Book Section:

Younge, George Ruder (2021) Old English Literary Culture and the Circle of Saint Anselm. In: Anselm of Canterbury. Brill

Old English literary culture and the circle of Saint Anselm

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In a well-known letter to Pope Alexander II, Lanfranc described himself as a 'new Englishman' (*novus Anglus*), a claim, which, while reminiscent (probably deliberately) of Augustine of Canterbury's initial reports to Pope Gregory the Great, implies an openness to English culture.[1] Anselm imitated Lanfranc's (and Gregory's) words at his own appointment to Canterbury, and seems to have cultivated close friendships with Englishmen, 'creating both casual and intense ties with a number of natives', notably with his biographer Eadmer.[2] Indeed, it is Eadmer who records Anselm's perception of himself as an heir to Pope Gregory the Great's mission to the English in 597, a venture that was defined by a pragmatic approach to evangelism and willingness to compromise in order to connect with the Anglo-Saxons. In a sermon delivered by Anselm and written down by Eadmer in his personal manuscript, we catch a valuable glimpse of Anselm addressing the English contingent of the priory at Canterbury, which he appeals to by emphasising his status as an heir to the Gregorian legacy:

> Yes brothers, for perhaps some from that race are present giving ear to me saying these things—indeed I say, you English, who have been made brothers to us in the Christian faith, you received as an apostle the blessed Gregory who was predestined and sent to you by God, and, by him preaching through his envoys, you lowered your necks to the yoke of the Christian faith.[3]

Anselm's strong sense of pastoral purpose, coupled with a flexible approach to instruction and communication, emerge in the *Vita Anselmi*. Here, for instance, Eadmer recalls Anselm's sensitivity to the varying educational and linguistic competencies of his audience:

> For he adapted his words to every class of men, so that his hearers declared that nothing could have been spoken more appropriate to their station. He spoke to monks, to clerks, and to laymen, ordering his words to the way of life of each.[4]

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[2] Hugh M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation and Identity, 1066–c.1220* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 217.

[3] Anselm, *De ordinatione beati Gregorii anglorum apostoli*, ed. A. Wilmart in 'Edmeri cantuariensis cantoris noval pouscula de sanctorum veneratione et obsecratione', *Revue des sciences religieuses*, xv (1935), 554–61, at p. 558 (ll. 224–8): 'Eia fratres—forte enim aliqui de gente illa hæc me dicentem præsentes auscultant—eia inquam uos Angli, fratres nobis in Christiana fide effecti, uobis a deo prædestinatum et missum beatum Gregorium pro apostolo suscepistis, et eo per suos legatos prædicante iugo fidei Christianæ colla uestra subiecistis.' For discussion, see Paul Hayward, 'Gregory the Great as 'Apostle of the English' in Post-Conquest Canterbury', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 55 (2004), pp. 19–39.

[4] Eadmer of Canterbury, *Vita Sancti Anselmi – The Life of St Anselm*, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1962), Bk 1. c. 3: 'Dicta enim sua sic uniquique ordini hominum conformabat, ut auditores sui nichil moribus suis concordius dici posse faterentur. Ille monachis, ille clericis, ille laicis, ad cujusque propositum sua verba dispensabat.'

Anselm's status as an outsider to his new archbishopric, his willingness to tailor his words and ideas to suit the level of his audience, his earlier sensitivity to the concerns of some in the Canterbury community that their saints should not be despised, combine to form the impression of a man who, while there is no direct reference to the language of the Anglo-Saxons in his correspondence or Eadmer's works, nevertheless would not have been unaware of, or opposed to, the flourishing Old English literary culture that we now know existed in Kent in the century after the Conquest. Absence of endorsement should not be interpreted as evidence of an active disinterest. Although entirely speculative, it would be in keeping with the spirit of Eadmer's observation that Anselm 'adapted his words to every class of men' if the archbishop encouraged, or at least did not impede, the instruction of English-speaking monks at Canterbury in their native vernacular.

Converging currents in scholarship
This essay brings into dialogue two areas of study that are not usually linked in scholarship. The first is Old English, the written language introduced into England by Anglo-Saxon settlers who crossed the channel after the withdrawal of the Romans. Between the fifth and the eleventh centuries, as England developed from a set of competing kingdoms into a unified polity, Old English emerged as one of the most advanced vernacular languages in Europe. Viewed from a wider, continental perspective, the precocity of Old English is striking; by the time the Normans invaded in 1066, Old English was being used with confidence in roles that were, in other parts of western Christendom, the exclusive preserve of Latin: legal-codes, historical writing (especially chronicles), secular poetry, biblical translation, scientific and medical treatises, and a vast array of pastoral texts were all composed and absorbed, orally or through private study, in the vernacular.[5]

Since Old English can only be read with grammatical training, modern research into the language and its contexts has been undertaken primarily by specialists. As the discipline of Old English studies formed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the boundaries crystalized in such a way that experts have analysed Old English literature almost exclusively in relation to the political, economic and religious culture of England before the Norman Conquest.[6] Historical and literary periodization have thus been conveniently aligned, with the Norman invasion situated as an epoch-defining event that marked both the end of the Anglo-Saxon period and the termination of the Old English literary tradition.

One major advance has been the recent recognition that Old English continued to flourish in the century after the Norman Conquest. At the time of writing in 1992, the following statement by Patrick O'Neill was entirely uncontroversial:

> After the Norman Conquest the use of English for official civil and ecclesiastical purposes was generally abandoned in favour of French and Latin, and the status of English as a literary language rapidly declined. Consequently, works from the twelfth century composed

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[5] Useful surveys of Old English that emphasise its precocity from a European perspective are Elizabeth Tyler, 'From Old English to Old French', in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne *et al*, eds, *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c. 1100–c.1500* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), pp. 164–87 and Patrick Wormald, 'Anglo-Saxon Society and its Literature', in Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge, eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, 1st edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
[6] Linda Georgianna, 'Periodization and Politics: The Case of the Missing Twelfth Century in English Literary History', *Modern Languages Quarterly*, 64.2 (2003), pp. 153–68.

in English are exceedingly rare. These changes in the fortunes of English were nowhere more obvious than in south-eastern England where Norman influence was strongest.[7]

O'Neill's remarks about the end of Old English are premised on two orthodoxies, both widely held, and both now outmoded: that the Norman Conquest led to an abrupt decline in the use of English, and that this happened fastest in areas where 'Norman influence' was 'strongest', such as Kent, a region with long-established connections to mainland Europe. If Old English survived at all, this occurred in isolated pockets, where pre-Conquest culture persisted in the face of the Norman invasion, especially at Worcester, one of the few sees where an English bishop, Wulfstan II, remained in post. Here, in the West Midlands, the outdated narrative runs, the still small voice of the English vernacular persisted until it resurfaced in the earliest works of Middle English literature, such as the Katherine Group and the *Ancrene Wisse*.

Over the last twenty years, this scholarly consensus has been challenged. In 2000, Elaine Treharne and Mary Swan published a ground-breaking collection of essays entitled *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, which drew attention to the existence of a substantial body of Old English writing produced in the century after 1066.[8] A systematic catalogue of manuscripts containing Old English subsequently revealed the scale of vernacular textual activity in the years between 1066 and 1220.[9] The books in question primarily contain late versions of works composed during the 'Benedictine Reform' of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, with the best-represented author being the homilist Ælfric of Eynsham (c.950 x c.1010). Many of the pre-Conquest texts in these manuscripts have been rewritten and updated by post-Conquest scribes, often in ways that reflect intelligent and pragmatic engagement with the source material, as opposed to nostalgic or antiquarian compiling. The rewritten material is supplemented by a small but important group of original compositions dating to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, most of them pastoral in character, including saints' lives, homilies, and other didactic works.

One of the most striking conclusions to emerge from this comprehensive review of Old English book production after the Conquest is the realisation that a large proportion of the surviving codices were produced in south-eastern England, chiefly at the cathedral priories in Canterbury and Rochester.[10] The existence of this body of manuscripts from the South East stands against the romantic, nationalizing image of Old English as a recusant language, holding out only in places where Norman influence was supposedly weak, such as the West Midlands; many of the last Old English books are from ecclesiastical institutions which, under the charismatic leadership of clerics including Lanfranc, Anselm, and Gundulf, lay at the heart of the new Norman church.

As Old English experts have reached across Conquest, emphasising the vibrancy of the last century of Old English, scholars working on Anselm and his circle have made steps in the other direction, exploring the archbishop's receptivity to Anglo-Saxon culture and practical approach to teaching and learning. Susan Ridyard, Richard Pfaff, and Jay Rubenstein, for

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[7] Patrick O'Neill, 'The English Version', in Margaret Gibson, T. A. Heslop and Richard W. Pfaff, eds, *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image and Monastic Culture in Twelfth Century Canterbury* (Penn State UP, 1992), pp. 123–38, at 136.

[8] Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, eds, *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[9] Orietta Da Rold, Takako Kato, Mary Swan, and Elaine Treharne, eds, *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220* (Leeds/Leicester, 2013) <http://www.le.ac.uk/ee/em1060to1220/> [accessed 4 August, 2020].

[10] For a survey of Old English book production in southeastern England, see George Younge, *The Canterbury Anthology: An Old English Manuscript in its Anglo-Norman Context* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012), pp. 19–59.

example, have argued that Lanfranc and Anselm were less hostile than once thought to local English saints' cults, pruning rather than purging the Anglo-Saxon liturgical calendar.[11] Thomas Betsul, across a number of studies, has traced the influence of Anglo-Saxon devotional practices on Anselm's prayers and meditations, while Helen Gittos has demonstrated the continuity of pre-Conquest liturgical traditions in post-Conquest Canterbury.[12] All of this feeds into, and forms part of, a more general shift in scholarly attitudes to Norman and English ecclesiastical society in the second half of the eleventh century. As R. W. Southern, Margaret Gibson, H. E. J. Cowdrey, and, more recently Sally Vaughn, have stressed, Lanfranc and Anselm were church leaders of no narrow perspective; rather they were representatives of Benedictine monasticism at the height of its influence in medieval Europe, a burgeoning intellectual culture given material form in the increased production of new books, and deeply engaged with larger questions of church reform and relations between lay and clerical power.[13] Saint Cuthbert, as William Aird's study has shown, was adopted, shrewdly, by the 'Normans' who assumed responsibility for his guardianship.[14] On the evidence of the bilingual copy of the Rule of St Benedict, the new Durham community (established in 1083) was, to some extent, bilingual; the Eadwine Psalter, a Christ Church production with glosses in Old English, French and Latin, suggests that literary culture at Canterbury was also multilingual.[15]

The rest of this essay offers a survey of Old English texts produced in the South East during the century after 1066, teasing out Anselmian themes and preoccupations. While many of the observations are my own, a secondary aim of the study is to collate the comments of other scholars who have detected Anselmian influence in individual Old English texts without noticing the wider pattern. My starting point is a flurry of editorial work on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle at Canterbury, which suggests that Old English scribes were (creatively) furnishing documentary support for Anselm's position in the Investiture Contest and the Primacy Dispute, issues that dominated his tenure as archbishop. The political inflections in the Old English historical material set the tone for a survey of vernacular pastoral texts, which interact more subtly with Anselm's devotional and theological interests, anticipating the use of Anselmian sources by the earliest Middle English writers.

While my approach is to describe Anselm's influence on Old English texts, this should not rule out the possibility that a more reciprocal dynamic was at work; rather than imagining a group of Old English scribes and compilers reinvigorated by the new political and devotional culture of their charismatic leader, it is equally possible that Anselm and his contemporaries actively

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[11] Susan J. Ridyard, '*Condigna veneratio*: post-Conquest attitudes to the saints of the Anglo-Saxons', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, ix (1986), 179–206; R. W. Pfaff, 'Lanfranc's supposed purge of the Anglo-Saxon calendar', in T. Reuter, ed., *Warriors and churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays presented to Karl Leyser* (London: Hambledon Press, 1992), pp. 95–108; Jay Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against history: the competing visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury', *Speculum*, lxxiv (1999), 279–309.

[12] Thomas Betsul, 'St Anselm and the Continuity of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Traditions', *Annuale Mediaevale*, 18 (1977); idem; 'St Anselm, the Monastic Community at Canterbury, and Devotional Writing in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Anselm Studies: An Occasional Journal*, 1 (1983), 185–91; Helen Gittos, 'Sources for the Liturgy at Canterbury Cathedral in the Central Middle Ages', in Alixe Bovey, ed., *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Canterbury*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 35 (Routledge: London, 2013), pp. 41–58.

[13] R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, Archbishop* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) Sally N. Vaughn, *Archbishop Anselm 1093-1109: Bec Missionary, Canterbury Primate, Patriarch of Another World* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

[14] William M. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans: the Church of Durham, 1071–1153* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), esp. pp. 100–41.

[15] Durham, Cathedral Library, B. IV. 24 (Bilingual *Rule of Saint Benedict*, s. xi²); Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 17. 1 (Eadwine Psalter, s. xiimed).

endorsed the use of Old English, both as a language of historical record and a tool for instructing monolingual lay and religious audiences.

Lanfranc, Anselm and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is a year-by-year record of English history first compiled in the reign of King Alfred.[16] Although primarily made up of terse, annalistic entries, the Chronicle is a diverse work, featuring sophisticated passages of historical analysis and punctuated by bursts of alliterative and rhyming verse. The outlook of the Chronicle is primarily national in scope, with a focus on the emergence of the West Saxon dynasty. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Alfredian core of the Chronicle was copied, expanded and updated at regional centres throughout England. Following the Norman Invasion in 1066, it was translated twice into Latin (at Canterbury and Bury St Edmunds), and used as the primary source for an entertaining, versified history of England in Old French composed by Geoffrey Gaimar (1136 x 1137).[17] Today, the Chronicle survives in eight manuscripts (referred to as MSS A–G), each of which has its own complex textual history, and unique regional and political identity.[18]

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle dwindled in the decades after the Norman Conquest. Manuscript D, for example, continues until 1079, when it tails of with the marriage of Margaret, scion of the house of Wessex, to Malcolm III of Scotland. Against this trend, however, the monks of Canterbury Cathedral priory took an active interest in collecting, revising and translating the Chronicle after the Conquest.[19] The initial stimulus for this burst of activity was a disastrous fire in 1067, which severely damaged the cathedral's archive. In the following decades, Christ Church sought to rectify its losses, acquiring three separate versions of the Chronicle, including the Parker Chronicle (MS A), the Abingdon Chronicle (MS B) and the exemplar of the Peterborough Chronicle (MS E), the latter probably from a northern foundation. These books were then revised by a collective of Canterbury scribes led by an industrious individual known as the 'F-scribe', whose hand appears across a number of manuscripts. The revised manuscripts of the Chronicle formed the basis for two secondary compilations: a bilingual version in English and Latin (MS F), and the *Cronica imperfecta*, a now fragmentary universal history with close ties to the Latin translation in MS F.[20] The outer limits for this activity are 1073 x 1140, though most of the work took place between c. 1100 x 1114, that is during Anselm's tenure as archbishop and the five-year vacancy before the election of Ralph d'Escures.

Broadly speaking, the Canterbury scribes who worked on the Chronicle were motivated by two basic impulses. The first of these was local in orientation and the second universal, situating English history in the context of the wider Anglo-Norman realm. The localizing impulse, which concerns us here, is reflected in the scribes' addition of material relating to the archdiocese of Canterbury. While some of the supplementary annals are politically neutral (for instance those

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[16] For an overview see Susan Irvine, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', in Nicole Guenther Discenza and Paul E. Szarmach, eds, *A Companion to Alfred the Great* (Brill: Leiden, 2014), pp. 344–67.

[17] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition: Volume 8: MS F*, ed. Peter S. Baker (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000) [Canterbury]; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition: Volume 17: The Annals of St Neots with the* Vita Prima Sancti Neoti, ed. David Dumville and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1984) [Bury St Edmunds]; Geffrei Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis*, ed. and trans. Ian Short (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[18] Simon Keynes, 'Manuscripts of the Chronicle', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Vol. 1: c.400–1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 537–52, with a helpful list of manuscripts at p. 552.

[19] The following account draws on the studies by David Dumville, 'Some Aspects of Annalistic Writing at Canterbury in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries', *Peritia*, 2 (1983), 23–57 and Pauline Stafford, *After Alfred: Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and Chroniclers, 900–1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

[20] The *Cronica imperfecta* is in Oxford, Bodleian Library, lat. misc. d.13/14/30. The text has not been edited.

recording the reigns of Kentish kings), other interpolations resonate with the Investiture Crisis and the Primacy Dispute, conflicts that consumed Anselm during his time as archbishop.

Working around 1100, the compiler of MS F, for example, introduced a series of documents into his bilingual edition of the Chronicle that justify Anselm's stance in the Investiture Controversy, providing historical precedent for the independence of the archbishop from the Crown in the twelfth century.[21] These include a string of charters added under the years 694, 742, and 796 asserting the archbishop's right to make ecclesiastical appointments, and tracing this back to a diploma issued by one of the early kings of Kent, Whitred:

> Kings must appoint earls and ealdormen, sheriffs and judges, and the archbishop must direct and counsel God's Church, and choose and appoint bishops and abbots and abbesses, priests and deacons, consecrate and direct them with good admonishments and example, lest any of God's flock wander or be lost. [22]

The Old English translation of Whitred's grant draws a sharp distinction between the role of the king, who is responsible for secular appointments, and the duties of an archbishop, who has sole jurisdiction over bishops, abbots, and priests. The message is reinforced by subsequent documents incorporated under the years 742 and 796, confirming Whitred's original diploma. By inserting these charters into the Chronicle, the compiler of MS F effectively presents the unsuccessful struggle of the early kings of Kent for control over ecclesiastical foundations as a precedent for Anselm's independence from Henry I.

Whereas the compiler of MS F had the Investiture Controversy in his sights, the scribes who revised MS A offered historical support for Anselm's position in the Primacy Dispute, the longstanding conflict between Canterbury and York over the southern archdiocese's claim to authority over all the churches of the British Isles. Working in stints during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, and probably during the years when Anselm clashed with archbishops Gerald and Thomas II of York, a group of Christ Church scribes extended the annals in MS A from 1001 to 1070.[23] The last Old English entry, inserted under the year 1070, summarizes Lanfranc's earlier, successful attempt to assert the primacy of Canterbury over Thomas I of York:

> In that year Thomas [of Bayeux], who was bishop-elect of York, came to Canterbury to be consecrated there according to ancient custom. When Lanfranc demanded the confirmation of his obedience by oath, he refused and said that he ought not to do it. Then Archbishop Lanfranc got angry, and ordered the bishops, who had come there at Archbishop Lanfranc's orders to perform the service, and all the monks to unrobe, and at his orders they did so. Thus Thomas went back that time without consecration. Then immediately after this it happened that Archbishop Lanfranc went to Rome, and Thomas along with him. When they arrived there and had spoken about other things which they wished to discuss, Thomas

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[21] The presence of these themes was first noted by Baker in *MS F*, pp. lxxvi–lxxix.

[22] *MS F*, ed. Baker, s.a. 694 (pp. 40–1): 'Cyngas sceolan settan eorlas 7 ealdormen, scirireuan & domesmenn, 7 arcebiscop sceal Godes gelaðunge wissian 7 rædan 7 biscopas 7 abbodas 7 abbedessan, preostas 7 diaconas ceosan 7 settan, halgian 7 getryman mid godan mynegunga 7 forebysene, þe læste þe æni of Godes heorde dwelie 7 losie.' For discussion see Alice Jorgensen, 'Rewriting the Æthelredian Chronicle: Narrative Style and Identity in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS F', in A. Jorgensen, ed., *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature and History* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 113–38 at 133–4.

[23] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition: Volume 3: MS A*, ed. Janet M. Bately (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1986), pp. xl–xlii (hands 7-13); Dumville, 'Some Aspects', pp. 41–2. The primacy dispute is described in Southern, *Portrait*, pp. 340–64 and Vaughn, *Archbishop Anselm*, pp. 49–71.

brought forward his case, how he had gone to Canterbury and how the archbishop had asked for his obedience on oath, and he refused it. The Archbishop Lanfranc began to explain with clear reasoning that what he had demanded he had demanded legitimately, and he established the same with firm argument before Pope Alexander [II] and all the council that was assembled there. And so they went home. After this Thomas' came to Canterbury and humbly fulfilled all that the archbishop demanded of him, and then received the consecration.[24]

The same story is subsequently retold in the *Acta Lanfranci*, a Latin text that constitutes the final substantial entry in MS A. Viewed as a whole, the interventions made by the scribes in MS A have an obvious relevance at the time of writing, implying that the great sweep of English history recorded in the Chronicle culminated in Lanfranc's successful, if short-lived, assertion of Canterbury's primacy, an event that was in turn of crucial importance to Anselm when he once again clashed with Thomas' successors, Gerald and Thomas II. As Paul Hayward notes, the significance of the modifications to MS A lie not just at the literal level of the meaning of the text, but also in the repurposing of a venerable object from the Anglo-Saxon past: 'the physical artefact of a history book, the worn leaves and antique script of the manuscript itself… was appropriated to lend authority to a piece of propaganda'.[25]

As these examples show, the Old English scribes who worked on manuscripts of the Chronicle at Canterbury echoed the political concerns of Anselm and the priory's ruling elite. The direction of influence here is open to interpretation, and the examples discussed above are perhaps best understood as a coalescing of interests: the older claims of the community and the newer concerns of the incoming elite naturally converging. In addition to the interventions in MSS F and A, other scattered pieces of evidence further enmesh Old English editors of the Chronicle in the wider culture of Primacy and Investiture concerns. Anselm, or more plausibly Eadmer, are the most likely agents for the transmission of a Latin version of the Chronicle based on MS F to St Bertin, an institution with longstanding ties to Canterbury that the archbishop visited in 1097; perhaps one or both of them used this document to press the archbishop's case in exile.[26] Eadmer drew heavily on the Chronicle in his *Saints' Lives*, a work that may also have been composed to explain the English situation to sympathetic continental

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[24] *MS A*, ed. Bately, s.a. 1070: 'On þam geare THOMAS se wæs gecoran bisc*o*p to Eferwic com to Cantwareberig þæt man hine ðær gehadede efter þan ealdan gewunan. Ða ða Landfranc crafede fæstnunge his gehersumnesse mid aðswerunge, þa forsoc he 7 sæde þæt he hit nahte to donne. Þa gewraðede hine se arcebiscop Landfranc 7 bebead þam biscopan ðe þar cumene wæran be ðas arcebiscopes Landfrances hæse þa serfise to donde, 7 eallan þan munecan, þæt hi scoldan hi unscrydan, 7 hi be his hæse swa didan. Swa Thomas to þam timan agean ferde buton bletsunga. Þa sona æfter þysan belamp þæt se arcebiscop LANDFRANC ferde to Rome 7 Thomas forð mid. Þa þa hi þyder comon 7 umbe oþer þing gesprecon hæfdon umbe þæt hi sprecan woldon, þa angan Thomas his spæce hu he com to Cantuuarebyri, 7 hu se arcebiscop axode hyrsumnesse mid aþswerunge at him, 7 he hit forsoc. Þa agann se arcebiscop Landfranc atywian mid openum gesceade þæt he mid rihte crafede þas þa he frafede 7 mid strangan cwydan þæt ylce gefæastnode toforan þam papan Alexandre 7 toforan eallan þam concilium þe þar gegadered was 7 swa ham foran. Æfter þysan com Thomas to Cantwarebyri & eal þæt se arcebiscop at him crafede eadmedlice gefylde 7 syþþan þa bletsungan underfeng.' The events described actually took place in 1072.

[25] Paul A. Hayward, 'Some Reflections on the Historical Value of the so-called *Acta Lanfranci*', *Historical Research*, 77 (2004), pp. 141–60 at p. 160.

[26] The evidence for this speculation derives primarily from the use of a Latin text like MS F by the twelfth-century historian Lambert of St Omer, compiler of the *Liber Floridus*, who in turn is known to have consulted the library at St Bertin. See R. Derolez, 'British and English History in the Liber Floridus', in A. Derolez (ed.), *Liber Floridus Colloquium: Papers Read at the International Meeting Held in the University of Ghent on 3–5 September 1967* (Ghent: Story-Scientia, 1973), pp. 59–70.

neighbours.[27] Most tellingly of all, one of the scribes who worked on the Chronicle at Canterbury also copied a Primacy Bull into the Athelstan Gospels. Here, the document forms one of the infamous 'Canterbury Forgeries', a clutch of privileges fabricated in support of Lanfranc during his dispute with Thomas I that were later 'rediscovered' in the Canterbury archive and presented to the Pope by Ralph d'Escures in 1123.[28] The presence of the same scribal hand in the Chronicle and the Canterbury Forgeries suggests that these two projects had a similar purpose, furnishing Anslem with convenient documentary support.

Anselmian Themes in late Old English hagiography

The examples discussed above show that the Old English scribes who updated the Chronicle at Canterbury after the Conquest participated in the institutional struggles that occupied Lanfranc, Anselm and the new clerical elite. Old English, far from being marginalised within the monastic community, retained its status as a language of historical record. In this regard, the Chronicle provides an important starting point for interpreting the wider diffusion of Anselmian themes in Old English pastoral literature from the South East; just as the influence of Anselm and his circle made itself felt in Old English historical writing, so too did it permeate other genres.

A good case-study of the penetration of the devotional preferences and stylistic sensibilities associated with Anselm and his circle are the Lives of Saints Nicholas, Giles, Margaret, and Neot.[29] These four hagiographies are preserved in two large pastoral anthologies: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 303 and London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian MS D.xiv, collections compiled in the mid-twelfth century and localised to Rochester and Christ Church cathedral priories respectively.[30] The anthologies, which are among our best witnesses to the continuity of Old English prose after the Conquest, mostly contain late copies of pre-Conquest sermons, especially those of the tenth-century homilist Ælfric of Eynsham. Nestled among these reissued texts, however, are a group of late eleventh and early twelfth-century translations, including the Lives of Nicholas, Giles, Margaret and Neot. This set of saints' lives share a number of stylistic and thematic features, including a marked freedom in their treatment of Latin sources, an interest in human emotions, and a tendency to enliven the narratives of their protagonists through the use of motifs associated with romance. These characteristics set the Lives apart from earlier generations of hagiographical writing and single them out as the surviving rump of a regional revival of Old English hagiographical writing.

The saints chosen by the Old English translators correspond closely to the devotional preferences of the diasporic monks of the Abbey of Bec, the Norman foundation that Anselm headed as prior and abbot before his appointment at Canterbury. Along with its English and

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[27] Eadmer of Canterbury, *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan and Oswald*, ed. and trans. Andrew J. Turner and Bernard J. Muir (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. xl and *passim*.

[28] The scribe worked on the annals in London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.xv, fols 132v–135r wrote the first of the privileges in London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A. iii, 7rv. The connection was made by N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 176. The Caligula Annals are discussed by Ciaran Arthur, 'The Gift of the Gab in Post-Conquest Canterbury: Mystical "Gibberish" in London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A. xv', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 118 (2019), 177–210, esp. pp. 207–8, and an overview of the forgeries given in Jean Traux, *Archbishops Ralph d'Escures, William of Corbeil and Theobald of Bec: Heirs of Anselm and Ancestors of Becket* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 79–89.

[29] *The Old English Life of St Nicholas with the Old English Life of St Giles*, ed. E. M. Treharne (Leeds: University of Leeds School of English, 1997); *The Old English Lives of St Margaret*, ed. and trans. Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth Century MS. Vesp. D. XIV*, ed. Rubie D. N. Warner (London: Kegan Paul, 1917), pp. 129–34 (Neot).

[30] See the catalogue entries for CCCC 303 and Vespasian D. xiv in Da Rold *et al.*, eds, *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts*.

continental dependences, Bec possessed a strongly developed sense of its own corporate identity, comparable to that of Cluny, though more informal.[31] The Bec network acted as a conduit for bi-directional cultural exchange across the English Channel, bringing Norman texts and cults to England and facilitating the export of English traditions back to Normandy.

With the exception of Margaret, who was widely venerated before the Norman Conquest, the translations seem to have been commissioned in response to cults that were promoted by Anselm and other affiliates of Bec. Around 1090, the monks of Bec acquired a phial of Saint Nicholas' oil after Norman sailors rescued his relics from Turkish-occupied Myria in a daring raid.[32] Shortly thereafter, Anselm composed his famous prayer to Nicholas, and an anonymous monk of Bec wrote a homily in his honour and compiled an account of his miracles.[33] As Marjorie Chibnall notes, following the acquisition of Nicholas' relics, Bec quickly became the 'most important centre for the dissemination of collections of his miracles' in Europe.[34] In England, Lanfranc established a leper hospital in Nicholas' name at Harbledown (*c*.1085) and Bishop Gundulf, another Bec alumnus, dedicated an altar to the saint in Rochester cathedral, which became a focal point of lay devotion.[35] Gundulf also promoted the cult of Saint Giles, establishing a further altar to this saint in the cathedral, from which he used lay donations to fund the hospital of Saint Bartholomew.[36]

The most dynamic example of cross-channel exchange within the Bec network is the cult of Saint Neot (d. *c.* 878), a Cornish hermit famed for his posthumous assistance of King Alfred during the Viking invasions of the 890s. Initially a regional saint in the west of England, Neot's cult spread to East Anglia in the early eleventh century after the monks of Ely acquired his relics in a textbook instance of *furta sacra,* installing them at the dependent priory of Eynesbury in Cambridgeshire. Around the middle of the eleventh century, a monk of Eynesbury composed the first Latin biography of Neot (*Vita* I). Eynesbury subsequently passed into the hands of the Norman nobleman Richard of Clare after the Conquest, who re-founded the priory as a dependency of Bec and populated it with monks from the Norman mother house. Shortly after its refoundation, Anselm visited Eynesbury and inspected Neot's relics, an occasion that he subsequently described in a letter to the bishop of Lincoln.[37] Around this time, the monks of Bec acquired a relic of St Neot, and the Bec library catalogue records that a copy of his Life was preserved in the abbey's library.[38] As I have suggested elsewhere, the

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[31] Invaluable here are the essays in Benjamin Pohl and Laura Gathagan, eds, *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2018). See also Marjorie Chibnall, 'The Relations of Saint Anselm With the English Dependencies of the Abbey of Bec, 1079–1093', *Spicilegium Beccense*, I (1959), pp. 521–30 and Vaughn, *Archbishop Anselm*, pp. 23–48.

[32] Charles W. Jones, *The Saint Nicholas Liturgy and its Literary Relationships* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 172–202.

[33] Anselm of Canterbury, *Opera omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1946-61), *Or.* 14 (III, 55); *Miracula Sancti Nicholai conscripta a monacho Beccensi*, in Société des Bollandistes, eds, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in bibliotheca nationali Parisiensi*, 3 vols (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, 1889–93), II, 405–32.

[34] Marjorie Chibnall, 'The Translation of the Relics of Saint Nicholas and the Norman Historical Tradition', *Atti del II Congresso internazionale sulle relazioni fra le due Sponde adriatiche* (Rome: Centro di studi sulla storia e la civiltà adriatica, 1979), pp. 33–41 at 35.

[35] Eadmer of Canterbury, *Historia novorum in Anglia*, ed. Martin Rule (London: Rolls Series, 1884), pp. 14–5.

[36] E. J. Greenwood, *The Hospital of St Bartholomew Rochester* (Rochester: Staples Printers, 1962), p. 12.

[37] Anselm, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Schmitt, *Ep.* 473 (ll. 4–14).

[38] André Porée, *Histoire de l'abbeye du Bec*, 2 Vols (Évreux: Charles Hérissey, 1901), I, 655; Geneviève Nortier, *Les Bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie*, 2nd edn (Paris: Éditions P. Lethielleux, 1971), pp. 40–3.

refoundation of St Neots by the Clare family probably provided the stimulus for the translation of the Old English version of his Life.[39]

In addition to reflecting the devotional preferences of the Bec diaspora, further evidence exists that the Old English translators were responding to the new forms of spirituality promoted by Anselm and his circle. In stylistic terms, the four Lives differ markedly from pre-Conquest prose hagiography, which generally adheres to the Jeromian principle of sense for sense translation, pruning Latin sources but rarely expanding upon them. The Lives of Nicholas, Giles, Margaret and Neot, in contrast, display an unprecedented freedom in the treatment of their Latin antecedents, characterized by the introduction of romance motifs and a new interest in affect and the emotions.

Hugh Magennis and Mary Clayton, the editors of the Life of Saint Margaret link this interest in the emotions specifically to the 'influence of Anselmian spirituality', citing the example of Margaret's prayers, which display a 'personal and emotional fervency' that is both 'unparalleled in pre-twelfth-century vernacular literature' and closely akin to Anselm's own meditations.[40] This is particularly true of the prayers that Margaret utters privately, which possess an ardour and a focus on the love felt by the petitioner for God that is reminiscent of works such as Anselm's 'Prayer to Christ':

> Lord God almighty... I am your pure servant and unstained by any man ever born. I dedicate myself to you unstained so that you may keep me strong and steadfast in sweetest love of you against the temptation of the devil, because my trust and my hope and my true love is in you now and always was and, with your help, always will be.[41]

Similar traces of Anselmian spirituality are found across the four Kentish Lives. In the Life of St Giles, to give one further example, the Old English writer greatly expands upon a scene found in his source in which the saint encounters a hermit. The translator's description of the friendship that forms between Giles and the recluse represents an attempt to transpose into the vernacular the particularly intense variety of spiritual friendship promoted by Anslem and the monks of Bec:

> When Saint Giles heard that he [the hermit] lived the very life he himself desired, he became so happy that he embraced the man of God and kissed him with great love, and afterwards each commended the other to almighty God with holy prayers. Truly, they stayed together for three days and earnestly discussed God's love among themselves by day and by night. Then, after the three days had passed, each took leave of the other with peace. And Giles left the man of God there and went away from him crying bitterly and praising his lord.[42]

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[39] George Younge, '"Those were good days": Representations of the Anglo-Saxon Past in the Old English Homily on Saint Neot', *Review of English Studies*, 63 (2012), pp. 349–69.

[40] *Old English Lives of Margaret*, ed. and trans. Magennis and Clayton, p. 70

[41] *Margaret*, ed. and trans. Magennis and Clayton, pp. 154–5: 'Drihten God Ælmightig... ic eom þin þeowa clæna and ungewæmmed fram eallum mannum, þe geborene bið. Þe ic me betæce ungewæmmode þæt þu me gehealde togeanes þæs deofles sotung strange and staþolfæste on þonre ælre sweteste lufa, forþan þe to þe nu is and æfre wæs and, þurh þin help, æfre beon sceal min hiht and min hope and min soþe lufu.' The link with the Anselm's Prayer to Christ is discussed by Clayton and Magennis at pp. 70–1.

[42] *OE Life of Giles*, ed. Treharne, ll. 120–7: 'Ða se halga Egidius geherde þæt he wunede on swylce life eal swa he self wilnode an to drohtnigenne, þa wearð he swa bliðe þæt he cleopode þone Godes mann 7 gecyste hine mid mycelre lufe, 7 swa siððan betæhte her ægðer oþer þam ælmihtigan Gode mid halige bedum. Soðlice, þry dagas hi wunodon togædere, 7 geornlice anledon Godes lof betweoxan heom be dæges 7 be nihte. Ða æfter þriora

Many of the hallmarks of Anselmian friendship are present in this passage, including the intimate expression of love between men and the fervent display of emotions, manifested through tears, kissing and joy. A comparable passage, for instance, occurs in the *Vita Gundulfi*, where the author describes Anselm's close friendship with the Bishop of Rochester:

> So close was [Anselm's] friendship with Gundulf that he was spoken of as another Gundulf, and Gundulf as a second Anselm, and he loved to be so called, for they had but one heart and one soul in God. They were often to be found conversing on spiritual topics and many were the tears they shed as they talked together.[43]

The parallels cited above do not provide evidence for the direct use of Anselmian sources by Old English writers; for this we have to wait for the earliest works in Middle English.[44] Rather, the nature of the influence is diffuse and the evidence cumulative. On balance, however, it seems likely that the devotional preferences expressed by Anselm and the monks of Bec acted as a stimulus for the translation of the Lives of Nicholas, Giles, Margaret and Neot, which plugged a gap in the existing record of Old English hagiography. The style of the lives, with their emphasis on affective devotion, earnestly expressed prayers to God, and spiritual friendship broadly reflect the new spirituality promoted by Anselm in his prayers, meditations, and table-talk.

Networks and connections: Old English and the circle of Saint Anselm

In addition to Chronicles and saints' lives produced in the orbit of Canterbury and Rochester cathedral priories, one further cluster of texts offers even more tangible evidence for the interaction of Old English translators with Anselm's circle of friends and disciples. These are a series of items copied consecutively in the fourth booklet of Vespasian D.xiv, the mid-twelfth-century anthology that also contains the Old English Life of Saint Neot. The texts in question are an Old English version of Ralph d'Escures' homily on the Virgin Mary (151r–158r), a brief account of the parentage of the three Marys known as the *Trinubium Annae* (158r), and excerpts from the *Speculum Ecclesiae* (158r–159r) and the *Elucidarius* (159r–165r) by Honorius Augustodunensis. As Rima Handley first observed, the manuscript's compiler seems to have copied these texts in sequence because they are all, in one way or another, 'associated with Anselm'.[45] Viewed as a group, they can be construed as Old English reflexes to works that were either fashionable in Anselm's circle, or directly composed by his followers.

The language and imagery of Ralph d'Escures' homily for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin are so close to the spirit of Anselm's compositions that medieval compilers often mis-attributed it to him. First delivered in French to the monks of Séez, the Latin translation of Ralph's homily circulated widely among Anselm's coterie. Honorius Augustodunensis, for instance, summarised it in his own treatise on the Assumption of the Virgin, the *Sigillum beatae*

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dagana fec gerece her ægðer oðerne mid sibsumnesse. 7 se Egidius forlet þær þone Godes man 7 gewende him siððan þanon sarlice wepende 7 his drihten herigende.'

[43] *The Life of Gundulf Bishop of Rochester*, ed. Rodney Thomson (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1977), p. 30: '... tanta Gundulfo est amicitia uinctus ut se alterum Gundulfum, Gundulfum uero alterum Anselmum diceret et oucari gauderet. Erat enim illis in Deo cor unum et anima una, frequens de spiritualibus collucutio, multa inter colloquendum lacrimarum effusio.'

[44] See below, n. 65.

[45] Rima Handley, 'British Museum MS. Cotton Vespasian D.xiv', *Notes and Queries*, 21 (1974), 243–50 at p. 249.

Maria.[46] In general, the English translator follows Ralph's original faithfully. Occasionally, however, we see him roused by the more emotive elements of the homily, as in the following passage on the Virgin's maternal love for Christ:

> Þonne he hnacod wæs, heo hine bewreah mid lichame 7 mid reafe. Þonne he wæs hungrig 7 þurstig, heo hine estlice gefylde mid hire meolca. On his cildlicen unfernysse, heo hine baðede, 7 beðede, 7 smerede, 7 bær, 7 frefrede, 7 swaðede, 7 roccode…[When he was naked she covered him with her body and clothing. When he was hungry and thirsty she graciously filled him with her milk. In his childhood infirmity, she bathed him and warmed him, anointed him and carried him, comforted him, swaddled him and rocked him…].[47]

While the verbs in this tableau are conventional, their deployment is innovative. *Smirwan* (to anoint), for example, occurs almost exclusively in ecclesiastical contexts of anointing before the Conquest. *Swaðian* (swaddle) is not associated with the Virgin in the Anglo-Saxon period. *Roccode* is the only attested instance of the affective Old English verb **roccian* ('rock'). All three of these verbs are additions made by the English translator to the Latin source.[48] The passage as a whole exemplifies the translator's lively engagement with Ralph's sermon and his attempt to reinvent traditional Old English vocabulary in the service of the new Marian cult.

The following text, an Old English translation of the *Trinubium Annae*, is effectively an appendix to Ralph's sermon, offering a brief resume of the Virgin's relatives, in which the anonymous author asserts that the three Mary's at the tomb are each the offspring of one of Anne's three marriages. The Old English version of the *Trinubium* begins with a statement, presumably in the voice of the compiler of Vespasian D.xiv, linking it to Ralph's sermon: 'We now wish to tell you something about her close relatives who were her cousins'.[49] The *Trinubium* was a favourite work in Anselm's circle. During his time at Séez, for instance, Ralph d'Escures sent a copy to Gilbert Crispin, one of Anselm's most intellectually gifted pupils, who promptly refuted it in the *Probatio de illa peccatrice que unxit pedes domini* (*c.*1085). The prologue to Gilbert's work conveys a vivid impression of a coterie of readers engaged in animated debate about the identity of the women who witnessed Christ's crucifixion and resurrection:

> Brother G*ilbert* abbot of Westminster sends 'the things which God has prepared for those who love him' (I Cor. II.9) to R*alph*, beloved and diligent monk and cantor of the holy church of Séez. Regarding those things which you asked me via your letters, I have responded, compelled by your order and if I have not done so sufficiently, nonetheless I am not wholly beside the point or inappropriate. A little book fell into your hands [i.e. the *Trinubium Annae*], in which the author of the little book occupied himself with demonstrating that there were

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46 Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sigillum Beatae Maria*, in J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia cursus completus: Series latina*, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–64), CLXXII, cols 495–513 (with Ralph's sermon digested at cols 497A–D). See *The Seal of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, trans. Amelia Carr (Toronto: Peregrina Publishing, 1991), p. 20.
47 *Early English Homilies*, ed. Warner, p. 137.
48 Compare Ralph d'Escures, *Sermo in festis Sancte Marie virginis*, in J. P Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina*, CLVIII, cols 647–8: '... nudum carne vel etiam pannis peruit, esurientem pavit, sitentem lacte potavit, infirmum per infantiam jacentem no solum visitavit, sed etiam **balneando, fovendo, leniendo, gestando**, frequentavit, ut merito de ea dicatur, *Maria autem satagebat circa frequens ministerium* [Luke 10.40]'.
49 *Early English Homilies*, ed. Warner, p. 139: 'We wylleð eow nu sum dæl gerecen emben hyre neamagen, þe hire besibbe wæron'.

three women and not one; that sinner in the Gospel according to Luke, and Mary Magdalene, and Mary who anointed the feet of the Lord around the time of his Passion.[50]

While the world of Ralph d'Escures and Gilbert Crispin may seem remote from that of the compiler of Vespasian D.xiv, the presence of Ralph's Assumption homily and the *Trinubium* in the Old English anthology suggests that at least one Old English compiler was keeping abreast of issues discussed in Anselm's circle and, through translation, conveying these to a wider, English-speaking audience.

After the *Trinubium*, the compiler of Vespasian D.xiv copied three Old English versions of extracts from works by Honorius Augustodunensis. Honorius' career and relationship to Anselm are contested topics. The most compelling reconstruction of his biography is that proposed by V. I. J. Flint, who argues that Honorius (real name 'Henricus') was born in Germany or the northern Italian Alps (perhaps in the same region as Anselm), and spent the early part of his life there in the role of a regular canon. Towards the end of the eleventh century, according to Flint, Honorius travelled to England, where he overlapped with Anselm's circle at Canterbury and visited Worcester cathedral priory, before returning to Germany, spending the rest of his life as a monk at Sant James' Abbey in Regensburg.[51] While more work is needed to confirm all aspects of Flint's reconstruction of Honorius' career, recent research continues to heap up support for the theory that he visited England and encountered Anselm in person, as opposed to reading his works. One particularly fruitful approach has been to relate the numerous architectural allusions in Honorius' early compositions to specific features of the buildings he encountered at Worcester and Canterbury. In T. A. Heslop's opinion, for example, Honorius was 'standing in front of the imagery' in the stained-glass windows at Canterbury Cathedral when he began work on the sermons in the *Speculum ecclesiae*.[52] Similarly, Karl Kinsella has argued that Honorius 'envisioned the cathedral' at Canterbury as a 'template for the church' described in detail in the *Gemma animae*.[53] In addition to art historical evidence that Honorius was responding specifically to Anselm's cathedral at Canterbury, using a familiar building as an architectural mnemonic, recent palaeographic research suggests that he was probably not the only German visitor in the region. As Erik Kwakkel has demonstrated, evidence provided by pen-trials in post-Conquest manuscripts at Rochester shows that there were a number of individuals in the scriptorium who were 'native to Germany, Italy, and the

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[50] Gilbert Crispin, *Probatio de illa peccatrice que unxit pedes domini* in Anna Abulafia and G. R. Evans, eds, *The Works of Gilbert Crispin: Abbot of Westminster*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 94: 'Dilecto atque diligenti sancte Sagiensis ecclesie monacho et cantori R*odulfo* frater G*ilbertus* abbas Westmonasterii, que preparuit Deus diligentibus se. Ad ea que per litteras me interrogasti iussu tuoque iussu coactus respondi, et si non sufficienter, non tamen omnino extra rem aut inconuenienter. Libellus in manus tuas incidit, in quo libelli auctor approbare satagit, quia tres sint femine non una, peccatrix illa in Euangelio secundum Lucam, et maria Magdalene, et Maria que unxit pedes Domini circa passionis sue tempora.'

[51] This summary is based on V. I. J. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg: Authors of the Middle Ages*, Vol. 6 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), pp. 95–128. Flint's imaginative reconstruction of Honorius' life contrasts with the scepticism of other scholars, the most extreme example being R. D. Crouse, ed., *Honorius Augustodunensis: De neocosmo* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 100: 'We do not know his national origin, nor where he was educated. We do not know precisely where, or in what manner he lived, or where he died'.

[52] T. A. Heslop, 'St Anselm, Church Reform, and the Politics of Art', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 33 (2011), 103–126 at p. 113. See also 'The English Origins of the Coronation of the Virgin', *Burlington Magazine*, 147 (2005), 790–97, in which Heslop contends that Honorius had the Worcester Chapter House in mind when he composed the *Sigillum Beatae Maria*.

[53] Karl Kinsella, 'Edifice and Education: Structuring Thought in Twelfth-Century Europe' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2016), p. 242.

Low Countries'; individuals who left an even slighter trace of their presence in England than Honorius, and whose existence makes the theory of his stay in England all the more plausible.[54]

The first item by Honorius in Vespasian D.xiv is an excerpt from the *Speculum ecclesiae*, a cycle of *temporale* homilies designed to be translated into the vernacular on the spot. Honorius probably completed the *Speculum* after his move to Regensburg, since the dedication supplied in the earliest manuscript refers to a recent stay with the *fratres cantuariensis* (brothers of Canterbury), implying he was writing to friends from a distance.[55] The Old English fragment of the *Speculum* is an elaboration of a passage in Honorius' homily for Septuagesima Sunday, in which he gives an allegorical interpretation of the seventy-year captivity of the Jews in Babylon, likening this to the ages of the world.[56] While the excerpt is short, and not particularly central to the anthology, it provides crucial evidence for a direct link between one of Anselm's most prolific disciples, Honorius, and the English-speaking contingent at Christ Church.

After the *Speculum Ecclesiae* come two excerpts from the *Elucidarius*, a theological primer cast in the form of a dialogue between pupil and student, probably composed by Honorius during his time in England. As Valerie Flint has shown, some of Honorius' sources have close links with the library at Worcester cathedral priory, and he seems to have had first-hand access to Anselm's early treatises and table talk, including his sermon *De beatitudine*, distilling these for a wider audience.[57] Vespasian D.ix contains two excerpts from the *Elucidarius* translated into Old English. Together, these selections, which may have been extracted from a fuller Old English translation of the text that is now lost, are a natural extension of Honorius' attempt to find a broader audience for Anselm's theology, making basic Anselmian ideas accessible to monolingual English monks.

The first Old English excerpt, for example, opens with a discussion of the immateriality of sin, drawing on Anselm's *De casu diaboli*. Addressing his master, the student states: 'some say that sin is nothing, and if this is true, then it is marvellous that God condemns men for that which is nothing'.[58] In response, the master offers a distinctively Anselmian definition of the nothingness of sin:

> All things are from God, and he made them all good, and for this reason we understand that sin is not a substance, for each substance is good, but evil has no substance, and therefore it is nothing.[59]

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[54] Erik Kwakkel, 'Hidden in Plain Sight: Continental Scribes in Rochester Cathedral Priory, 1075–1150', in Erik Kwakkel, ed., *Writing in Context: Insular Manuscript Culture, 500–1200* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2013), pp. 231–61 at 253.

[55] Honorius, *Speculum ecclesiae*, in Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXII, col. 813, including the statement 'Cum proxime nostro conventu residere'. Flint, *Honorius*, p. 104

[56] The relationship between sermon fragment in Vespasian D.xiv and the *Speculum ecclesiae* was first proposed by Max Förster, 'Der Inhalt der altenglischen Handschrift Vespasianus D. XIV', *Englische Studien*, 54 (1920), 46–68 at pp. 60–1. For a more recent assessment see Stephen Pelle, 'Continuity and Renewal in English Homiletic Eschatology, ca. 1150–1200 (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2012), pp. 127–33, who concludes that the Old English author 'based his account on Honorius' sermon, but supplemented it with his own knowledge of the typology of the Babylonian captivity and the ages of the world' (p. 132).

[57] V. I. J. Flint, 'The Sources of the *Elucidarius* of Honorius Augustodunensis', *Revue Bénédictine*, 85 (1975), 190–8.

[58] *Early English Homilies*, ed. Warner, p. 143: 'Sum mann sæigð þæt synne nis nan þing, 7 gyf þæt soð is, þonne is hit wunder, þæt God fordemð þa mænn for þa þinge þe naht nis'.

[59] Ibid.: 'Of Gode synden ealle þing, & ealle he geworhte heo gode, 7 for þan we understandeð þæt synne nis nan þing on antimbre, for ælc antimber is god, ac yfel næfð nan antimber, 7 for þan hit nis naht'.

This exchange, both in the original Latin *Elucidarius* and the Old English translation, draws on Anselm's discussion of sin in the *De casu diaboli*, a work composed between 1080 and 1086:

> 'Nothing' signifies simply non-being or the lack of all that is real. And evil is only non-good or the absence of good where good ought to be found. But that which is only an absence of reality is certainly not real. Hence evil in truth is nothing and nothing is not real.[60]

As Claudia di Sciacca notes in her study of the Old English translation, the question of whether evil had substance was 'much debated within Anselmian circles'.[61] The archbishop synthesised his thoughts on the matter in a letter to a favourite pupil Maurice, presumably in response to a request, and Ralph prior of Rochester repeats the argument in his own devotional treatises.[62] The Old English excerpts from Honorius' works are short snatches in a larger anthology, yet their importance as evidence for the diffusion of Anselm's ideas at Canterbury cannot be overstated; these brief translations show us how ideas formulated in Anselm's circle were absorbed and reformulated by English-speaking monks.

Conclusion

This essay began by suggesting that modern disciplinary boundaries have hindered recognition of Anselm's influence on late Old English literary culture. In recent decades, two discrete movements in scholarship have been converging, with, on the one hand, a growing recognition of the vibrancy of Old English in the century after 1066, and, on the other, an appreciation of the receptivity of Anselm and his circle to Anglo-Saxon devotional and artistic traditions. While a number of scholars have noted possible or certain instance of Anselmian influence in late Old English works, these examples have, until now, not been pieced together.

This survey of Old English texts from the South East reveals a compelling pattern of influence across a range of literary genres, with Anselmian themes cropping up in historical writing, hagiography, and pastoral literature. Editorial work on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle during Anselm's tenure shows that Old English scribes were actively engaged with the great issues of the day: the Investiture Controversy and the Primacy Dispute. While Anselm's political concerns left an impression on Old English historical writing, the devotional preferences of the monks of Bec and the archbishop's distinctive spirituality–his approach to friendship, prayer, and affective devotion–can clearly be felt in the last Old English saints' lives (Giles, Nicholas, Margaret and Neot). Finally, a cluster of texts found in the fourth booklet of Vespasian D.xiv point to the existence of more direct, human ties between the anonymous monks who compiled the last Old English anthologies and the better-known members of Anselm's circle, probably in the form of friendship, conversation, and correspondence. Here we see Old English authors translating and anthologizing works that were either in vogue amongst members of Anselm's circle (for example the *Trinubium Annae*) or directly composed by them (for example Ralph d'Escures' Assumption sermon and Honorius' *Elucidarius*).

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[60] Anselm, *De casu diaboli*, ed. Schmitt, *Opera Omnia*, I, 251 and trans. Davies and Evans, *Major Works*, p. 210: 'Nihil enim non aliud significat, quam non-aliquid, aut absentiam eorum quae sunt aliquid. Et malum non est aliud, quam non-bonum, aut absentia boni ubi debet et expedit esse bonum. Quod autem non est aliud, quam absentia eius quod est aliquid, utique non est aliquid. Malum igitur vere est nihil, et nihil non est aliquid.' The source was first identified in Yves Lefèvres, *L'Elucidarium et les lucidaires: contribution par l'histoire d'un Texte à l'histoire des croyances religieuses en France au moyen âge (Paris, 1954)*, p. 141, n. 11.

[61] Claudia Di Sciacca, 'Vulgarising Christianity: the Old English version of the *Elucidarium*', in Alessandra Petrina, ed., *The Medieval Translator: Traduie Au Moyen Age: in Principio Fuit Interpres* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 151–62 at 159.

[62] Anselm, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Schmitt, III, 224–8 (*Ep.* 97); Southern, *Portrait*, p. 375. Other echoes of the same discussion are considered elsewhere in this volume in the chapters by Yamazaki and Vreeswijk.

The overall impression this body of material conveys is of a lively exchange of ideas and traditions. Old English writers and compilers derived new energy from the political, devotional, and theological interests of Anselm and his followers. In turn, it seems likely (though we lack this piece of the jigsaw) that Anselm and his contemporaries appreciated the value Old English as a way of 'adapting their words', to borrow Eadmer's phrase, to monolingual audiences, both lay and monastic. Anselm's impact on southeastern writers and compilers also confirms that the 'strength of Norman influence', to return to the terms discussed at the beginning of this essay, had little to do with the decline or prosperity of Old English. Instead, the evidence suggests that incomers at Canterbury and Rochester were either indifferent to Old English manuscript production, or, as I have argued, actively supportive.

This survey also gives increased regional definition to the last century of Old English. From the texts considered above, the outlines of a map of late Old English literary culture begin to emerge; the cosmopolitan, outward-looking material from Kent contrasting with the more nostalgic tone of some of the texts from the West Midlands.[63] Such a picture is entirely in keeping with a broader view of the literary scene in Kent, which was and would continue to be, profoundly informed by the region's ties to mainland Europe; indeed, it was partly Canterbury's reputation as a cosmopolitan hub that made the city such a 'fecund idea' for Chaucer.[64] The notion that post-Conquest Old English texts display regional variation also chimes with the wider emergence of regional identity as a central preoccupation in twelfth-century writing, as witnessed, for instance, in Danelaw texts such as the *Gesta Herewardi* or Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*.

Finally, the texts considered in this article also capture a genuine moment of transition in the shift from Old to Middle English. Certainly, important distinctions exist between the way late Old English and early Middle English authors relate to the figure of Saint Anselm. It is not until Middle English works such as the short sermons in London, British Library Cotton Vespasian A.xxii, the *Trinity Homilies* (Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 14. 52) and the *Vices and Virtues* (London, British Library, Stowe 34) that we see vernacular authors drawing directly on works composed by or attributed to Anselm.[65] And it is not until the *Ancrene Wisse* that we find Anselm invoked as an authority: 'as Seint Anselme seið'.[66] In contrast, the last Old English writers were less concerned with Anselm's status as an authority, possibly because he struck them as possessing all the usual complexities of a living or recently deceased human being, and more attuned to the world of his followers and imitators, very likely because they were actually mixing in and contributing to these circles.

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[63] For instance, the so-called 'Worcester Fragments' (Worcester, Cathedral Library MS F. 174, fols 63r–66v).

[64] Peter Brown, 'Canterbury' in David Wallace, ed., *Europe: a Literary History, 1348–1418* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 191–207 at 201.

[65] Bella Millett, 'Change and Continuity: the English Sermon Before 1250', in Elaine Treharne and Greg Walker, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 221–39, at 229 for parallels between Vespasian A.xxii, 56v–58r (Item 2) and Anselm's *Liber de humanis moribus*; Pelle, 'Continuity and Renewal', pp. 167–8 notes the use of Anselm's *Meditatio* 1 in Trinity Homily 29; Idem, 'The Date and Intellectual Milieu of the Early Middle English *Vices and Virtues*', *Neophilologus* 99 (2015), 151–66 identifies two uses of Anselm's *De similitudinibus* in separate passages from the *Vices and Virtues*.

[66] *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402 with Variants from the Other Manuscripts*, ed. Bella Millett, with E. J. Dobson and Richard Dance, 2 Vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), I, 29, 116, 129.