
102	1 ^r –129 ^r	<i>Hexameron</i> , <i>Commentum super Cantica canticorum excerptum de libris sancti Ambrosii</i> , Ambrose; <i>Epistula Pauli ad Laodicenses</i> ; <i>Baruch</i> ; <i>Exemplum eiusdem epistulae quam misit Ieremias ad abductos captiuos in Babiloniam</i> ...
105	1 ^v –149 ^v	<i>Opera varia</i> , Augustine
109	1 ^r –87 ^v	<i>Opera varia</i> , Augustine
111	1 ^v –155 ^v	<i>Contra Faustum Manichaeum</i> , Augustine
118	1 ^r –187 ^r	<i>Liber sancti Augustini de vera fide</i> , Fulgentius of Ruspe; <i>Opera varia</i> [against heresies], Augustine
120	1 ^r –112 ^r	<i>De fide catholica tractatus sancti Athanasii contra Sabellium</i> , Arrium et Fotinum, Vigilius Thapsensis; <i>Tractatus de incomprehensibili dominicae incarnationis et humanae redemptionis sacramento</i> , Anon.

³⁴ For example, **Périgueux, Archives départementales de la Dordogne, MS 164**, from the mid-twelfth century (Cadouin Abbey?) specifies on f. 1^r, 'A quadragesima usque in passione domini legantur hae lectiones priuatis diebus. Tractatus sancti augustini episcopi super canticum graduum' (From Lent until Easter this is read during private reading time. The tract by St Augustine on the Song of Songs). Waddel identifies several customals with prescribed readings for different parts of the day or liturgical year; see *Twelfth-Century Statutes*, pp. 647–49 for examples (the quoted example is found at p. 648 g).

³⁵ The identification of these texts is for the most part credited to De Poorter, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque publique*. In cases where multi-text compilations are found and I have recorded 'Opera varia', a detailed list can be found in De Poorter.

³⁶ According to Webber, Cistercians did not read hagiography at Matins, unlike some other orders ('Reading in the Refectory', p. 41). Ten Duinen's monks, and others in West Flanders, clearly valued hagiography, as evidenced by the *Magnum legendarium Flandrense* (see Chapter 2.8). Such compilations were probably used as refectory readings (Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory', p. 43). The current digitization of Ter Doest's earliest surviving copy of the *Magnum legendarium*, **Bruges, OB, MS 403** (holding the second part of the collection, dating c. 1200–c. 1224) is not of a high enough resolution to identify accents, sections of Clairmarais's nine surviving volumes are clearly, if lightly, accented (see, for example, **St-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération, MS 716**).

128	1 ^r –49 ^v	<i>De duodecim gradibus humilitatis</i> , Bernard of Clairvaux; <i>Sententia</i> , Bernard of Clairvaux; <i>Expositio orationis dominica</i> , Bernard of Clairvaux(?)
128	50 ^r –140 ^v	<i>Soliloquia</i> , S. Bernardus de arte amoris seu de diligendo Deo, William of St-Thierry; <i>Quot sunt status amoris in anima christiana</i> , Anon.
131	121 ^r –158 ^v	<i>Liber primus Petri cluniacensis ad dampnum Bernardum clarevallensem abbatem</i> [...], Peter the Venerable
139	1 ^v –86 ^r	<i>Monita sancti Effrem</i> , Ephrem the Syrian; <i>Acta sancti Iohannis Alexandrini episcopi</i> , Leontios of Neapolis
152	1 ^v –78 ^v	<i>De quatuor archis</i> , <i>Libellus de formatione arche</i> , Hugh of St-Victor
156	1 ^r –132 ^v	<i>Opera varia</i> , Hugh of St-Victor
161	1 ^r –25 ^v	<i>De summo bono</i> , Isidore
161	149 ^r –152 ^r	<i>Excerpta varia</i> , Gregory the Great, Boniface (compiled by John of Clairvaux, d. 1179); hagiographical legend of Dukes Eusebius of Sardinia and Ostorgius of Sicily
297	1 ^r –55 ^v	<i>Epistolae Galandi Regniacensis</i> , <i>De reparatione humani generis</i> , Galand of Reigny [to Bernard of Clairvaux]
302	1 ^v –113 ^r	<i>De contemptu seculi</i> , <i>Epistolae et sermones Petri Damiani humilis monachi</i> , Peter Damian; <i>Sententia Lanfranci episcopi ad Symonem monachum</i> , Lanfranc of Bec; <i>De libro qui appellatur Gratissimus Petri Damiani quedam capitula</i> , Peter Damian

There are two other notable trends among these texts with tonic accents: firstly, they are particularly Cistercian in flavour. A good proportion of these authors are Cistercian favourites, including many works both by and addressed to Bernard of Clairvaux (including the letters of Galand of Reigny, another Cistercian), several texts of Hugh of St-Victor in multiple volumes, a collection of William of St-Thierry (who died a Cistercian monk at Signy), and Peter Damian (a veritable pre-Cistercian).

Another, perhaps more surprising trend is also apparent: there seems to be an interest in texts against heresy. In addition to a number of Augustine's defences of orthodoxy (**MS 105's** *Acta contra Fortunatum Manichaeum*, **MS 109's** *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, and **MS 118's** *Ad Romanianum de vera religione*, *Ad Macedonium de vera religione*, and *De baptismo contra Donatistas*), late-antique anti-heresy treatises by Fulgentius of Ruspe (on Augustine) and Vigilius of Thapsis are present. A more contemporary book concerning orthodoxy is also found: **MS 131** contains a recollection of Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux's mutual condemnation of each other.³⁷

This group of manuscript units with tonic accents represents only a small proportion of my corpus of Ten Duinen's books (15 per cent), and the corpus itself probably represents a small proportion of the books Ten Duinen held in their library by the mid-thirteenth century, given the size of their community. However, this tiny interpretive reading aid, designed to make the reader's task easier and his words more

³⁷ My primary interest in this study is the codicological and palaeographical features of Ten Duinen's manuscripts and what they tell us about the community. This is an excellent example of how the material book can reveal aspects of text reception and literary culture in reader communities. I am presently developing an exploration of this particular interest in heresy at Ten Duinen for future publication.

edifying, provides a welcome insight into the types of books the monks of Ten Duinen read and heard when they gathered together.

3.4 Quotations

Medieval scribes drew on a long-established tradition of calling attention to, or marking out, material and ideas quoted from elsewhere. As described by Steinová, variants of technical signs used in Classical Antiquity for precisely this purpose were wholly entrenched by the Early Middle Ages; Isidore's *De notis sententiarum* outlines how they were used by his contemporaries to call out passages of Scripture in other texts.³⁸

There are three means by which text taken from another source is identified in the books from Ten Duinen's scriptorium and library. Two methods identify biblical quotations. In one, Scripture is indicated by placing symbols near the quoted material. Symbols marking quotations are usually shaped like single or paired **s** (or sometimes **ſ**) and are placed in the margin next to the line with the quote, as seen in **MS 19** (Figure 3.5). Less commonly, paired **ſ** marks or simple paired lines (") are placed interlineally to call out a quotation, either at the beginning and end of a quote or over each word, as seen in **MS 47** (Figure 3.6). This last variation especially resembles our modern quotation marks and is probably their predecessors. The method of using these symbols marginally or interlineally is employed in thirty-two manuscript units (24 per cent) of my corpus; all contain either patristic works or biblical commentary, except for one unit of biblical texts (**MS 10**).

Medieval 'quotation marks' serve a straightforward interpretive purpose: they signal to the reader that the text in question is sacred and authoritative. They are found in eight of the manuscripts marked with tonic accents;³⁹ in this context they may have directed the reader to change his tone, volume, or tempo as he spoke these words aloud, indicating to the listener by this change that they were hearing the words of the Bible.⁴⁰ Quotation marks also have subtle secondary functions. Like other visual elements of the page, they can also act mnemonically, especially when placed in the margin where they have greater visibility. In this way, the reader might use them as an indirect and relative search tool, as described above in this chapter. Seeing quotation marks calling out Scripture could also act as a subtle cue to the reader during *meditatio* to consider the text in front of him or her in a particular way: the marks perhaps communicate, 'meditate on these sections'.⁴¹

³⁸ Steinová, 'Notam Superponere Studui', pp. 200–02.

³⁹ These manuscript units are found in **MSS 27, 56, 102, 111, 152, and 161**.

⁴⁰ Attendees of any Western church might note this change of rhythm or volume when words of Scripture are spoken aloud by the officiant; the speaker tends to slow down, annunciate clearly, and might speak louder or softer, emphasizing the rhetorical or spiritual power of these words to the congregation.

⁴¹ Two types of reading — *lectio* and *meditatio* — are described by Augustine in *Confessions* VI, 3 as he recounts Ambrose reading. *Lectio* is characterized as reading aloud for an audience who may interrupt with questions. *Meditatio*, on the other hand, is a solitary, silent practice during which the reader is absorbed and ruminating on the text at hand. For a translation and discussion of this passage (especially

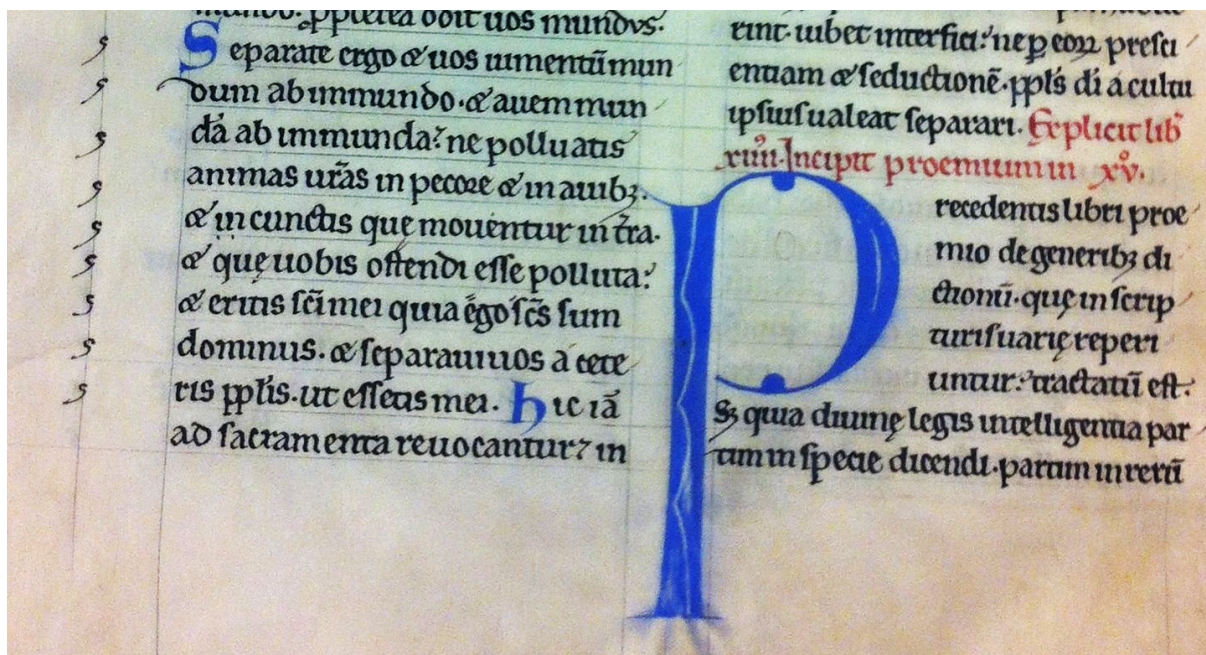


Figure 3.5. Bruges, OB, MS 19, f. 63r, detail with quotation marks in margin

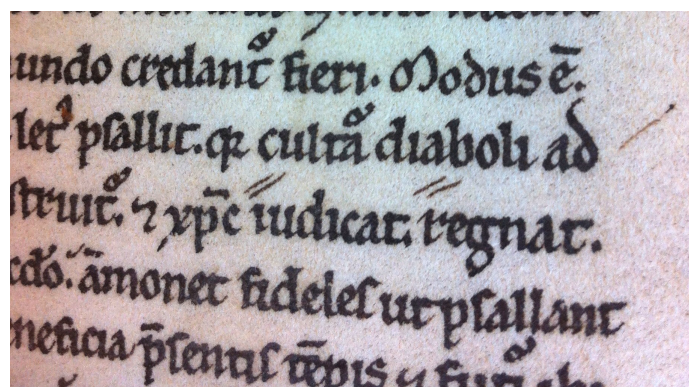


Figure 3.6. Bruges, OB, MS 47, f. 12r, col. B, with interlinear quotation marks

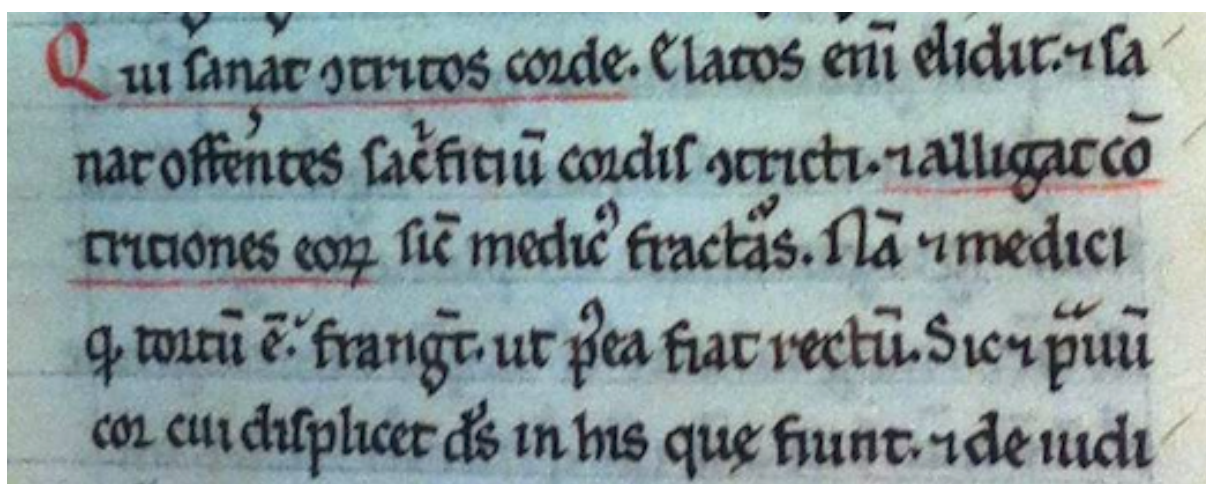


Figure 3.7. Bruges, OB, MS 48, f. 83r, col. B, with underlined lemmata

in the context of memory-formation) see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, pp. 170–73. For a detailed consideration of each of the four steps of *lectio divina* (*lectio*, *meditatio*, *oratio*, and *contemplatio*), see Weston, 'The Spirit of the Page', pp. 21–89.

A second means to identify biblical quotations is by underlining the lemmata, either in plain ink or in red, to distinguish it from the rest of the text into which it has been incorporated. There is, however, a distinction between the quotations discussed above and lemmata: whereas quotations are for the most part worked into the text around them in the way we usually incorporate quotations into the syntax and flow of our writing today, lemmata tend to act more as ‘minor rubrics’ or subheadings. A lemma generally offers a section of Scripture, usually more than a few words but less than a few lines, which is followed by an explanation or rumination on the lemma (Figure 3.7).

Lemmata are also less common in Ten Duinen’s books than quotation marks; this method appears in just five manuscript units in **MSS 28, 47, 48** (see Figure 3.8 below), and **56**. Each of these includes medieval biblical commentary. For example, **MS 28**, a miscellany of commentaries and sermons mostly by Stephen Langton, has underlined lemmata in two units of Langton’s *Super parabola Salomonis* by two contemporary hands of Ten Duinen’s scriptorium. Its commentary method and layout, called *catena*, can be considered an alternative (usually earlier, but also occurring alongside for some time) to the glossed commentary style which emerged in the second half of the twelfth century. The glossed commentary style, especially familiar to scholars of manuscripts from the thirteenth century onwards, places the text to be commented on in a separate column in a larger script, with its commentary around it, sometimes in layers and linked to the main text with tie marks (see, for example, Figure 1.9 of **MS 62**).⁴² *Catena* (Latin for ‘chain’), however, is continuous, with its alternating sections of lemma and commentary linked by virtue of sharing the same line. Underlining lemmata serves at least two functions. As with other reading aids, it offers a subtle mnemonic or search function. At its most basic level, however, it tells the reader which text is which by visually differentiating between quote and commentary. This simple method of differentiation has a two-fold interpretive role: underlining not only points out to the reader that the text it marks is biblical and thus authoritative, but also acts as a simple structural tool to help the reader make sense of the text. Without this or a comparable differentiation between quote and commentary,⁴³ one would be tempted to read continuously, in the sense that each clause is complete and meant to be read in relation to what comes before and after as narration. The lemmata, however, are not always complete clauses, nor do they work narratively in the text. Without a signal of what they are and therefore how to read them, the text would be spattered with fragments, becoming a confused mishmash of subject and response.

⁴² See de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible*, especially p. 21.

⁴³ Underlining is, of course, not the only method by which *catena* commentaries can be successfully structured visually. Although not in my corpus, lemma and commentary are also commonly distinguished by writing the lemmata in red ink, as one does a rubric. In fact, rubricated titles, incipits, and explicits depend on this same simple but effective means of visual differentiation to ensure they are read and understood correctly in regard to their relation to the text.

3.5 Citations

As described, quotations from the Bible were distinguished from their surrounding text by adding quotation marks or, alternatively, by underlining. Ten Duinen's scriptorium and library also witnessed a third method of indicating that a section of text contains borrowed words or ideas: author citations. Broadly speaking, medieval readers prized authority over novelty, preferring the accepted, orthodox, and inherently 'true' writings of the Church Fathers and other ancient authors over new ideas and interpretations (especially those which were irreconcilable with the works of these authorities). As noted by Minnis, '[t]o be old was to be good; the best writers were the more ancient'.⁴⁴ Because patristic authors held such value and veracity, their teachings were to be recognized, absorbed, and reflected upon; evoking their ideas and repeating their words gave credence to newer theological ventures. In order for this recognition and transfer of authority to take place, as well as correct interpretation by the reader, these trustworthy excerpts and quotations needed to be identifiable. Therefore, abbreviations for the names of important authors (such as AUG for Augustine, GG for Gregory the Great, AMB for Ambrose, and so on) are frequently found in the margins of manuscripts to attribute quotes or ideas, and thus give them authority and authenticity.⁴⁵ These abbreviations might be simple or have added graphic elements, such as dots and lines familiar to that particular tradition, making them more properly letter-based symbols than abbreviations (Figure 3.8).⁴⁶

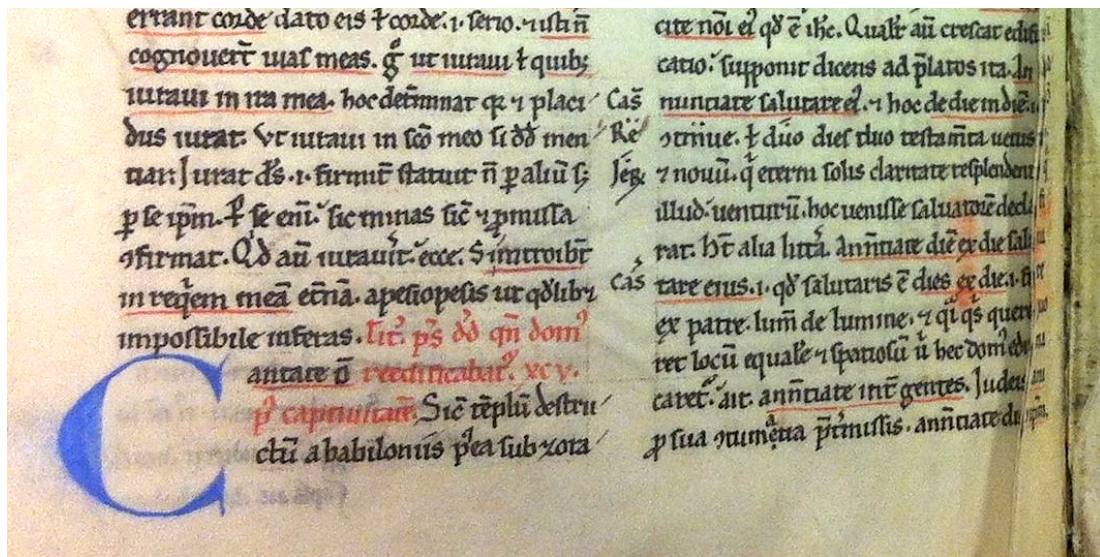


Figure 3.8. Bruges, OB, MS 48, f. 18^v. Lemmata underlined in red and author citations in inner margin

⁴⁴ Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, pp. 10–11.

⁴⁵ Aspects of this type of source identification (for example, its tradition, consistency, or whether sources are taken directly or through intermediaries) has been studied for a variety of medieval texts. Smith's investigation of the citation system of the *Glossa ordinaria* is particularly detailed; see *The Glossa Ordinaria*, especially pp. 56–72.

⁴⁶ Smith describes and illustrates a few of the symbols common to early copies of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, which are similar to those seen in MS 48 (Figure 3.8). Notably, the dots and lines placed above the citation symbols are used as tie marks, making clear which commentary or interpretation of the lemma in the adjacent line belongs to whom; see *The Glossa ordinaria*, pp. 133–34, and Diagram 7.

Of all reading aids classified here as interpretive, author citations have perhaps the greatest versatility as a finding tool. They are not appropriately navigational aids, as they refer only to the text directly adjacent to where they are placed in the margin, and thus do not lead the reader through the text, nor indicate their relative position in the book. They do, however, facilitate the reader in finding specific information, namely the words or ideas of a particular author. For example, if a reader seeks to only find text attributed to Augustine, he or she could flip through a book and select only the relevant passages to consult while skipping over those attributed to other sources.

No assessment of the accuracy and consistency of source citations in Ten Duinen's books from c. 1150–c. 1250 is undertaken here, as textual analysis is beyond the scope of this study. Suffice it to say that this practice was occasionally used by Ten Duinen's scribes, and by those scribes who had copied the books which reached the abbey's library from other monasteries. Of the 133 units in my corpus, twenty-four contain author citations, seventeen of which are from Ten Duinen's scriptorium. All were apparently copied alongside the text in either the main scribe's brown or black ink or the red ink of the text's rubricator. They appear primarily in patristic works or biblical commentary: only five out of the twenty-six patristic texts carry them (perhaps due to the content of the texts in this particular corpus), but sixteen of the fifty biblical commentaries feature them. A further two sermons (in **MSS 28** and **507**) and one short treatise by Hugh of St-Victor (in **MS 507**) also contain author citations.

The proportion of texts with author citations makes it difficult to assess the extent to which they were valued or used. Their presence in almost one third of biblical commentaries at the abbey could indicate that the scribes who copied them viewed them as an integral part of the text, or, on the other hand, habitually copied all aspects of their exemplars faithfully, regardless of whether they thought them useful. Likewise, their absence in the other two thirds could indicate that when the scribes saw them in their exemplars they disregarded them, or, alternatively, that they did not have exemplars with author citations in place, either as a result of choices made by earlier scribes, or because the text in question did not bear a strong tradition of including these citations. Bede and Hrabanus Maurus were especially known for their diligence in citing sources; both had called attention to the practice and expressed worry that their citations would be incorrectly copied by future scribes, or left out altogether.⁴⁷ In short, there was a long tradition of marking out author citations in Western medieval manuscripts, and indeed an all-too-familiar anxiety in some scholars that it was not correctly done. Appearing in a relatively small proportion of their manuscripts, the diligence of Ten Duinen's scribes in preserving citations, or perhaps more importantly, correcting those manuscripts which did not, remains questionable.

⁴⁷ Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria*, p. 61.

3.6 Notae

As part of the ancient tradition of memory training, the concept of *notae* has a long, pre-medieval history. In this context, *notae* could be mental or visual markers within a text. Quintilian (d. 100 CE) describes two methods of using *notae*: as mental markers, the text is likened to a room in one's mind. Different segments of the text are assigned to different rooms, with *notae* — associative symbols or keywords — dispersed throughout these rooms. As one mentally walks through the rooms, which represent what is to be remembered, they retrieve the *notae* to help recall the desired chain of memory. Quintilian also describes a plainer system: text to be recalled is divided into segments which one then reads, or even copies, repeatedly. Particularly important passages are then marked with a symbol of one's own choosing.⁴⁸ It is unclear if Quintilian's 'self-chosen symbols', or most later mentions of *notae* by medieval writers, were intended to be only mental or also written on the page.⁴⁹ As explained by Steinová, several different 'attention signs' (all Greek graphs, differing by genre) were indeed written down in the margins of Antique books.⁵⁰

Regardless of the original intention, *notae* frequently made their way into the margins of medieval books. While a *nota* could technically be any shape of the reader's choosing, as outlined by Quintilian, the shape most commonly seen in the High Middle Ages was a graph stylized from the letters of *nota* itself, with variety in how these ligature-symbols appear. A form of word-based *notae* first appeared in fifth- and sixth-century Italian manuscripts, and was popularized in Carolingian manuscripts alongside the more established *chi ro* (Figure 3.9).⁵¹ Ubiquitous for a few more centuries, these *nota* symbols were often replaced in the thirteenth century by *manuculae*: 'little hands' that point to the text deemed important or worth memorizing.

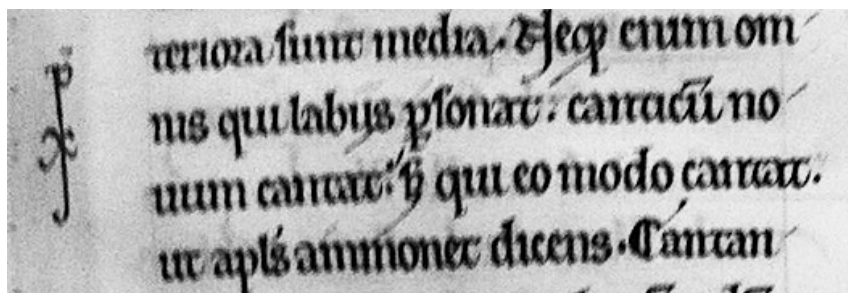


Figure 3.9. Bruges, OB, MS 109, f. 13r.
A *chi ro* used as a *nota* in a manuscript made at Ten Duinen

It is significant that *notae* expand their function as mnemonic devices to become interpretive reading aids. They announce to the reader 'Take note!' and in doing so

⁴⁸ Cicero's *Ad Herennium* likewise advises that mnemonic devices and systems be self-devised, as their customization by the user makes them more effective; see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 107.

⁴⁹ Hugh of St-Victor specifies that *notae* are to be only mental, and not inscribed on the manuscript page itself; see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 107.

⁵⁰ Steinová, 'Notam Superponere Studui', 211.

⁵¹ Steinová, 'Notam Superponere Studui', 211–12. *Chi ro* were still used after the Carolingian period, but less commonly than before.

direct the reader to more deeply consider the adjacent section of text. This adapted use might explain the eventual steps from self-chosen marks to more standardized symbols, like the stylized form of the word *nota* with its unmistakable meaning. They may have still functioned mnemonically, and as suggested by layers of *notae* applied over centuries of a book's use, were added by readers for their own personal study. The word-symbol's clear meaning, however, could have enabled *notae* to reach and instruct a broader audience: a learned reader might be compelled to advise the rest of his or her community to pay particular attention to passages deemed especially relevant to them. Even more telling of this intent to reach a communal, and perhaps future audience, are *notae* included by scribes and rubricators as they carried out the work of copying their exemplars. While *notae* added by later readers indicate a personal interaction between reader and book, *notae* added at the time of production may well indicate they were copied from the exemplar, perhaps even as part of the textual tradition of the work. In transferring these marks from one manuscript to another, scribes decided that the marked text was worth calling deeper attention to among a new audience of readers (Figure 3.10).

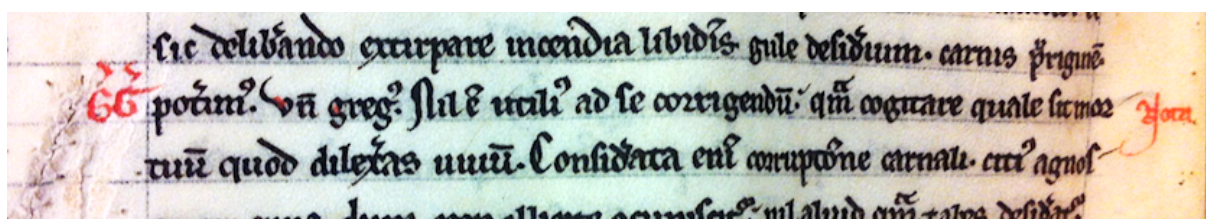


Figure 3.10. Bruges, OB, MS 28, f. 20^v. The word 'nota' spelled out opposite a citation symbol for Gregory the Great

Notae are a familiar sight to scholars of twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts. Thus, it is unsurprising to find them scattered — albeit often sparingly — throughout the folios of Ten Duinen's books. They are found in forty-three of my corpus's manuscript units: thirty-nine of these contain some form of the *nota* word-symbol or the word simply spelled out in a regular fashion, three units contain other signs, and one, **MS 111**, contains both together. One of the greatest challenges for the codicologist in regard to symbols such as *notae* is that they are often undatable. Sometimes it is clear by the ink, cut of the nib, and occasionally the *ductus*, that a *nota* was added by the main scribe or rubricator. However, unless later authors of *notae* accompany their marks with further text, or the style (as in the case of *maniculae*) has a datable boundary, their age is unclear. As such, the findings here are simple, and necessarily imprecise: clearly identifiable *notae* are found in a third of the surviving manuscripts of Ten Duinen. Some are added by the scribe or rubricator at the time of copying, while others are added by later readers, often at an indeterminable date. As is consistent with *notae* witnessed in manuscripts of other houses, contemporary and later users of Ten Duinen's library saw value in leaving these signs either for their own personal study, or perhaps even for the greater edification of their community's readers.

3.7 Diagrams

Diagrams are, fundamentally, graphic representations of structures, ideas, or theories: the predominant term used for what we call a diagram or schema was in the Middle Ages *figura* or *pictura*.⁵² While diagrams can be created by anyone to represent nearly any idea or object, they tend to be most useful relative to text when they depict, through word, image, or a combination of both, a concept with multiple interconnected parts that depend on a particular orientation to one another. Diagrams can be either exemplary or normative: that is, a concept may be diagrammed by an individual based on his or her own association between its parts (and thus may be incomprehensible to others), or a concept may be accurately diagrammed only according to certain conventions, as is the case for geometric schemata.⁵³ Both exemplary and normative diagrams develop as traditions alongside the texts they visualize;⁵⁴ they can be impromptu or planned, inserted into the textblock, sketched into the margin, or bound as a singleton alongside regular quires. Moreover, they can range from nearly illegible scribbling to elaborate and illuminated miniatures.

While included here as interpretive reading aids, diagrams can also serve a linked, but alternative purpose as memory aids. In an interpretive sense, they can be (and probably were) used to simplify or explain the concept they depict. However, they were also staples in the medieval classroom, operating as pedagogical mnemonic devices enabling students to ‘compress’ a great deal of information into an image from which its parts could be ‘unpacked’ upon recall;⁵⁵ this is usually the function they serve in the rhetorical, mathematical, and scientific texts in which they are commonly found. They were also designed for meditation, encouraging the reader to reflect on the spiritual concepts they illustrate and bring to mind; for this purpose they are incorporated into liturgical and devotional manuscripts.⁵⁶

There are few diagrams found in my corpus, which might derive from two reasons: firstly, there are few so-called ‘scholastic’ texts in this collection. Those typically considered teaching or scholarly texts, including classics and the sciences, are nearly absent. These texts are, however, represented in greater number and with extensive diagrams in Ten Duinen-attributed manuscripts made at the abbey or acquired from elsewhere after the period studied here, including copies of Ibn Butlan’s *Tacuinum sanitatis* (**Bruges, Grootseminarie, MS 94/65**)⁵⁷ and Boethius’s *De musica*

⁵² Scully, ‘Medieval Maps and Diagrams’, p. 399.

⁵³ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, pp. 296–97.

⁵⁴ See, e.g., the diagrammatic tradition of the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero’s *De inventione*; O’Daly ‘Managing Knowledge’, 1–28; and her ‘Diagrams of Knowledge and Rhetoric in Manuscripts of Cicero’s *De inventione*’, pp. 77–105.

⁵⁵ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 332.

⁵⁶ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 332.

⁵⁷ **Bruges, GS, MS 94/65** is dated ‘14th–15th century’ in a brief description by Dewitte, ‘64. Albuchasem el Muchar, *Tacuinum sanitatis*, en andere teksten’, p. 174.

(Bruges, OB, MS 531).⁵⁸ The second reason why diagrams are rare in my corpus is that it contains no liturgical or devotional texts, which also commonly have diagrams; naturally, Ten Duinen owned liturgical texts, but they do not survive from the studied period, except as the occasional pastedown or flyleaf.⁵⁹ While not a part of my corpus, diagrams abound in Ten Duinen's copy of Hugh of Folieto's *De avibus* from c. 1200 (Bruges, Grootseminarie, MS 89/54).

Despite their relative scarcity, there are some contemporary (and more-or-less contemporary) diagrams. Diagrams are found in six of the 133 manuscript units studied here;⁶⁰ some manuscript units feature only one, while others have several.⁶¹ The diagrams are also of varying execution, with some manuscript units containing only impromptu sketches, and others carefully planned schemata. The diagram found in MS 59 is the most complex example; this manuscript of unknown origin contains the *Glossa ordinaria* on Matthew. Folios 9^r–10^v are misplaced (properly belonging to the prologue),⁶² and feature a tightly packed script with a circular diagram titled *subscriptus patriae reditum docet ordo figure[a]e* (Figure 3.11). While the relative balance of its circles initially suggest that it was drawn with a compass, it contains no central hole used as an anchor, but instead an inky blob. Its round lines are shaky and in some places sketched, and its straight lines are clearly executed free-hand; it may have been traced from an exemplar.⁶³ It was probably designed to synthesize and visually order the main ideas of the text above it to help the viewer interpret what he had just read (or was already familiar with), or to act as a mnemonic device while the reader directly interacts with the image. Because of its complexity and the large amount of information it contains, it was doubtfully intended to be memorized for later recall.

The remaining examples are word-association diagrams: two or more words related to a concept described in the text are linked by means of lines or a simple shape, as seen in MS 152 (Figure 3.12). These are all marginal and added by a glossator who was not the main scribe, nor probably a monk of Ten Duinen, except for that of MS 152, where the scribe is both the glossator and probably belonged to the abbey's community. The scarcity of contemporary marginal notation by Ten Duinen's readers is examined in the next section of this chapter.

⁵⁸ MS 531 is dated to the tenth century in a brief description by Dewitte, '67. Boëthius, *De musica, en andere teksten*', p. 176.

⁵⁹ See Chapter 2.1.

⁶⁰ Manuscript units with diagrams from before c. 1300 are found in MSS 59, 62, 102, 152, 183, and 234. I am unable to date them more precisely.

⁶¹ There is an impromptu 'word-association' diagram containing ten or more words (the bottom is trimmed) connected by a scalloped line on MS 533, f. 19^v. It is not otherwise discussed here as it is a fifteenth-century addition. It is noteworthy however that this c. 1126–c. 1150 manuscript of Priscian's *Grammatica*, as one of the oldest manuscripts in my corpus, was still used in this late period.

⁶² The incorrect arrangement is noted in Bruges Openbare Bibliotheek's online catalogue.

⁶³ A compass is used to complete a spirograph on the back pastedown of MS 102. It contains many overlapping circles in graphite, with visible holes where the compass point was anchored. It contains no text nor indication of its purpose. Presumably it is a doodle or practice exercise, or alternatively was discarded from another project as a scrap then reused as a pastedown.

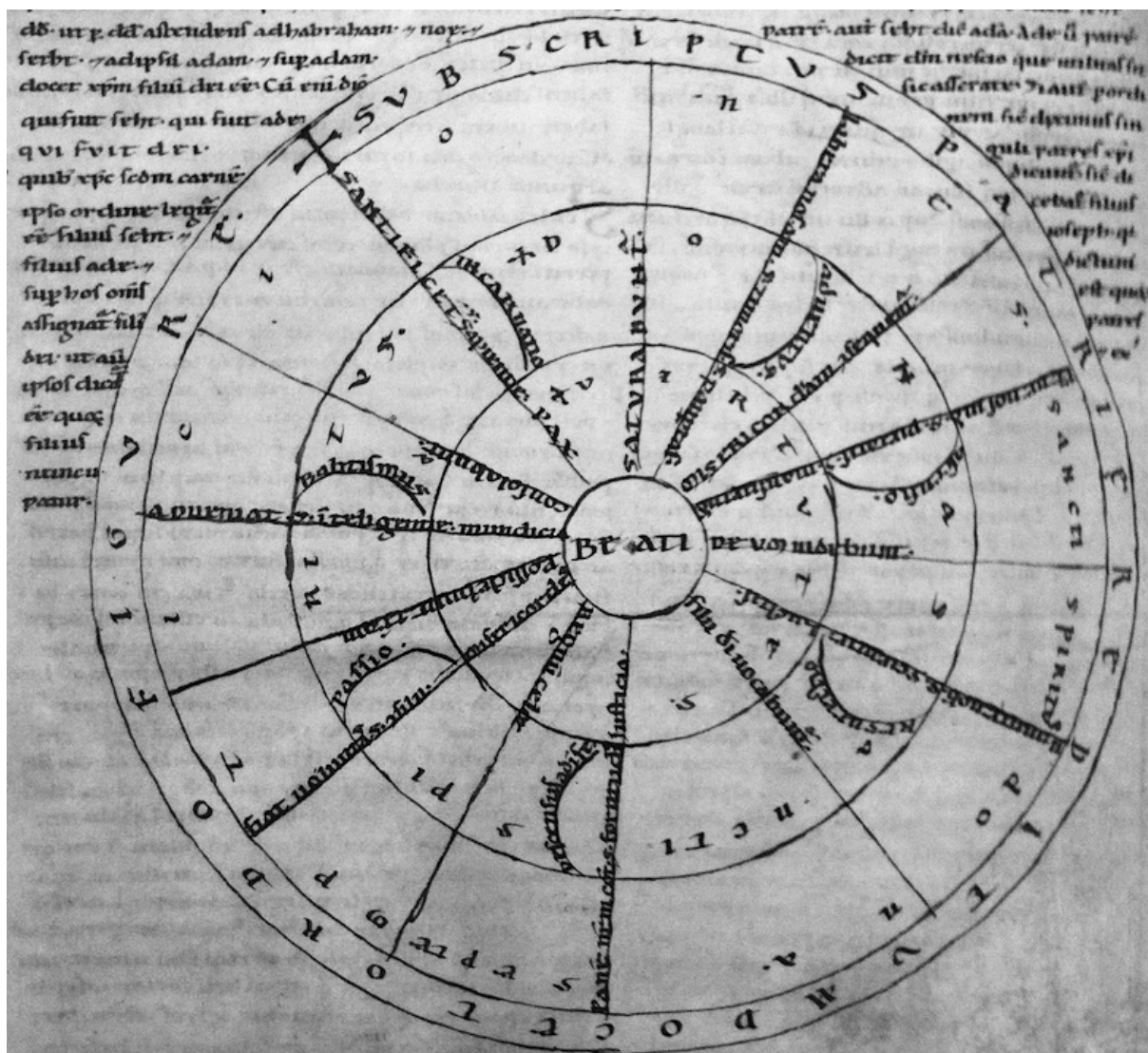


Figure 3.11. Bruges, OB, MS 59, f. 10^v

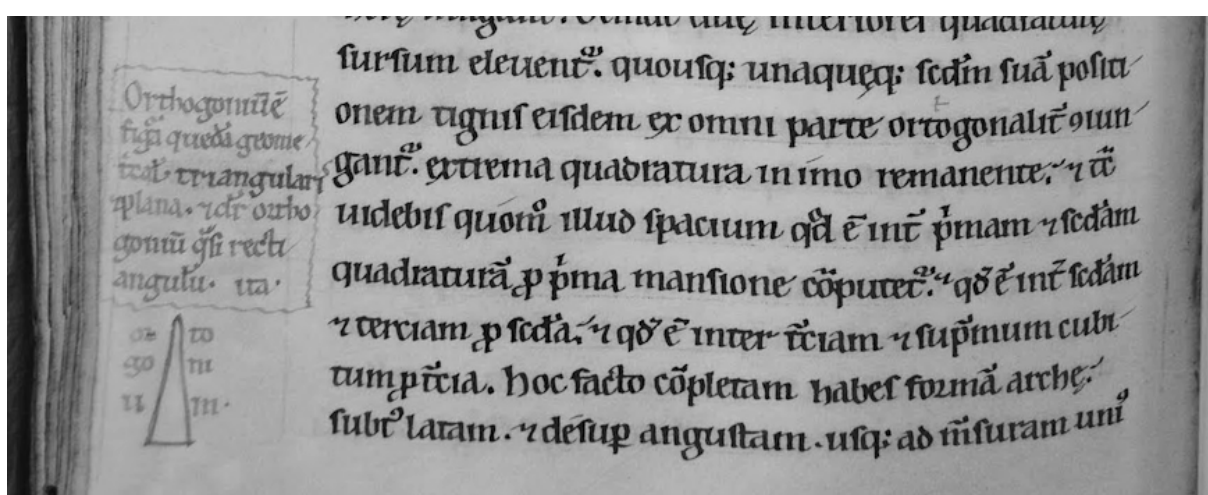


Figure 3.12. Bruges, OB, MS 152, f. 62^v. A word-association diagram

3.8 Marginal Notation

Beyond the text, a spectrum of manuscript features can be queried for evidence. The margin is a great source of these clues: the unruled space around the textblock is a rich field in which to dig for insights into the medieval use of manuscripts. Scholarship focused on medieval manuscript margins is growing in popularity.⁶⁴ This chapter has looked at interpretive reading aids that commonly occur in Ten Duinen's particularly spacious manuscript margins, including quotation marks, author citations, *notae*, and diagrams, all of which helped readers interact with texts. There is another important characteristic of use found in the margins of medieval manuscripts: notation.

Marginal notation, broadly speaking, is writing in the space around the textblock (or even between the lines) that holds the main text. Despite excluding reading aids, illustrations, and corrections,⁶⁵ the term can encompass material of widely different content and appearance. Notation can be copied directly from an exemplar at the same time as the main text, even by the same scribe with the same nib and ink. It may have its own ruling to keep it as neat and legible as possible, and may in fact take up more space, or contain more text (with the help of tiny script and heavy abbreviation) than the text it elucidates. Alternatively, it might be a few hastily scribbled words or lines in pencil by a reader using the manuscript centuries later, perhaps from another's dictation. Some marginalia provide deep, multi-faceted explanations of the main text, while other marginalia might offer single words as comment. Notes can be in Latin or in local vernacular, and intensely meaningful or wholly meaningless to all but the individual who wrote them. Simply put, any degree of engagement and execution can be found in manuscript margins, added by the scribe during production or by virtually any reader thereafter.⁶⁶ Moreover, as Tether describes, marginal notation usually offers 'information upon which the main body text is not contingent, but by which it is enhanced': the reader could choose to absorb it, ignore it, or add their own.⁶⁷

Whereas today most readers probably do not write in the margins of their books (excepting students and perhaps book club members), to do so throughout the Middle Ages was common; it has been suggested that annotation was 'a community practice' and went hand-in-hand with the activity of reading. Tether presents annotation as an expression of 'a reader's desire to share in the texts they read – to create the paratexts that shape a future reader's experience of a text'.⁶⁸ Manuscript scholars frequently encounter medieval readers through their notes in the margins. However, quantifying

⁶⁴ Many aspects of medieval marginalia have been explored in recent studies. A successful project led by Mariken Teeuwen (May 2011–2016, Huygens Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis), entitled 'Marginal Scholarship. The Practice of Learning in the Early Middle Ages (c. 800–c. 1000)', and its related publications highlighted the fruitfulness and growing popularity of this area of study.

⁶⁵ Some scholars might class these as marginal notation; this study considers them separate elements.

⁶⁶ Fortunately, modern users do not add their own marginal notation to manuscripts. For the most part, barring occasional early notes and modern pencil foliation, users stopped writing in manuscript margins once they reached collectors and institutions. Almost all marginal notation predates the nineteenth (and even eighteenth) century.

⁶⁷ Tether, 'Mise en page', 25; Olson, *Fair and Varied Forms*, p. 60.

⁶⁸ Tether, 'Mise en page', 30.

and qualifying marginal notation is challenging: how can one measure it, or classify it collectively in each manuscript or manuscript unit? Because of its intrinsic variety, it is particularly rebellious against data-based quantitative studies like this one. Therefore, this analysis avoids specificity in favour of broader trends.

Of the 133 manuscript units in my corpus, fifty-seven contain some type of marginal notation. Of these, thirty-seven contain planned notation: the notation was added in a formal book hand and is meant to be a formal paratext shared with all readers, as opposed to an impromptu note scribbled for the writer's own benefit. That these are 'planned' rather than impromptu is especially evident in thirty manuscript units, where the notation was added at the time of production by the scribe of the main text or the rubricator. This formality and timing indicates that rather than a product of a reader's interaction with the manuscript, this notation may have been copied from the exemplar as an integral part of the text, and perhaps even belongs to its textual tradition. While this type of notation does not reveal much about medieval readers who encountered it, it does reveal something about scribes and their attitude towards the exemplars they copied: copying the marginal notation is evidence that they viewed it, if not equally authoritative as the main text, then as paratext that was also worthy of an audience. If the annotation was not in the exemplar but instead created originally by the scribe, this adds another dimension to the scribe's role as intermediary between exemplar and audience. In such a scenario, the scribe is not merely a 'pencil', but is an '*auctor*', the author (and authority) of new interpretation, however modest.⁶⁹

The proportion of manuscript units with planned marginal notation or gloss (thirty-seven of 133) leaves many units without planned additions. Of these, twenty-nine manuscript units contain impromptu notation: that is, marginal text that was most definitely added post-production, as indicated by formality, approximate date, and a lack of preparation (such as ruling in the margin). Five of these manuscript units contain both planned and impromptu notation. Like planned glosses, impromptu notation can be of varying length, level of execution, or mode of interpretation. It can offer greater potential insight into readers' interactions with the book than do planned glosses, but each entry must be considered on an individual basis. In terms of trends, sixteen of these twenty-nine manuscript units — over half — with impromptu notation contain limited additions: they are, for the most part, single words or short segments, spread few and far between in the volume, and often date from later centuries (see Figure 3.13 for a typical example). Often these additions are in a strikingly diminutive script, and sometimes their link to the text is entirely unclear, as is the case with the tiny contemporary appeal or prayer '*deus meus*' pressed into the corner of **MS 277**, f. 130^v (Figure 3.14).

⁶⁹ Gregory Nazianzenus, Bishop of Constantinople in the fourth century, wrote in his final sermon 'Farewell, ye lovers of my discourses, in your eagerness and concourse, ye pencils seen and unseen, and those balustrades, pressed upon by those who thrust themselves forward to hear the word.' As Carruthers keenly observes, this remark presents the role of scribe as that of 'reporter', duplicating the written word as a humble instrument rather than as an *auctor* (*The Book of Memory*, p. 206).

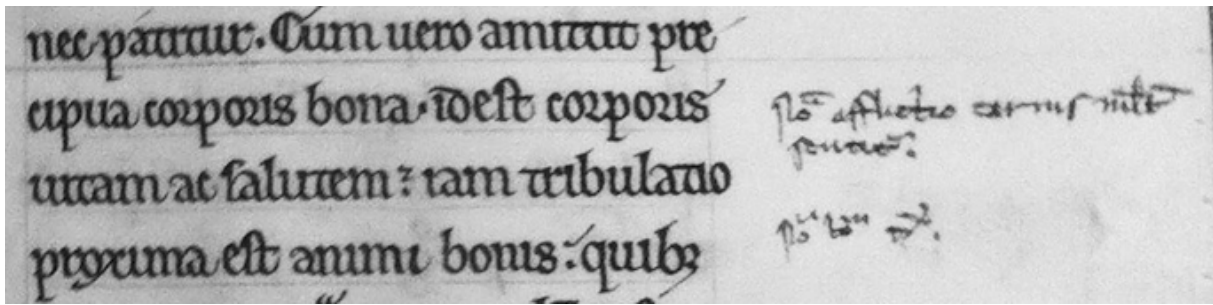


Figure 3.13. Bruges, OB, MS 109, f. 10^r. A typical later impromptu notation in a Ten Duinen manuscript

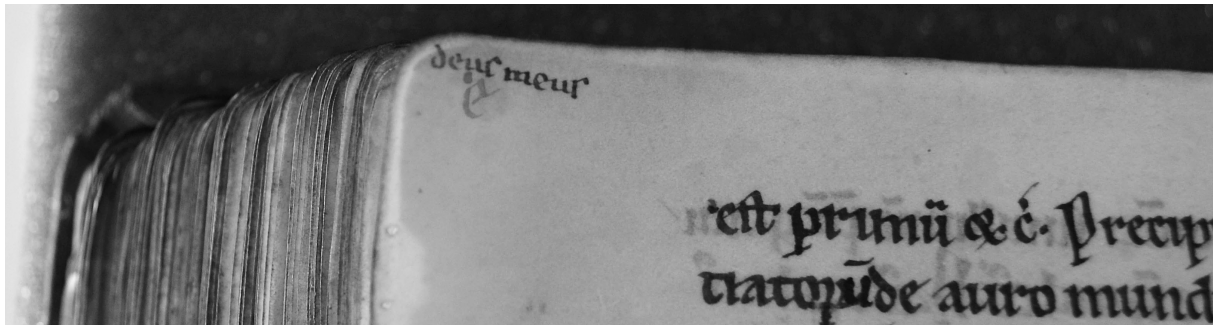


Figure 3.14. Bruges, OB, MS 277, f. 130^v. A tiny prayer or appeal, 'deus meus' in a top verso corner

What is perhaps most revealing about the twelfth- and early thirteenth-century readers of Ten Duinen is that only nine manuscript units (16 per cent) made at the abbey contain any impromptu marginal notation. This demonstrates that once a manuscript had been completed, Ten Duinen's monks seldom felt it pertinent to add their own thoughts to the margins. Of the manuscript units they owned that were not made at the abbey, twenty (26 per cent) contain impromptu marginal notation. This higher proportion might indicate that annotations were added before the books arrived at Ten Duinen; perhaps once they arrived, they received no further marginal additions. In fact, seventy-six of the 133 corpus units (57 per cent) contain no marginal notation at all. One of the initial visual impressions of my corpus manuscripts is their lack of marginal notation in comparison to other contemporary manuscripts. However, as mentioned above, it is difficult to effectively record and communicate an absolute proportion of marginal notation; is not effectively accounted for in quantitative terms in any known studies of contemporary manuscripts.⁷⁰ While the proportion of marginal notation in Ten Duinen's books seems low, and is indeed less abundant than that found in the books in my corpus that were made elsewhere, there is no comparable study against which to compare. The books owned by Ten Duinen that were produced, and in many cases probably also used, by other communities before reaching their library suggest that the abbey's readers annotated their texts less frequently than did their counterparts. This is especially striking in light of the findings of Chapter 1.14 that the scribes of Ten Duinen made their margins consistently larger than those of their

⁷⁰ Steinová, 'Notae Superponere Studui', pp. 387–90, attempts to quantify the use of technical signs in the margins of early medieval manuscripts from Bavaria which, although not strictly medieval notation, might be considered a guide for future measurements of such material.

acquired books; larger margins would allow for more marginal notation, or at least a more spacious and aesthetically-appealing area to host it even in small amounts. It would be particularly fruitful to compare the relative amount of marginal notation in contemporary manuscripts owned by other Cistercian houses, as well as in the libraries of monasteries of other monastic orders, both near to and distant from Ten Duinen.

Why did this particular practice of marginal annotation — or rather, lack thereof — take place at Ten Duinen? Given that comparative data has yet to be gathered, the question is hard to answer. A lack of annotation at the abbey may have been a peculiarity of Ten Duinen's monks and their preferred modes of interaction with their books. Perhaps this particular community appreciated the aesthetic of empty margins, choosing to keep them blank and either make no notes on their texts, or to make notes separately on now-lost leaves or quires of parchment. One possible reason why Ten Duinen's monks did not write in their margins could be an explicit statement against doing so made by Stephen Harding, one of the founders of the Cistercian Order. Around 1109 when taking over Cîteaux as abbot, he had a new redaction of the Bible prepared and a Giant Bible manuscript, now **Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MSS 12–15**, was made. In its *monitum* dated 1111,⁷¹ an account is given of the extensive lengths undertaken to achieve what Harding and his scribes considered the purest possible version of the text. It ends with a final stipulation:

Now truly we request all who read this book in the future, never on any account to add back in to this work the aforesaid superfluous parts or verses. It is clear enough in which places they were, because the erasure of the parchment does not conceal them. We also forbid by the authority of God and of our congregation that anyone should presume to treat this book, prepared with great labor, disrespectfully or to make note of anything with his *ungula* [a scribe's tool for erasure] either in the text or the margin.⁷²

This Bible's careful redaction and its colophon demonstrate that Harding was particularly concerned with the purity of the text, which fits seamlessly with early Cistercian ideals of austerity and clarity in spiritual practice. Even if Ten Duinen's monks and abbots never encountered this Bible nor heard its *monitum* explicitly expressed, the message it conveys accords with an overall attitude within the twelfth-century Order. Harding was not the only early Cistercian concerned with textual criticism, revision, and redaction: Nicholas Manjacoria, active before the mid-twelfth century at Trois Fontaines, discovered while visiting another house of the Order a scribe heavily revising a good, old copy of the Bible with every addition he could find

⁷¹ Stercal, *Stephen Harding*, p. 41.

⁷² 'Nunc uero omnes qui hoc uolumen sunt lecturi rogamus, quatinus nullomodo predictas partes uel uersus superfluos huic operi amplius adiungant. Satis enim lucet in quibus locis erant, quia rasura pargameni eadem loca non celat. Interdicimus etiam auctoritate dei et nostre congregationis, ne quis hunc librum multo labore preparatum inhoneste tractare, uel ungula sua per scripturam uel marginem eius aliquid notare presumat.' Stercal, *Stephen Harding*, p. 54 (Latin text), p. 55 (English translation).

in other versions, convinced that ‘more is more’. Stopping the brother’s misguided work, Nicholas then set out to establish rules for textual criticism.⁷³

The rise of the cathedral schools through the twelfth century and flourishing of universities in the thirteenth transformed the educational contexts in which books were used, and ushered in a new era of heavily glossed books. These new ‘scholastic’ books were required course reading and were brought by students to the classroom where a master lectured on the text at hand, and students in turn noted his interpretation either directly into the margins of these books, or on scraps which they used to later transfer their notes to the margins.⁷⁴ The early Cistercians actively disengaged from this urban educational context, and perhaps in turn its trappings, including heavily annotated books. Harding died in 1134, by which time Bernard of Clairvaux was the most influential Cistercian. As discussed in Chapter 1.14, in 1139 Bernard blatantly resisted the growing scholastic movement, arguing at Paris that knowledge is reached through love, and not reason or logic.⁷⁵ The Order systematically avoided the intellectual movements of the time until the second quarter of the thirteenth century, not establishing a school at Paris as other orders had already done until the mid-thirteenth century.⁷⁶ Although no strangers to intellectual endeavours and indeed innovations, this ‘anti-scholastic’ attitude may have played out in the simplicity and uncontested space of Ten Duinen’s manuscript margins.

The General Chapter banned extravagant decoration in the spirit of austerity and preference for the purity of text.⁷⁷ This austerity was not followed consistently at all Cistercian monasteries, but it may have had a visible impact on the appearance of books from many monasteries, including Ten Duinen.⁷⁸ Considering these factors together, it is clear that simplicity, clarity, and deference to the text were central to ‘official’ Cistercian book culture. These standards may well have manifested in both the aesthetic presentation and the apparent lack of permanent traces of interaction left behind in books by the monks of Ten Duinen.

3.9 Conclusions

Analysis of interpretive aids offers several insights into reading at Ten Duinen. Firstly, tonic accents, which indicate that the text they accompany was meant to be read aloud, appear less in the abbey’s thirteenth-century manuscripts than in those of the previous century. This suggests that lectors relied more on accents for correct pronunciation

⁷³ Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, pp. 79–80.

⁷⁴ On student note-taking, see Catto, ‘University and Monastic Texts’, pp. 221, 223; on teaching, Hamesse, ‘The Scholastic Model of Reading’, pp. 111–13.

⁷⁵ Lekai, *The Cistercians*, pp. 77.

⁷⁶ Lekai, *The Cistercians*, pp. 80–82.

⁷⁷ Jamroziak, *The Cistercian Order*, pp. 175–76; see Chapter 2.7 of my study.

⁷⁸ See Chapter 2.7, Chapter 3.3, and Figure 3.1 for examples of Cistercian books sharing remarkably similar aesthetics.

prior to c. 1200 than they did after; perhaps overall Latin literacy at the abbey, or at least that of lectors, increased in the thirteenth century as membership grew. Further, accented texts in the corpus generally reflect the trends of known community readings and Cistercian interests. A less expected trend emerges, however: the surviving accented texts from Ten Duinen suggest that the monks may have heard readings with an anti-heresy theme in particular, probably in the refectory during meals when reading material was dictated less by the liturgical calendar than in other contexts.

Both quotation marks and author citations serve a primary function of signalling to the reader that the corresponding words are distinct from the rest of the text: quotation marks (or underlining) point out Scripture, whereas citations credit patristic authors and other such authorities. *Notae* similarly call out key text passages, but unlike quotation marks and citations they are often reader-added, and do not necessarily signal a particular type of text (i.e. Scripture or patristic quotation). Instead, they direct the reader to 'take note'. Overall, the use of each of these interpretive aids at Ten Duinen appears typical of contemporary manuscripts. Diagrams, on the other hand, are particularly rare in my corpus, perhaps due to the scarcity of classical and scientific texts in which they most frequently appear in the period (whether due to survival bias or original ownership of these kinds of texts), as well as the absence of surviving liturgical or devotional texts which also sometimes incorporate these schemata.

The last topic addressed in this chapter also relates to how books were read and interpreted at Ten Duinen, and like most reading aids is also a feature of the margin. Marginal notation, while challenging to quantify (and not subjected to such an attempt here), is conspicuously scarce in the margins of Ten Duinen's manuscripts, including those acquired from elsewhere, but especially those made at the abbey. This is perhaps made even more striking by data showing that Ten Duinen's homemade books had larger margins than those acquired from elsewhere for the abbey's library; it seems that scribes provided their brothers with ample space to respond to the text, but they usually chose not to use it. At this juncture one can only guess why Ten Duinen's monks wrote in their manuscripts so sparingly, but I make a few suggestions in the interest of future study. Perhaps Ten Duinen's monks simply preferred not to clutter the margins of their books for aesthetic reasons, and this preference is reflected at other abbeys in their network, or the Cistercian Order more broadly. Alternatively, their actions might reflect an attitude towards the purity of the text and textual criticism displayed by Cistercian leaders and other members of the Order, which manifested at Ten Duinen in the preparation and preservation of clear margins 'protecting' the authority of the text within their boundaries.

With interpretive aids, and evidence of interpretation — or rather, lack thereof — analyzed in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 moves on to examine the navigational aids found in Ten Duinen's twelfth- and early thirteenth-century manuscripts: paragraph marks, initials, incipit and explicit rubrics, and running titles are described and discussed in turn. Like interpretive aids, navigational aids help readers use their texts; their inclusion,

moreover, indicates that the abbey's monks did not just read their books from front to back during *lectio divina*, but also used tools to seek out specific information. Although developed mostly in the decades beyond the scope of this study, chapter tables, indices, and eventually foliation speak to the intellectual needs growing at Ten Duinen over the course of the Long Twelfth Century; therefore, they are also briefly examined in the following chapter.