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THE SCRIBAL WORK OF EADMER OF CANTERBURY TO 1109*

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'...we know very little at present about the growth of the library at Christ Church Canterbury during its great period from about 1080 to 1130, and little can be known until the work of the main scribes has been identified and arranged into a chronological sequence. In this inquiry the discovery of manuscripts written by Eadmer has a special interest because his active life spans the whole of the most important period...'

R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*
(Cambridge, 1963), 373-2.

Eadmer, disciple, companion and biographer of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury (1093-1109), was probably born about 1060, brought up as a child at Christ Church, where he professed as a monk, and at the end of his life was the Christ Church precentor. The date of his death is unknown but he died probably in the late 1120s. His *Historia Novorum in Anglia* is the most ambitious historical work written in England since Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and his *Vita Anselmi* is a fundamental source not only for Anselm's life but also his own.¹

In one of several volumes of manuscript fragments assembled by John Bagford (1650-1716), now at the British Library, is a one-leaf

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¹ Eadmer's life is discussed by R.W. Southern, *St Anselm. A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990), 404-21.

fragment in the unmistakable hand of the historian. Its discovery prompted me to examine virtually all the known late-eleventh and early-twelfth century manuscripts and documents with a Christ Church origin to determine whether further examples of his hand, in addition to those already known, might be identified.² This search proved successful, for the one-leaf fragment is not the only hitherto unknown example of the hand for there are others, all datable to before the death of Anselm in 1109.

In 1963, Southern demonstrated that two manuscripts containing Eadmer's works now at Cambridge were mostly written and amended in the second and third decades of the twelfth century by the historian himself (Corpus Christi College 371 and 452). He also pointed out that the hand of the manuscripts was very like the hand found in some Canterbury documents of the 1080s and his suspicion that the manuscripts and documents were the work of the same scribe was confirmed for him by T.A.M. Bishop.³ In 1979, N.R. Ker, building on identifications made by Bishop in 1953, listed the manuscripts and documents attributable to Eadmer and discussed his hand in one of them in some detail.⁴ In the same year Martin Brett published a note on the textual importance of one of two one-leaf fragments of

² I have, I think, seen virtually all of the relevant manuscripts with a Christ Church provenance listed in N.R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (London, 1964), with its *Supplement* (Ed.) A.G. Watson (London, 1987), with the exception of London, Inner Temple 511.10 (s.xii in.) and Windsor, St George's Chapel 5 (s.xii in.), and a number of manuscripts of Christ Church origin but with a different provenance. There is a useful list (which is not quite complete) of late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Christ Church manuscripts in T. Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production at Christ Church, Canterbury, after the Norman Conquest' in (Eds.) R. Eales and R. Sharpe *Saints and Scholars, Canterbury and the Norman Conquest* (London, 1995), at pp. 156-7. I hope I have seen all of the relevant documents and I am grateful to Martin Brett for letting me see his list of the surviving original charters issued by the archbishops of Canterbury between 1070 and c.1130, drawn up in connection with his forthcoming contribution to the *English Episcopal Acta* series, and to Teresa Webber, who is preparing palaeographical notes on the charters for Brett's edition, for showing me photographs of them.

³ R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, 1963), 371-3. For reproductions see *ibid.*, frontis. (Corpus Christi College 371), and P.R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts, c. 737-1600, in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge, 1988), Pl. 40 (Corpus Christi College 371) and Pl. 47 (Corpus Christi College 452).

⁴ T.A.M. Bishop, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part I' *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 1 (1953), at 456-7, and N.R. Ker, 'Copying an Exemplar: Two Manuscripts of Jerome on Habakkuk' in (Eds.) P. Cockshaw, M.C. Garand and P. Jodogne *Miscellanea Codicologica F. Masai Dicta* (Ghent, 1979) i, pp. 203-10 with pls.

Eadmer's own works (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 341) written by the historian.⁵ The most recent discovery has been the attribution to Eadmer of eight fragments from a manuscript of Augustine's commentary on the Psalms in a sale catalogue, published subsequently by their owner (Tokyo, Takymia 55).⁶

Before his identity had been established, it was thought that Eadmer's early work may have been the crucial link between the script of a Norman manuscript and the mature form of the local Christ Church script, which appeared about the middle of the 1090s. The Norman manuscript contains a collection of canon law, known as the *Collectio Lanfranci*, and has a contemporary note stating that it was purchased by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury (1070-1089), from the monastery at Bec and given to Christ Church (Cambridge, Trinity College B.16.44).⁷ It has been shown that this manuscript was almost certainly in England by 1075.⁸ However, it has been proposed recently that a more seminal influence upon the development of the script may have been the work of a scribe who is known to have worked at Christ Church and may also have worked during the 1080s and earlier at Caen, where Lanfranc was abbot of St. Etienne before coming to Canterbury.⁹

The newly identified one-leaf fragment written by Eadmer is possibly his earliest extant scribal work, dating from in or about the mid-1080s, perhaps a year or two before 1085 (London, British Library Harley 5915 f.12). The recto of the fragment contains the end of

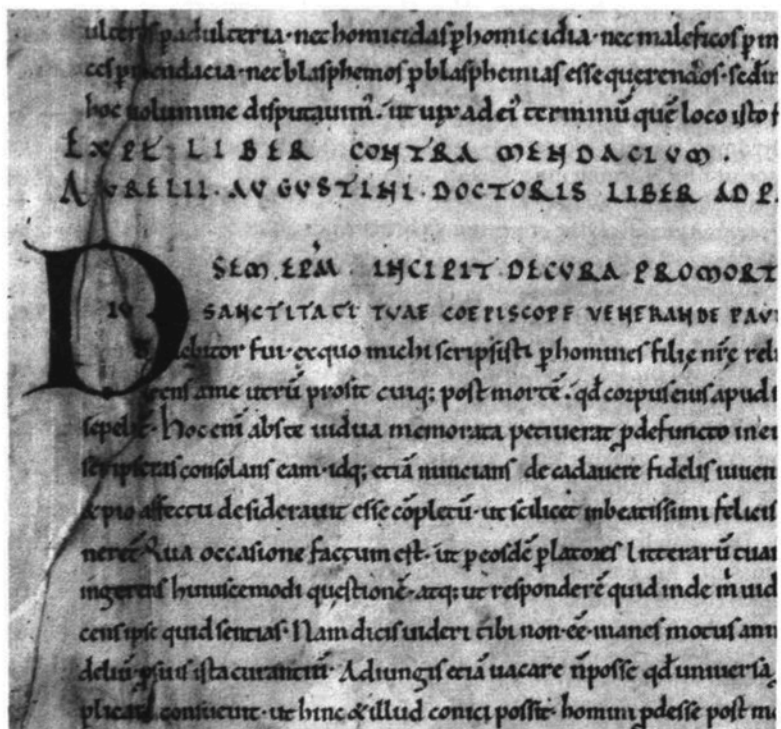
⁵ M. Brett, 'A note on the *Historia Novorum* of Eadmer' *Scriptorium*, 33 (1979), 56-8 with pl.

⁶ Sotheby's 24.vi.80, lot 68 (which mistakenly attributed the text to Jerome), and T. Takymia in *Reports of the Keio Institute of Linguistic and Cultural Studies* 21 (1989), 175-89 with pl. [in Japanese]. There are photographs of several of the fragments (which I have not seen) in the Conway Library of the Courtauld Institute in London.

⁷ N.R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford 1960), 25-6. The earliest datable manuscript in mature Christ Church script is Durham Cathedral B.ii.10 (Jerome, *Epistolae*), almost certainly a gift to Durham from Bishop William of St Calais (1081-1096), see R.A.B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the end of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1939), no. 38 and Pl. 26. Its scribe has been identified elsewhere, see Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production', 152, and it is likely that the manuscript was written in the 1090s, probably closer to 1096 than 1090.

⁸ C.N.L. Brooke, 'Archbishop Lanfranc, the English Bishops and the Council of London of 1075', *Studia Gratiani* 12 (1967), 56-8.

⁹ Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production', 149-50, where attention is drawn to the similarity of the hand of the scribe of Cambridge University Library Kk.1.23 ff.67-134 with the hand of the scribe of two charters written for St. Etienne, Caen, datable 1066 x 1077 and 1081 x 1087, respectively.



London, British Library Harley 5915 f.12r (detail, actual size)

General aspect: Narrowish proportion and regular, the effect is roundish and a little soft. The writing has the characteristics of a disciplined young scribe, in particular a controlled deliberation, rhythmic, but not exuberant.

Features: The arches of the *m* and *n*, the lower part of the *u* and the serifs at the feet of the minims are rounded. The bowls of *b*, *d*, *p* and *q*, and the backs of *c*, *e* and *t* tend to be roundish.

Letters: The *st* ligature has a rounded top, the stem of the *s* descends below the base line and the stem of the *t* is vertical. The rounded lower bowl of the *g* appears to be a continuation of the left hand side of the upper bowl.

The ampersand (see last line) is squarish. The *punctus* is placed high.

Note: In line 2 from the foot, the lower bowl of the *g* in *Adiungis* is a reversed-*c*, a feature of Anglo-caroline minuscule. There are several other similar *gs* in the leaf and these prompt the question whether Eadmer was first taught to write an English script.

a smallish manuscript made of good quality parchment. Eadmer wrote the text and corrected himself over erasure and by insertion, but the rubrication and initial were the work of another hand.¹⁰

It is virtually certain that the Harley fragment is from a manuscript which contained a collection of short pieces by Augustine. The early fourteenth-century catalogue of the Christ Church library associated with Prior Henry Eastry (1285-1331) lists two manuscripts with the collection. One of these two is identifiable with a manuscript now at Cambridge (Trinity College B.3.33) and the Harley fragment is likely to be all that remains of the other.¹¹ The Trinity manuscript was written by an expert Continental scribe (probably not a Norman) and its script would suggest that it was written after the Harley fragment. At the top of a front endleaf (f.ir) of the Trinity manuscript, in a hand of in or about the middle of the twelfth century, is an inscription, *Augustinus de adulterinis coniugiis uetus*. Other Christ Church duplicates have similar inscriptions in which manuscripts were categorised as either *uetus* or *nouus*.¹² Whether the *uetus* copies were always the elder of the books or the *nouus* copies regarded as the more superior, whether they were the newest or not, is not yet entirely clear. However, in 1508, the Trinity manuscript was listed with many other manuscripts which may have formed the core collection of the Christ Church library, a large part of which has survived.¹³ The history of the Harley fragment, presumably the *nouus* copy, is unknown. It cannot be identified with any manuscript at Canterbury College, Oxford, many sent from Christ Church, including texts held in duplicate copies, and it may have remained at Canterbury

¹⁰ The size of the leaf is 215 x 175 mm., and it has 36 lines (originally 39) ruled by point. There are pairs of vertical bounding lines, 4 mm. apart, and the top horizontal line was extended across the width of the leaf. (It may be presumed that the last horizontal line at the foot was extended across the width of the leaf as well). The area ruled for writing (the distance from the top horizontal line to the bottom, including the space occupied by the three lines lost at the foot, by the distance between the innermost vertical lines) was 209 x 125 mm. The rubrication and initial are in red.

¹¹ M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), 16, nos. 22 and 23.

¹² For these inscriptions see Ker, *English Manuscripts*, 15.

¹³ N.R. Ker, 'The Migration of Manuscripts from English Medieval Libraries', *The Library* 4th ser., 23 (1942-43), at 10-14. Ker's interpretation of the evidence has been challenged by N. Ramsay, 'The Cathedral Archives and Library' in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Eds.) P. Collinson, N. Ramsey and M. Sparks (Oxford, 1995), at pp. 364-5, but supported by C. de Hamel, 'The Dispersal of the Library of Christ Church, Canterbury, from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century' in (Eds.) J. P. Carley and C.G.C. Tite, *Books and Collectors 1200-1700. Essays Presented to Andrew Watson* (London, 1997), at pp. 269-70.

throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁴ It was certainly broken up by or soon after the Dissolution of the Monasteries for it was clearly used as a pastedown in a book. The verso of the fragment has a name, date and price, *Sprot November 23 1581 5s.10d.*, at the top of the verso, a reference to the book in which the fragment was used as a pastedown and not a reference to the fragment itself. I have been unable to identify *Sprot*.

There are other English manuscripts which contain a similar Augustine collection to that found in the two Christ Church manuscripts (Table 1, see pp.188-9 below) and it has been suggested that they probably derive from a lost Continental manuscript brought into England after the Conquest.¹⁵ It appears that this manuscript may have been at Christ Church in the 1080s for the manuscript he wrote is probably the earliest English copy of the corpus.

The rubricator of the Harley fragment was responsible for rubricating two other manuscripts in which Eadmer worked as a scribe, now both at Cambridge (Trinity College B.3.5 and Cambridge University Library Kk.1.23). These two manuscripts have been regarded as early products of the post-Conquest Christ Church scriptorium and it has been suggested that the artist responsible for the one decorated initial in the Trinity manuscript may have been the artist of the University Library manuscript.¹⁶ It appears to me that this identification is virtually certain and that this artist also rubricated

¹⁴ Inventories and lists of Canterbury College books were printed by W.A. Pantin, *Canterbury College, Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society, ns 6 (1941).

¹⁵ T. Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1075-c. 1125* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 51-2, where attention was drawn to the similarity of the collection to a slightly larger collection in a lost manuscript from Bec, recorded in the s.xii med. Bec library catalogue, see *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 8^o ser., ii (Paris, 1888), p. 385, no. 4. According to the lists in G. Nortier, *Les Bibliothèques Médiévales des Abbayes Bénédictines de Normandie* (Paris, 1971), no similar collection occurs in manuscripts or library catalogues from the other Norman houses whose books were studied: Fécamp, Mont St Michel, St Evroul, Lyre, Jumièges, St Wandrille and St Ouen, Rouen. This does not prove that the Canterbury exemplar came from either Bec or the orbit of Bec, but it is suggestive.

¹⁶ R. Gameson, 'English Manuscript Art in the Late Eleventh Century: Canterbury and its Context', in *Saints and Scholars: Canterbury and the Norman Conquest*, 116, 117 and 142, where dubbed Artist A and Artist ?A, respectively. Neither Artist A nor ?A have been identified elsewhere, but that the two manuscripts have a common rubricator, almost certainly to be identified with the artists of the manuscripts, suggests that Artists A and ?A are indeed one and the same. For reproductions of the hand of the artist-rubricator in Cambridge University Library Kk.1.23 and Trinity B.3.5 see Robnison, *Dated and Datable Manuscripts*, Pls. 43 and 55.

both manuscripts. The rubrication and initial in the Harley fragment should be added to this artist-rubricator's work. The identification of Eadmer as the scribe and the presence of the artist-rubricator in the fragment firmly put the Harley fragment into the earliest phase of post-Conquest Christ Church book production.

The presence of Eadmer in the two Cambridge manuscripts which contain the work of the artist-rubricator has long been known, although one of them also contains the work of another scribe. Whereas a manuscript which contains the commentary of Jerome on six of the Minor Prophets (Trinity College B.3.5), was written entirely by Eadmer, the other manuscript is a composite one of two parts containing works by Ambrose and Augustine (Cambridge University Library Kk.1.23). Eadmer wrote the first part (Ambrose, *Hexaemeron*) and the second was the work of the Norman scribe who might have worked earlier at Caen.¹⁷

Eadmer's hand in these two Cambridge manuscripts looks a little more advanced than his hand in the Harley fragment and they both appear to have been written a little earlier than his earliest datable work. Eadmer wrote copies of three professions offered to Archbishop Lanfranc by the bishops of Elmham and Chester in 1086 and the bishop of Wells in 1088 (Canterbury Cathedral, Ch. Antiq. C.115 nos. 1, 2 and 5), the documents which caught the eye of Southern in 1963. The first two were written in one campaign and the third in another and there is every reason to suppose that these belong to 1086 and 1088 respectively.¹⁸ This suggests that the manuscripts, including the Harley fragment, were written within a year or two of 1085.

Eadmer's next work as a scribe is also datable. Following a copy of

¹⁷ For Eadmer's hand in Cambridge University Library Kk.1.23 see Ker, *English Manuscripts*, Pl. 9 and Robinson, *Dated and Datable Manuscripts*, Pl. 43, and for reproductions of the hands of Eadmer and the Norman scribe in the same manuscript see Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production', Pl. 15a-b. (Pace the captions in Webber's plates, note that the reproductions are reduced). The content of part 2 of the manuscript corresponds, more or less exactly, to the content of a lost Rochester Cathedral manuscript described in the Rochester library catalogue of the early 1120s, see (Ed.) R. Sharpe *et al.* *English Benedictine Libraries. The Shorter Catalogues*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4, (London, 1996), B.77 no. 43. It is likely that the two manuscripts were closely related and possible that the Christ Church manuscript was the exemplar for the Rochester one.

¹⁸ M. Richter, *Canterbury Professions*, Canterbury and York Society, 67 (1973), nos. 43, 45 and 47. For a reproduction of no. 43, see *Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts*, New Palaeographical Society 2nd series (London, 1913-30), Pl. 64a; for no 45, see C.R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200* (Cambridge, 1954), p.4b; and for no. 47, see *Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts*, Pl. 64c and Ker, *English Manuscripts*, Pl. 6a.

a letter of Pope Clement to Lanfranc datable 1085 x 1086, written by an expert Norman scribe, Eadmer wrote copies of two more letters of Pope Clement to Lanfranc datable 1086 x 1089 and 1088 x 1089, respectively. The letters were added at the end of the *Collectio Lanfranci* manuscript given by Lanfranc to Christ Church (Trinity College B.16.44 pp. 405-6). The two letters copied by Eadmer were not written in the same campaign and it appears that all three were added to the manuscript, presumably at the direction of Lanfranc, almost immediately after they were received at Christ Church.¹⁹ The two letters copied by Eadmer also appear to have been written at about the same time or a little earlier as the next manuscripts on which he worked.

A three volume set of Augustine's commentary on the Psalms was produced at Christ Church in or about the late 1080s or early 1090s. The first volume (Cambridge, Trinity College B.5.26) was written by a Norman scribe who has not been identified elsewhere and the third (Cambridge, Trinity College B.5.28) was written and rubricated by Eadmer (Pl. III).²⁰ Only a few fragments of the second volume have survived (Tokyo, Takymia no. 55) and these, script and rubrication, are the work of Eadmer.²¹

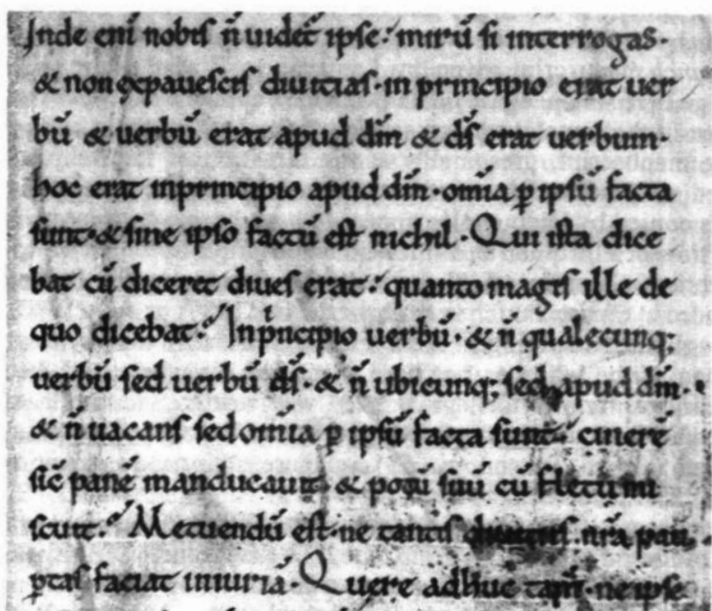
There seems little reason to doubt that all three volumes of the set were produced at about the same time. The first volume (Trinity B.5.26) was rubricated by a distinctive scribe, in either Rustic Capitals or text script, and his hand suggests that he was not a Norman. With the exception of the manuscripts rubricated in the mid-1080s by the artist-rubricator noticed above, and the manuscripts rubricated by Eadmer, this rubricator appears to have rubricated virtually all Christ Church manuscripts datable to the 1080s and early 1090s.²²

¹⁹ Ker, *English Manuscripts*, Pl. 5, and D. Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1991), Pl. 1, reproduce the first two and some of the third letters from Cambridge, Trinity College B.16.44, p.405. All three letters were edited and discussed by F. Liebermann, 'Lanfranc and the Antipope', *English Historical Review*, 16 (1901), 323-32.

²⁰ For Eadmer's hand in Trinity B.5.28, see Robinson, *Dated and Datable Manuscripts*, Pl. 56.

²¹ See the references in n. 6 above. Whether Eadmer wrote and rubricated the entire manuscript is, of course, unknown.

²² For example, the scribe rubricated Cambridge, Trinity College B.4.9 (Gregory, *Moralia in Iob*), probably in the late 1080s or early 1090s, Durham Cathedral B.ii.10, in the 1090s before 1096 (see n. 7 above for references), and Dublin, Trinity College 98 (Pontifical and Benedictinal) in the 1090s. For good reproductions of his hand in the first and third of these manuscripts see N. R. Ker, 'The English Manuscripts of the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great' (Eds.) A. Rosenauer and G. Weber, *Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (Salzburg, 1972), Pl. 3, and H.A. Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, Henry Bradshaw Society 39 (London, 1910), Pl. 3.



Cambridge, Trinity College B.5.28 f.1r (detail, actual size)

General aspect: Narrowish proportion and regular, the effect is roundish and sharp. The writing displays controlled freedom, rhythmic and loose, and it is a fine piece of penmanship.

Features: The arches of *m* and *n* and the lower part of the *u* are round. The serifs at the feet of the minims tend to be angular.

Letters: The *st* ligature has a slightly angular top. The bowl of the *d* and *q* and the backs of the *c*, *e*, *t* and *o* tend to be angular. The lower bowl of the *g* is angular. The *o* tends to be triangular in shape (see *hoc* at the beginning of line 4) and the ampersand tends to be wide.

Eadmer testified to his work as a scribe at about the time the volumes of Augustine were being produced. Writing many years later, he recalled that after the death of Lanfranc, which took place in 1089, he was sitting in the Christ Church cloisters writing a book when Osbern, the author of several lives of Canterbury saints, notably Dunstan, and then the Christ Church precentor, came to speak to him.

As Osbern probably died in or soon after 1093, this conversation must have taken place between 1089 and about 1093.²³

The next manuscript containing Eadmer's hand is datable 1091 x 1096 and contains the earliest known copy, as well as the best text, of Lanfranc, *Constitutiones* (Durham Cathedral B.iv.24 ff.47-73).²⁴ It forms one part of a composite manuscript comprising five more or less contemporary parts, including a Calendar, the Rule of St Benedict (in Latin and Anglo-Saxon) and a Martyrology. The parts were almost certainly bound up together by 1096 as the entire manuscript, including the copy of Lanfranc's work, is identifiable with the *Martyrologium et Regula* given by Bishop William of St Calais (1081-1096) to Durham.²⁵ Between 1088 and 1091 the bishop was in exile for his part in the rebellion against William Rufus in 1088 following the death of William the Conqueror in 1087. There is very little evidence to suggest that Durham was either acquiring or producing manuscripts between 1083, when the bishop introduced monks to replace a community of canons, and 1088. On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that either Durham, its bishop, or both were acquiring and producing books between 1091 and 1096, some at least written by scribes brought by Bishop William from the Continent.²⁶ Eadmer's hand in the Durham copy of the *Constitutiones* does not look as if it should be placed with his earliest work and this evidence, together with what is known about Bishop William and Durham, points firmly to a date between 1091 and 1096 for its production. Eadmer wrote the first twenty leaves of the manuscript and the last four were the work of an otherwise unknown mediocre scribe (Pl. IV).²⁷

The next examples of Eadmer's hand occur in datable documents, copies of requests for consecration made to Archbishop Anselm from the bishops of Lincoln and Worcester in 1094 and 1096, respectively

²³ Southern, *Saint Anselm. A Portrait in a Landscape*, 318, with references.

²⁴ The text was used as the basis for the edition of D. Knowles, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc* (London, 1951).

²⁵ Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 51. For the content, make-up and scribal history of the manuscript see A. J. Piper, 'The Durham Cantor's Book (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.24)' and M. Gullick, 'The Scribes of the Durham Cantor's Book (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.24) and the Durham Martyrology Scribe', in (Eds.) D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich, *Anglo-Norman Durham 1083-1190* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 79-92 and 93-110, respectively.

²⁶ This is what my examination of all the Durham Cathedral Manuscripts datable between 1083 and 1130 would suggest.

²⁷ Eadmer wrote f.47r to f.67v line 9 word 8 and the otherwise unknown scribe wrote f.67v line 9 word 9 to f.71v.

uerbis peccatio^{ne} sua faciat. Dei misericordiam & unam societatem & fraternitatem
 & in hoc monasterio monachus fieri & deo seruire desidero. Respon
 q̄ loco ablatis ordinis p̄re est. Societate & consortiū electorū t
 bus omnipotentis dñi. Et responso a toto conuentu am̄. iussus si
 nuntiantur ei dura & aspera. que in hoc ordine p̄ferunt. q̄ pie scri
 noluit. Item duriora & asperiora. que si in disciplina se habeat.
 ture. Quib; auditis si adhuc in proposito suo p̄stiterit. & duriora
 p̄ferre p̄miserit. respondeat ei ab eo q̄ captiuū tenet. Dñs ih̄c x̄p̄s
 q̄d p̄ eius amore p̄mittat. ut ei gr̄am & unā & nā habeat possit.
 am̄. sub iungat. Et nos p̄ amore hoc tenore c̄cedim̄ uob. q̄d tā hum
 tis. hoc audito nouit. uadat & humilit̄ osculet̄ pedes ipsius. Te ip̄s
 magister nouitior̄ in eccl̄a. ibiq; corā q̄libet abati ext̄ choꝝ sedens p̄
 finiat. Quo finito. ducat eū p̄dict̄ magister suus in eccl̄a camerariū. Ad
 id q̄d agendū est opportunus fieri possit. benedicta sibi p̄ coronam sibi
 & psalmis & collectis ad hoc officiu ordinatis. In eccl̄a ante introitū

Durham Cathedral B. iv. 24 f. 67v (detail, actual size)

Eadmer wrote to line 9 word 8 and another scribe wrote from word 9 (*et*). Eadmer either recut his quill or took up a new one at the beginning of line 3. The writing of the second scribe is awkward, variable and uneven and was influenced either by Eadmer's hand or a hand very like Eadmer's.

General aspect: Narrow proportion and uneven rhythm. The unevenness might be due to tiredness as this passage is the end of a stint of work.

Features: The *st* ligature has an angular top. The arches of the *m*, *n* and lower portion of the *u* tend to be angular. The backs of the *c* and *e* are angular. The *o* is pointed, the ampersand is distinctly wide, and the back of the *g* was made in a 3-like movement.

Note the comma-like insertion sign for a correction in line 1. There is an identical sign in the Harley fragment, see Pl. II line 6 from the foot.

(London, British Library Harley Roll A.3 nos 8 and 9).²⁸ Eadmer also wrote one of the few surviving original charters of Archbishop Anselm, a grant to William *Calvello* and his heirs of land outside Canterbury (Canterbury Cathedral, Ch. Antiq. C.1193). The charter appears likely to have been issued in England and not written in the years when Eadmer was abroad with Anselm between 1097 and 1100, and 1103 to 1106. The character of the hand suggests that the charter was written by Eadmer between 1093 and 1097, before he left England with Anselm in November 1097.²⁹

It was probably during his first spell abroad that Eadmer wrote a manuscript for Cluny. Anselm delivered a sermon to the monks of Cluny and later a Cluny monk named William asked Eadmer to write it down. Although Eadmer agreed, it was not until he and Anselm had left Cluny that William received a copy of the sermon (*De beatitudine*) with a prefatory letter explaining the shortcomings of the text.³⁰ It is uncertain when the sermon was delivered, for Anselm visited Cluny on several occasions during his time spent abroad, but it has been suggested that the most likely date was either 1097 or 1100.³¹ The manuscript Eadmer sent to Cluny is lost although its text has survived in later copies which descend from it.³²

A manuscript Eadmer did write while abroad with Anselm for the first time was a copy of Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo*, a work composed between 1095 and 1098.³³ This manuscript is also lost but its existence and the identity of its scribe is known from a letter of Anselm written in 1099 in which he mentioned that Eadmer was writing a copy of the work for the monks of Anselm's former home, Bec.³⁴

²⁸ Richter, *Canterbury Professions*, Appendix B, nos. 1 and 2. For a reproduction of no. 2, see Ker, *English Manuscripts*, Pl. 6b. The character of the hand and the colour of the ink in these and the other requests for consecration in the same roll by other scribes suggest that each request was entered in the year to which they belonged.

²⁹ For the years spent abroad by Eadmer in the company of Anselm, see Southern, *Saint Anselm. A Portrait in a Landscape*, pp. xxviii-xxix and 409.

³⁰ R. W. Southern and F. S. Schmitt, *Memorials of St. Anselm* (Oxford, 1969), 31 and 273.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 31-2.

³² *Ibid.*, 34. The suggestion by Southern and Schmitt on p. 34 that the prefatory letter to the sermon in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 332, p. 200 may have been written by Eadmer is paleographically and historically unlikely. The Corpus manuscript, described as an early twelfth-century manuscript from Christ Church, has a Rochester origin and provenance and was fully described in the early 1120s Rochester library catalogue, see *English Benedictine Libraries*, B.77 no.18.

³³ Southern, *Saint Anselm. A Portrait in a Landscape*, xxviii and 197-8.

³⁴ F. S. Schmitt, *S. Anselmi cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, iv (Edinburgh, 1949), ep. 209.

During this first period of time spent abroad belongs the best known and most endearing story of Eadmer's scribal career. Learning that Eadmer was working on a *Vita Anselmi*, Anselm asked to see it and made some corrections and amendments but, after a few days, ordered Eadmer to destroy the quires containing the work. In Eadmer's words, Anselm judged himself 'unworthy of any such literary monument for posterity'. The effect upon Eadmer of this instruction was clearly devastating. However, he obeyed Anselm by destroying the quires having first transcribed their content onto another set of quires. Having obeyed the letter of Anselm's direction, but not its spirit, Eadmer kept his action and this second copy of his work a secret for nearly twenty years.³⁵

This incident almost certainly took place in 1100. It is unclear whether Eadmer made notes and records on parchment or wax tablets but it appears that what he showed Anselm was written on parchment. Concerned with making a rapid copy of his text, Eadmer chose to write again on parchment, perhaps because quires of parchment would have been less bulky than a collection of wax tablets, even though it might have been quicker to have made his second copy on wax.

The last pre-1109 scribal work attributable to Eadmer is a copy of a request for the consecration of the bishop of London in 1108 (London, British Library Harley Roll A.3 no. 6) and a copy of the same bishop's profession (Canterbury Cathedral, Ch. Antiq. C.115 no. 11).³⁶ The only known post-1109 scribal work of Eadmer is the historian's copies of his own works.

The richness of the surviving Christ Church material means that it is possible to outline Eadmer's scribal career in detail and date his work with some precision. The scribal career of Symeon, the monk and historian of Durham, a more or less exact contemporary of Eadmer, followed a similar path in that he, like Eadmer, wrote a variety of material.³⁷ Both wrote library books and both wrote other matter, including charters, and both appear to have been more active as scribes in their younger days before other duties and responsibilities, as well as time spent on their own compositions, would have diminished the time available to act as copyists. In particular, Eadmer and Symeon, as well as other early Anglo-Norman historian monk-scribes, such as

³⁵ See R.W. Southern, *The Life of St Anselm by Eadmer* (Oxford, 1963), 150-1, and Southern, *Saint Anselm. A Portrait in a Landscape*, 412-3.

³⁶ Richter, *Canterbury Professions*, Appendix B no. 8, and no. 60, respectively.

³⁷ Gullick, 'The Scribes of the Durham Cantor's Book', 97-109.

Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury and John of Worcester, served their communities as precentor, the monastic official usually responsible for books and music.

Little is still known about the workings of the early Anglo-Norman scriptorium at Christ Church. To identify and put into chronological order the scribal work of Eadmer of Canterbury is a first step to understanding manuscript production at Canterbury between 1070 and 1130, as Sir Richard Southern recognised over thirty years ago. It is fortunate that it is the earliest part of Eadmer's career in which he worked in collaboration with others for it is now possible to date accurately manuscripts which have been previously vaguely dated to the last decades of the eleventh century.³⁸ The evidence of all the Christ Church manuscripts made between 1070 and 1130 suggests that an intense period of post-Conquest book production, which continued until at least about 1125, was under way by at least the mid-1080s. The earliest manuscripts are from the scribal point of view, generally of much higher quality than most of the manuscripts produced a little later, in the early twelfth-century, when more manuscripts were being produced by more scribes, even if the few decorated initials in the earliest manuscripts are of moderate, rather than fine, quality. There was clearly a highly disciplined scriptorium active at Christ Church before Lanfranc's death in 1089 and it employed native and Continental scribes.³⁹ Whether to complement local production manuscripts were being imported to Christ Church during the 1070s and 1080s is unclear. The *Collectio Lanfranci* manuscript purchased by Lanfranc from Bec during his earliest years at Canterbury (Trinity College B.16.44) is the only Norman import which can be firmly associated with the 1070s or 1080s.⁴⁰ Only when

³⁸ Dodwell, *Canterbury School of Illumination*, 120, dated the earliest manuscripts with major decoration to 1070-1100 and ignored those without major decoration. No subsequent work has either improved or advanced Dodwell's date very much.

³⁹ Contrast this assessment with '...there is little evidence that Lanfranc instituted an intensive programme of book production at Christ Church' (Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production', 148) and '...the establishment of an in-house scriptorium [at Christ Church] capable of preparing and ruling parchment - all that was the work of the 1090s' (M.T. Gibson, 'Normans and Angevins, 1070-1220' in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 151).

⁴⁰ The identifiable Norman imports to Christ Church between c.1070 and c.1130 (six manuscripts, including Trinity B.16.44) are listed and briefly discussed by M. Gullick, 'Manuscripts et copistes normands en Angleterre (s.xi/xii)' in (Eds.) P. Bouet and M. Dosdat, *Manuscripts et enluminures dans le monde normand xie au xve siècles*, (Caen, forthcoming).

it is known who wrote which books and documents, and when and where they were written, will it be possible to ask more interesting questions about the manuscripts that Eadmer and his colleagues and collaborators produced at Christ Church between the 1080s and the 1120s.⁴¹ These manuscripts, and the manuscripts acquired by Christ Church from elsewhere, still have much to be discovered about them.

TABLE 1. A CORPUS OF AUGUSTINE WORKS

The full corpus, listed in abbreviated form down the left of the table, comprised nine works:

De adulterinis coniugiis, De mendacio, Contra mendacium, De cura pro mortuis gerenda, De uera religione, De natura et origine animae, Sermo arianorum, Contra sermonem Arianorum, Contra adversarium legis et prophetorum

The surviving late-eleventh- or twelfth-century English manuscripts of the corpus are numbered in bold 1-8 along the top of the table, with the Harley fragment written by Eadmer listed first as no. 1, and are described under the table. (Following the shelf marks, enclosed in parenthesis, are the dates and provenances of the manuscripts). The figures within the table, column by column, refer to the order of the items in individual manuscripts. It appears that the corpus circulated in three versions, with some variants, in either the full version of nine works, the first five or the last four. All the manuscripts, with the exception of the Harley fragment, are noticed in F. Römer, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus. II. Grossbritannien und Irland*, (2 vols., Vienna, 1972).

⁴¹ For an example of a kind of work of which much remains to be done, see the demonstration that the Christ Church copy of Augustine's Confessions (Cambridge, Trinity College B.3.25), written by an English scribe, descends from a mid-eleventh-century Flemish manuscript from St Bertin and was influential in the transmission of the text in the south-east of England: T. Webber, 'The Diffusion of Augustine's Confessions in England during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in (Eds.) J. Blair and B. Golding, *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, (Oxford, 1996), at pp. 36-9. Webber dated the Christ Church manuscript to the second half of the eleventh-century, but it can be shown to have been written at Canterbury in the 1080s.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<i>De adul. con</i>	.	1		1	1		1		
<i>De mendacio</i>	.	2	1		2	1	2		2
<i>Contra mendacium</i>	3	3	2		3	2	3		3
<i>De cura pro mort.</i>	4	4	3				4		4
<i>De uera relig.</i>	.	5				7	5		5
<i>De nat. et orig. anim.</i>	.	6		2	4	3		1	8
<i>Sermo arian.</i>	.	7		3	5	4		2	9
<i>Contra sermo Arian.</i>	.	8		4	6	5		3	10
<i>Contra aduers.</i>	.	9		5	7	6		4	11

1. London, British Library Harley 5915 f.12 (mid-1080s, Christ Church), written by Eadmer of Canterbury.
2. Cambridge, Trinity College B.3.33 (s.xi/xii, Christ Church), written by a scribe unidentified elsewhere. T. Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1075-c. 1125* (Oxford, 1992), 51, n. 26.
3. Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 765 (s.xi ex., Salisbury), written at Salisbury. Webber, *ibid.*, 59 and 147.
4. Salisbury Cathedral 128 (s.xi ex., Salisbury), written at Salisbury. The exemplar for item 1 was London, Lambeth Palace 149 (s.x) and when the same text arrived in the tradition represented by the other manuscripts listed here, the new arrival was collated with the old and readings from the new arrival entered into the manuscript. Webber *ibid.*, 68 and 151.
5. Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 387 (s.xii in., before the early 1120s, Rochester), written at Rochester. Webber, *ibid.*, 51, n.26. If, as is not impossible, the Rochester manuscript used a Christ Church manuscript as an exemplar, the absence of two works from the corpus (the fourth and fifth in the Christ Church books) might be explained by their presence in manuscripts already at Rochester, see the Rochester library catalogue of the early 1120s, (Eds.) R. Sharpe *et al. English Benedictine Libraries. The Shorter Catalogues*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 4, (London, 1996), B.77 nos. 10 (for *De uera religione*) and 11 (for *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*). Item no. 10 has survived (London, British Library Royal 5 B.xii, s.xii in.) whereas no. 11 is lost.
6. London, British Library, Royal 5 A.xiii (s.xii in., Worcester), written at Worcester. Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury*, 51 n. 26.
7. Eton College 48 (s.xii¹, unknown provenance). I have not seen this manuscript. Webber, *ibid.*, 51, n. 26.
8. Hereford Cathedral P.i.5 (s.xii 1/4., Gloucester), written at Gloucester. Webber, *ibid.*, 51, n.26.
9. A lost manuscript from Bec whose contents are listed in the s.xii med. Library catalogue (see n. 15 above). The missing numbers (1, 6 and 7) are texts which do not form part of the fullest versions of the Augustine corpus in English manuscripts.