

Ms. Bodley 271: Establishing the Anselmian Canon?

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This paper addresses the role and importance of Ms. Bodley 271. It reviews the case presented by Dom F.S. Schmitt for the authorship and dating of this manuscript and the objections presented by R.W. Southern. Following detailed palaeographical analysis of the hands of the scribes involved in the manuscript's production, I identify the main scribe, and through a comparison with his other known works suggest a date for his involvement. In conclusion, I argue that this manuscript marked an attempt to produce a definitive canon of Anselm's works, in which Anselm himself may have been involved.

Introduction¹

In the last century, Dom A. Wilmart and Dom F.S. Schmitt successfully led the attempt to distinguish the authentic works of St. Anselm of Canterbury from later accretions.² Alongside and following on from this pioneering work, Schmitt produced his critical edition of the works of Anselm.³ For Schmitt, a particularly important manuscript was a document originally from the library of Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, now residing in the Bodleian Library in Oxford: Ms. Bodley 271 (SC1938), which following Schmitt I shall refer to as B.⁴ Schmitt's understanding of the importance of B was based on his identification of its main scribe as Thidricus, the recipient of two extant letters from Anselm, which led him to believe that Anselm was actively involved in its production in 1104. R.W. Southern challenged Schmitt's view,⁵ suggesting that B was "most likely" written in the decade after 1120, i.e. many years after Anselm's death. Thus, if Southern was correct, B could not have been produced with Anselm's involvement.

In this paper I shall argue that, although Southern was correct in rejecting the role Schmitt gave to Thidricus, Schmitt was correct in his view of B's importance. In order to show that this is the case, I shall examine (1) Schmitt's argument for the authorship and date of B, and (2) Southern's objection to Schmitt. I shall then seek (3) to identify the scribes involved in the production of B and the periods when they were active, and (4) to suggest when the manuscript was actually written. Finally, I shall argue (5) a case for viewing B as an attempt to produce a defining canon of Anselm's works.

¹ My thanks for their assistance in providing me with access to manuscripts are due to the staff of Duke Humfrey's Library in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and to Jonathan Harrison, Special Collections Librarian, St John's College, Cambridge, for sharing their palaeographical expertise to Michael Gullick and Teresa Webber, and for reading an earlier draft of the manuscript to Professor G.R. Evans.

² For the numerous articles by Schmitt, Wilmart and others, see K. Kienzler, *International Bibliography – Anselm of Canterbury*, Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter 1999.

³ Dom F.S. Schmitt, *Sancti Anselmi cantuariensis archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, Vol. I-VI, Seckau/Rome/Edinburgh 1938-1961 (=AOO).

⁴ SC1938. More accurately, B is the first part of Ms Bodley 271 to folio 166v. The remainder is a fifteenth century addition falsely ascribed to Saint Anselm.

⁵ R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059-c.1130*, Cambridge 1966, p. 238 n. 1.

1. Schmitt's case for the authorship and dating of B

Schmitt's argument for the dating and provenance of B can be found in his article "Die unter Anselm veranstaltete Ausgabe seiner Werke und Briefe: Die Codices Bodley 271 und Lambeth 59."⁶ Modern codicological, palaeographical and art historical research confirms that B was written at Christ Church in the twelfth century.⁷ What is distinctive about Schmitt's position is the argument he presents to support a date of 1104, which is based on his identification of the scribe, Thidricus.

Schmitt points out that there are scribal notes in two Christ Church manuscripts, TCC B.3.32 (Augustine) and Ms Lambeth 59 (Anselm), which refer to a scribe, named Thidricus. He identifies this scribe as the recipient of two extant letters from Anselm, which deal with issues relating to the copying and correcting of manuscripts. In *Ep.* 334 Anselm instructs Thidricus to include the following text from Romans 8:1 in chapter 4 of *De Conceptu Virginali (DCV)*: "*Dicit enim idem apostolus 'nihil damnationis' esse 'iis qui sunt in Christo JESU, qui non secundum carnem ambulant'.*"⁸

Schmitt argues that Thidricus has sought to discover from Anselm whether, when copying *DCV*, he should include the phrase, "*qui sunt in Christo JESU*", in the quotation.⁹ Schmitt points out that in the corresponding place in B, folio 99^{vb} lines 31-33, we find a correction containing the full verse, written in a separate hand over an erasure.¹⁰ In Schmitt's view, it is this passage, which confirms the connection between B and the letter to Thidricus, and allows us to identify Thidricus as the scribe responsible for B.¹¹

It is worth noting that Schmitt thought there were two scribes responsible for B: the main scribe, whom he identified as Thidricus, and a scribe responsible for the *Orationes sive Meditationes*, *De Grammatico* and the corrections. For some reason, Schmitt does not appear to

⁶ *Scriptorium*, 9 (1955) 64-75. It was republished in the 'Prolegomena seu ratio editoris' in Volume I of the later edition of Anselm's *Opera Omnia (AOO)* published by Frommann Verlag-Holzboog in 1968 (pp. 226*-239*).

⁷ C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination: 1066-1200*, Cambridge 1954, p. 39; N.R. Ker (ed.), *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed., 1964, p. 38; T. Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production at Christ Church, Canterbury, after the Norman Conquest' in R. Eales & R. Sharpe, *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest*, London/Rio Grande 1995 pp. 145-158, p. 151 n. 26.

⁸ *AOO*, Vol. V, p. 270. See Schmitt, 1968, p. 229*; 1955, p.67. ET: "For the same apostle says that there is no damnation for those who are in Christ Jesus, who do not walk according to the flesh."

⁹ *AOO*, Vol. II, p. 144. It is not clear that Anselm's letter is referring simply to the phrase "*qui sunt in Christo JESU*", rather than to the entire sentence. Some early manuscripts omit the phrase "*qui sunt in Christo JESU*" from this quotation from *Romans* 8.1.

¹⁰ The inserted text runs from B99^{vb} lines 29-40. The last line consists of one part word and one full word, and is written partly below the original lowest ruled line. See Plate 1.

¹¹ According to Schmitt, 1955, p.68, an investigation under ultra violet light found no previous writing under the scratched out area. Schmitt states that this is because the original scribe left a gap and the later scribe miscalculated the space required for the text, leaving himself without space for the last one or two words. This raises the question of why there should be an erasure of a text free space. Schmitt attempts to solve this "riddle" by suggesting that Thidricus might have written the original text in a lighter, finer script or had written a comment, which could be erased later. On the basis of this argument Schmitt concludes that *Ep.* 334 concerns the production of B. However, my own investigation of the original has identified that there was text under the erasure.

have considered the possibility that his second scribe might have been Thidricus, although he is the scribe who makes the correction to this passage.

Schmitt goes on to attempt to date B. He notes that *Ep.* 334 is one of a series of eight Canterbury related letters (*Epp.* 329-336) datable to 1104. Schmitt's view is that *Ep.* 334 was written in the late summer of 1104 at the same time as these other letters. From this dating of *Ep.* 334 Schmitt draws the conclusion that the main body of B was written in the summer of 1104, at least to *DCV*, particularly as there is evidence from *Ep.* 379 that Thidricus was collating Anselm's works at this time.¹² (B could not have been completed before 1107/1108, since it contains *De Concordia*, which Anselm was still engaged in writing at that time.)

In summary, Schmitt's conclusions are that B comes from Christ Church priory, Canterbury, and that Thidricus wrote much of it there during Anselm's lifetime and with Anselm's involvement. Thus, for Schmitt, this manuscript, containing the most complete collection of Anselm's writings amongst the old manuscripts, is of primary importance, because it expresses the will of St. Anselm at the end of his life.

However, the lack of palaeographical evidence concerning the scribal role of Thidricus, where Schmitt's argument requires it, undermines his case. If Thidricus is one of the scribes involved in the production of B, then he is not one of the scribes involved in TCC B.3.32 or Ms Lambeth 59, since none of the hands of the B scribes are to be found in these manuscripts.

2. Southern's Objection

Southern's initial argument against Schmitt's dating of B and his argument for its scribal authorship is found in a footnote.¹³ Southern's position is that the correction to the passage in B folio 99^{vb} was a result of a common scribal error, homoeoteleuton, in which the scribe's eye jumped from the letters, '*tientem*', of the word, '*sentientem*', to the same letters in the word, '*consentientem*', omitting the intervening text. According to Southern, this error "has no textual significance" and explains the correction in the passage. However, the manuscript itself does not support Southern's assertion. From my own analysis of the manuscript, it is clear that Southern's explanation does not account for the characteristics of this passage.

¹² Both his letters, "I am not sending you these letters ... because I cannot see there is any use in preserving them", and his other writings, "If I write anything else, it will be shown to you in due course" (*Ep.* 379; W. Fröhlich, ed., *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, Vol. 3, Kalamazoo 1994, p. 133.). Anselm's reference in this letter to the correspondence between the King and the Pope, suggests a date of 1105/1106 for *Ep.* 379.

¹³ See n. 5 above.

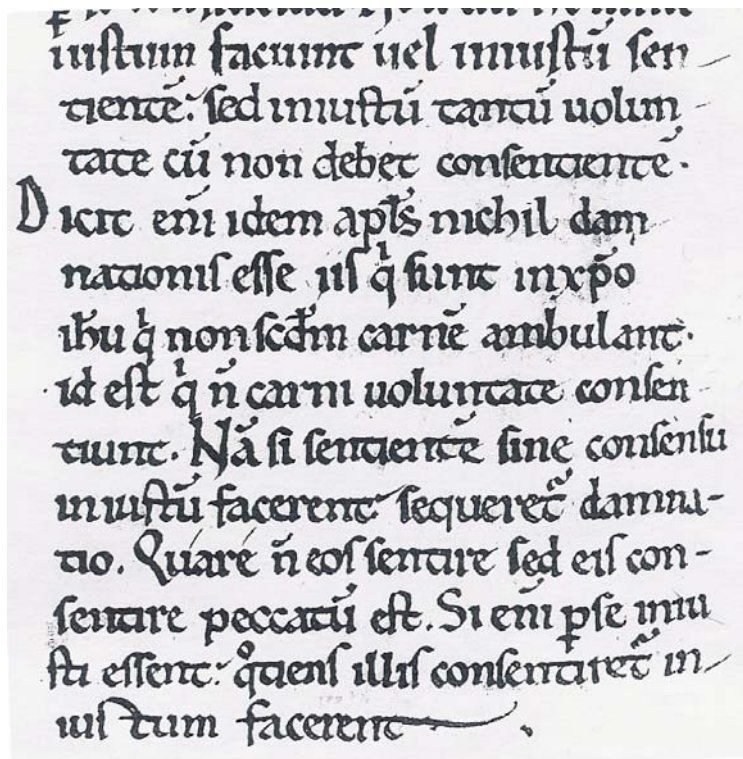


Plate 1 – Ms Bodley 271 folio 99^{vb} lines 28-40¹⁴

(NB: the facsimile exaggerates, but is not the cause of, the curling at the ends of lines 35-39)

As we can see from Plate 1 above, Southern's correction, lines 29-30 ('tiente[m] ... consentiente[m]'), is written with a narrower pen nib than the remainder of the amended passage. Lines 31-35 (beginning 'Dicit') contain the passage that was the subject of *Ep.* 334. The corrector appears originally to have had sufficient room to insert the text since he does not make use of all the space available in lines 31-32, yet by the time he reaches line 39, he needs an additional line (line 40), in order to accommodate the text.

The characteristics of lines 35-39 are different from the rest of the text. The corrector appears to be struggling to fit the text into the allotted space. The ends of the lines curl up and down, as if the scribe is having difficulty writing here, suggesting that the book may have been bound by the time the changes were made. (The similar end of column correction in folio 128^{vb} does not bear this characteristic.) Line 40 is an addition added by the corrector to accommodate his changes, although he clearly believed he would have sufficient room for his changes when he wrote lines 31-32. The corrector has not drawn an additional line to accommodate the text of line 40, unlike the correction on folio 128^{vb}, where he drew additional lines 40 and 41. It is surprising that the corrector struggled to fit the text into lines 35-39 and then had more room than

¹⁴ Plates 1-4 and 7-8 from Ms Bodley 271 are reproduced with the permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

required on line 40. This may be explained by the suggestion that lines 35-39 were written after lines 34 and 40.

On line 39 there is evidence that a redrawn line was erased. The remnants of the redrawn line can be found under the word '*consentiret[ur]*'. This indicates that a previous correction was erased. There is also evidence of the heavy erasure of writing at the bottom of the page and in the margin between columns a and b, suggesting that there were several scribal notes detailing corrections to the passage.

Given that the corrector was, as we shall see, an extremely experienced scribe, it seems unlikely that he made a series of misjudgements concerning the space, into which he needed to fit the text. Rather the appearance of this passage is the result of a series of changes, some of which are no longer visible to us. Thus, Southern's account of what is happening in this passage is over-simplified. The fact that it is difficult to grasp the textual significance of these changes does not mean that they contain no textual significance.

Southern argues that the decade after 1120 is the most likely date for the production of B.¹⁵ This claim concerning a possible date is, Southern states, based on a comparison with other Canterbury manuscripts. But, as we shall see, the similarity of the hands of the scribes responsible for B to the hands written in the 1080s and 1090s suggests on palaeographical grounds that B could have been produced during Anselm's lifetime.

3. The scribes of B.

If B is to be dated, it is necessary to go beyond the Schmitt/Southern debate and to identify the scribes involved in its production. Recent palaeographical scholarship has identified the hands of three, or possibly four, scribes in B. We shall look at each of these in turn and at the evidence for the periods when they were active.

Scribe 1 (wrote ff. 1^r - 15^r)

Although Scribe 1's hand bears all the characteristics of the developed Christ Church script, he has so far only been identified as possibly present in one other manuscript, a Jerome at Durham Cathedral (Ms Durham B.II.10).¹⁶ Further investigation may well turn up other examples of this scribe's hand. It is possible to provide a *terminus post quem non* of 1096 for the Durham manuscript, as it forms part of a bequest of books given to Durham Cathedral by William of St. Carilef, who died in that year.¹⁷

¹⁵ In this Southern may have been influenced by Dodwell, 1954, p. 39: "[B] was written between 1110 and 1140 and probably about 1130."

¹⁶ According to Teresa Webber (1995, p. 151 n. 26) the scribe of Ms Durham B.II.10 (datable to before 1096) "also collaborated to produce the splendid collection of Anselm's works (Oxford, Bodl., MS Bodley 271) which dates from 1120". In a private communication Webber has suggested that we should be cautious about this identification. Webber gives Southern as the authority for the date of 1120 for B.

¹⁷ See R.A.B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral manuscripts to the end of the twelfth century*, Oxford 1939, p. 32. This is the earliest datable manuscript in the mature Christ Church script, according to M. Gullick, 'The Scribal Work of Eadmer of Canterbury to 1109' in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 118 (1998) 173-189, p. 175 n.7.

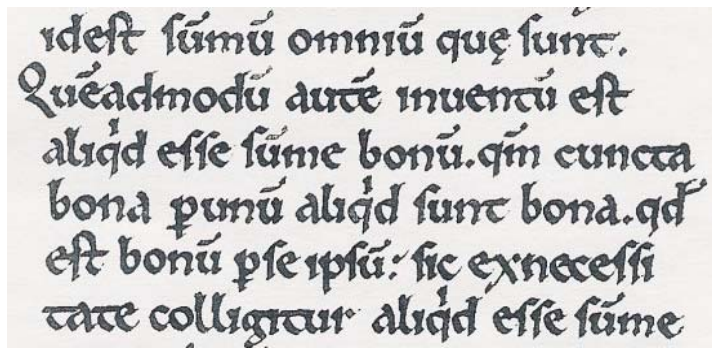


Plate 2 – the hand of Scribe 1 – Ms Bodley 271 folio 1^r

Scribe 2 (wrote ff. 15^v - 112^v and ff. 114^r – 139^{ra} line 10)

Scribe 2 is the main scribe of B and is the scribe identified as Thidricus by Schmitt (who failed to distinguish between Scribes 1 and 2). Scribe 2 has a mainstream Christ Church hand, which is narrower than that of Scribe 1. His writing bears some distinctive characteristics, especially the form of the letter ‘x’ with a straight diagonal from top right to bottom left ending in a diamond shaped foot, the way the letter ‘x’ is joined in a ligature with a preceding vowel, and the use of the y shaped cedilla under the letter ‘e’ to indicate both diphthongs, ‘æ’ and ‘œ’. The ‘g’ of Scribes 1 and 2 is different from that of Eadmer, which is closer in form to a figure 8, with a circular body above the line and a reverse c curve below the line, more like the ‘g’ of English Caroline minuscule.¹⁸ Scribes 1 and 2 write the letter ‘g’ in the form of a c with a straight back that extends below the line and to which is appended a reverse c curve, more in the style of French or Italian Caroline minuscule.

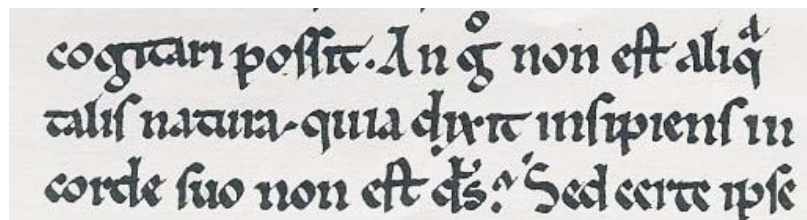


Plate 3 – the hand of Scribe 2 – Ms Bodley 271 folio 25^v
Note the forms of the letters ‘g’ and ‘x’ and the ‘x’ ligature

Scribe 2 was particularly fond of using the *punctus* with the abbreviations for *esse* and *est* (·ee· and ·e·). (A corrector has systematically erased these points from the manuscript.) Scribe 2’s style in B is also distinctive, because he does not follow the standard Christ Church practice of placing capital letters in the margin when beginning a new sentence at the start of a line.

¹⁸ See Gullick, 1998, *passim* for details of the manuscripts written wholly or partly by Eadmer, and in particular p.176 pl. I for an example of his letter ‘g’. This letter ‘g’ is similar to that found in the correction in B folio 23^{vb} line 11 first word, suggesting that Eadmer just might have had some input to B.

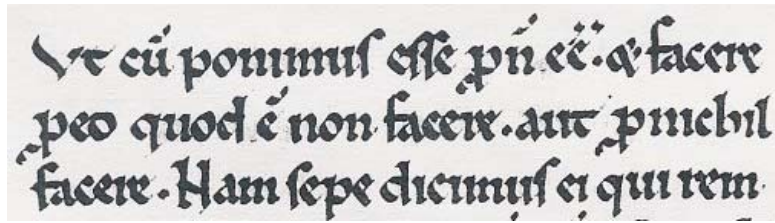


Plate 4 – the hand of Scribe 2 – Ms Bodley 271 folio 26^v
Note the use of the ‘est’ and ‘esse’ abbreviations and the position of the capital letter ‘U’

Scribe 2’s hand has been identified in other manuscripts besides B. Webber suggests that the scribe responsible for one of the *acta* of Ralph d’Escures, no. 35 (PRO DL27/LS46), “bears some similarity to that of the Canterbury, D. & C.C.A. 117 no. 23 (the enrolled profession of Albold, abbot of Bury from 1114-1119), which may be the work of the scribe who wrote Cambridge, University Library, ms Dd.1.4 + Cambridge, St John’s College, ms A.8 (Josephus, *Antiquitates iudaicae* etc.), Cambridge, University Library, ms Dd.8.15 (Haimo of Auxerre on Isaiah), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Bodley 271, fols 15v-112v, 114r-139ra, line 10 (Anselm, *opera*).”¹⁹

Having compared the three Cambridge manuscripts with B, there is no doubt in my mind that they are the work of the same scribe. In addition, Canterbury, D. & C.C.A. 117 no. 23 bears all the characteristics of the hand of Scribe 2 in B. Although PRO DL27/LS46 does have some variances in relation to Scribe 2, it contains a particular distinguishing characteristic of Scribe 2, the ‘x’ ligature, suggesting that this too was his work.

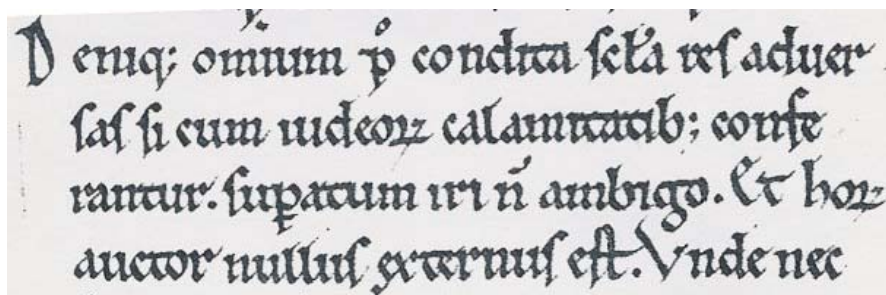


Plate 5 – the hand of the Scribe of the Josephus, SJCC A.8 folio 102^v²⁰
Note in particular the letters ‘g’ and ‘x’ and the ‘x’ ligature

In one of the Cambridge manuscripts, SJCC A.8 (the second volume of a two volume Josephus), there is an important clue concerning Scribe 2’s identity. An illuminated letter C at the beginning of the first chapter of Josephus’s *De Bello Judaico* in f. 103v contains a portrait of Josephus and of a tonsured scribe, who is engaged in copying from an exemplar held by

¹⁹ T. Webber, ‘Script and Scribes’ in M. Brett, *English Episcopal Acta*, forthcoming.

²⁰ Plates 5-6 from SJCC A.8 are reproduced with the permission of the Master and Fellows of St John’s College, Cambridge.

Josephus, and which displays the text of the *Testimonium Flavianum*.²¹ Both figures have their name written above their head. It is clearly the scribe of SJCC A.8, who is depicted here,²² i.e. our Scribe 2, but this scribe is called Samuel. Thus, we can be sure that Schmitt was incorrect in thinking that Scribe 2 was Thidricus.²³



Plate 6 – illuminated letter C in SJCC A.8 folio 103^v showing the scribe, Samuel

Scribe 3a (wrote ff. 113^r – 113^v and ff. 139^{ra} line 15 – 116^{ra} line 2)

Scribe 3a had a much more rounded hand than was the norm at Christ Church at this time. Webber has identified him as one “of the most prolific of all the scribes active at Christ

²¹ ‘Fuit autem isdem temporib[us] iesus sapiens vir .. chr[istu]s hic erat’. This is actually found earlier in the manuscript in *Antiquitates*, 18:3 (folio 61^r).

²² M.R. James refers to this as a portrait of the artist, but the illustration clearly shows the scribe writing the text of the manuscript and using a pot of brown/black ink. See M.R. James, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library of St John’s College, Cambridge*, Cambridge 1913, p. 10 n. 1.

²³ There is only one Samuel recorded amongst the monks at Christ Church. See J. Greatrex, *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury: c.1066 to 1540*, Oxford 1997, p.277. There is no evidence that this is the scribe, Samuel, whom we have been discussing. Given that we only know the names of a small proportion of the monks at this time, this is not surprising, and need not cast doubt on whether Samuel was a monk of Christ Church. See W.G. Searle (Ed.), *Christ Church, Canterbury*, Cambridge 1902, pp. 164-168. He records the names of only 34 monks at Christ Church during the century after 1066. Further confirmation that Samuel is a Christ Church monk is to be found in his dress, the same ‘sumptuous scapular’ as that worn by the Christ Church monk/scribe Eadwine in his portrait in the Eadwine Psalter. See T.A. Heslop, ‘Eadwine and his portrait’ in M. Gibson, T.A. Heslop & R. Pfaff, ed., *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth Century Canterbury*, London/University Park 1992, pp. 178 – 185, esp. p.182.

Church in the first quarter of the twelfth century”,²⁴ who, in addition to part of B, was responsible fully or in part for the following: Bod Ms lat. misc. d.13 and Bod Ms lat. misc. d.30 (Chronicles), CCCC 19 (Ivo of Chartres), TCC B.3.4 (Jerome), TCC B.5.24 (Jerome), CUL Ff 3.29 (Isidore etc.) and a contents list in TCC B.3.5 (Jerome).²⁵ Gullick has identified this hand in two professions from 1090-91,²⁶ and in two manuscripts in Cambridge, which he dates to the 1080s.²⁷ In his view, Scribe 3a “was an important scribe who must have been an almost exact contemporary of Eadmer”.²⁸

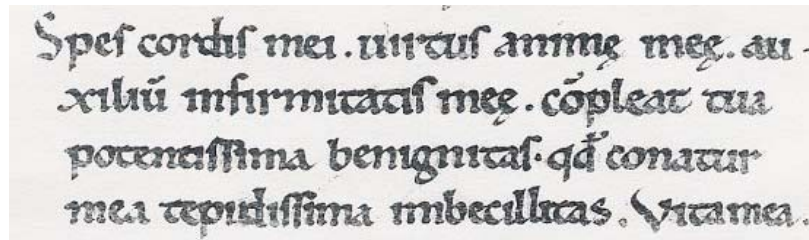


Plate 7 – the more rounded hand of Scribe 3a – Ms Bodley 271 folio 139^r

Scribe 3b (wrote ff. 166^{ra} line 10 – 166^{rb} line 11)

In the final prayer and some of the corrections there is a significant deterioration in the quality of the script in B. This might suggest that another scribe was at work here, although the hand is very similar to that of Scribe 3a. It could be the case that the work of Scribe 3b was actually the work of Scribe 3a in his decline. Since the work of ‘Scribe 3b’ must in that case be a later addition and marks a significant deterioration, it is possible that there was a considerable time gap in the production of these parts of the manuscript, and that consequently Scribe 3a was not at the end of his career when he wrote *OM* and *DG*.²⁹

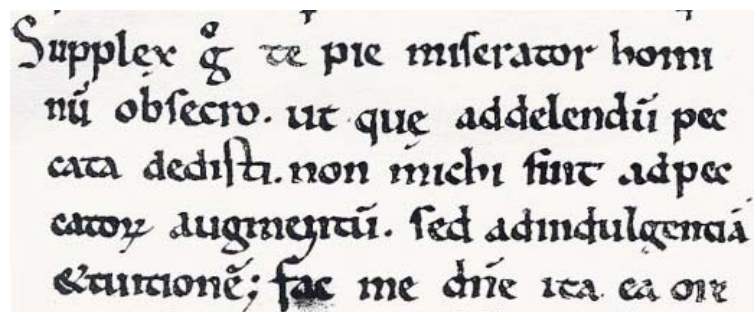


Plate 8 – the poorly executed hand of Scribe 3b(=Scribe3a?) – Ms Bodley 271 folio 166^r

²⁴ Webber, 1995, p. 154.

²⁵ See Webber, 1995, p. 154 n. 41. See also T.A.M. Bishop, ‘Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part 1’, in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 1 (1949-53) 432-441, p. 437.

²⁶ See M. Richter, (Ed.), *Canterbury Professions*, 1973, nos. 48 and 49.

²⁷ CUL Dd.2.7 ff. 126^r-173^v (Jerome) and TCC B.4.26 ff. 41^{va} line 28 word 4 – 176^v (Augustine). See Gullick’s forthcoming paper, ‘The Manuscripts and Scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1070-1093’.

²⁸ See Gullick’s forthcoming paper on the scribes of the professions.

4. Dating B with the help of Samuel

Following Gullick,³⁰ we can date two items of Samuel's work, the profession (Canterbury, D. & C.C.A. 117 no. 23) and the charter (PRO DL27/LS46), to 1114 and to a date no later than 1122 respectively. If we are able to identify B's place in the sequence of production of Scribe 2's work and to link this sequence to the production of the profession and/or the charter, we will have some evidence concerning the date of B.

The stylistic differences between these two documents indicate that there was a significant time gap between their production, suggesting that the charter was produced close to or in 1122. This chronological sequence is reflected in the subtle stylistic changes that take place in Samuel's hand between the writing of B and of the Cambridge manuscripts. In B, Samuel's most distinctive characteristics are his use of the 'x' ligature, the diamond shaped foot of 'x', his failure to place capitals at the beginning of a line in the margin, his use of the *·ee·* and *·e·* abbreviations, and his use of the y shaped cedilla under the letter 'e' to indicate both diphthongs, 'æ' and 'œ'. These characteristics are not consistently maintained in his Cambridge manuscripts. He rarely uses the *·ee·* and *·e·* abbreviations, and places capitals in the margins. He does not use the y cedilla to indicate 'œ', but rather uses a cedilla in the form of a loop, a practice characteristic of Eadmer.³¹ However, he retains the ligatured 'x'. The shape of the 'x' is less consistent in the Josephus manuscripts (CUL Dd.1.4 and SJCC A.8), the previously diamond shaped foot sometimes taking on more of a curve, making it more like that of Eadmer. In the third Cambridge manuscript, Haimo of Auxerre on Isaiah (CUL Dd.8.15), the 'x' is more consistently like that of Eadmer, and the diamond shaped foot is found infrequently.³²

From a comparison with the profession of 1114, alone it is not possible to tell whether B was produced before or after 1114. However, given the development of Samuel's hand it is possible to say that B was produced before the three Cambridge manuscripts, all of which must pre-date 1122. Thus the latest date for Samuel's contribution to B is significantly before 1122. In addition, the Josephus volumes also share similarities with the profession indicating that they too could have been produced in the same period as the profession, potentially pushing B back to a pre-1114 date.

²⁹ The work of Scribe 3a is good in much of the *OM* and *DG*, and in general is as good as that found in some of his other, possibly earlier, work, e.g. Bodley Ms lat. misc. d.13 and Ms lat. misc. d.30.

³⁰ See Gullick's forthcoming paper on the scribes of the professions.

³¹ See Webber, 1995, p. 152.

³² This change could be as a result of the influence of Eadmer, perhaps the most important scribe at Christ Church.

From the stylistic changes, we can infer that the manuscripts were produced in the following order (earliest first):

- B (Ms Bodley 271)
- The profession (Canterbury, D. & C.C.A. 117 no. 23)
- The first Josephus volume (CUL Dd.1.4)
- The second Josephus volume (SJCC A.8)
- The Haimo (CUL Dd.8.15)
- The charter (PRO DL27/LS46)

Currently, it is not possible to confirm on palaeographical grounds the precise date of that part of B for which Samuel is responsible, other than stating that it probably belongs to a period in or before 1114. Part of the manuscript must post-date the completion of *De Concordia* in 1107 or 1108. If we view that part of the manuscript written by Samuel as having been produced within a short time frame, then the earliest it could have been commenced is 1107. However, it is possible that there was a break in the production of B. Samuel's hand is less expansive and makes even greater use of abbreviations from *De Processione* onwards.³³

The contents page written by Samuel in B folio ii^b supports the view that there were some gaps in the production of B. Samuel lists the contents of B apart from the final prayer, confirming that this is a later addition. The final two entries on the contents list (*Orationes sive meditationes* and *Tractatus de grammatico*) are written in the same hand as the previous entries, but display characteristics indicating that they were not written at the same time. The final 's' of the words, '*Orationes*' and '*Tractatus*', takes the form of a short rather than a long 's', unlike the earlier entries. The words of the later entries are slightly broader and the spaces between them wider. The contents list indicates that the sequence of production of the text was as follows:

- Scribe 1 began the theological tracts
- Samuel continued and completed the theological tracts (possibly taking a break in production between *DCV* and *DPSS*)
- Samuel wrote the contents list for the theological tracts
- Scribe 3a wrote *OM* and *DG*
- Samuel added these to the contents list
- Scribe 3b wrote the final prayer.

5. Defining the Anselmian Canon

Towards the end of Anselm's life, whilst he was in exile, and his death seemed imminent due to his age and ill health,³⁴ there is significant activity at Christ Church in producing copies of his works, exhibiting a desire to establish the authenticity of the anselmian text, in which Anselm took an active interest, as his correspondence with Thidricus indicates. Within a short space of time we also find that a striking and innovative collection of Anselm's works has been produced,

³³ Thus, it is conceivable that Scribe 1 and Samuel commenced work on the manuscript prior to 1107. See the Appendix for details of the order of works in B.

³⁴ See R.W. Southern (Ed.), *The Life of St Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury by Eadmer*, Oxford 1972, p. 136, for an account of Anselm's illness at Bec in the summer of 1106, from which he was not expected to recover.

which prefigures remarkably the outcome of the scholarly work of Wilmart, Schmitt *et al.* more than 800 years later. The manuscript is innovative and important, not least because it marks the first attempt by medieval scribes to produce an *opera omnia* of a particular author, and thereby, *de facto* at least, to establish a canon of his works.

It is my contention that the part of B for which Scribe 1 and Samuel were responsible was written between 1107 and 1114,³⁵ and that preparation for its production may well have been initiated prior to that, whilst Anselm was still in exile, perhaps as a result of the concerns for his health. Whether written before or after Anselm's death, B marks an attempt to define the anselmian canon. It excludes works which Anselm and/or those close to him considered unfinished or unready for publication or simply not worth retaining in the corpus of his works.³⁶ Interestingly, *OM* and *DG* are added at a second stage of production. This may reflect a second view of the canon, which sought to extend it, perhaps after the death of Anselm. It seems likely that the original intention was to limit the manuscript to the theological tracts.³⁷

³⁵ The arguments for a later date that appear to have some force are art historical. Heslop dates B at around 1120. See T.A. Heslop, 'Dunstanus Archiepiscopus and painting in Kent around 1120' in *The Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984) 195 – 204, p. 200. However, Heslop's argument shows that the illuminator of B was flourishing as early as 1114, and that consequently he can reasonably be supposed to have been working on B around or even prior to this date

³⁶ Many of these may be found in the Christ Church manuscript, Ms Lambeth 59, along with the collection of Anselm's letters.

³⁷ Thus, it is possible to address the "puzzle" that Southern and Schmitt jointly raised in their introduction to Anselm's *De humanis moribus per similitudines*, concerning the failure of Anselm's disciples at Canterbury to "make any use of, or apparently attach any importance to, a work of such considerable bulk and originality". (R.W. Southern & F.S. Schmitt, edd., *Memorials of St Anselm*, 1969, pp. 7f..) This 'failure' arose as a result of a decision, perhaps by Anselm himself, to exclude this work from his canonical works.

Conclusion

I have been able to show that Schmitt was right to give an important role to B in establishing his critical edition, but was mistaken in his view of Thidricus as Scribe 2, whom I have identified as Samuel. Southern, on the other hand, was correct in questioning the view of Thidricus put forward by Schmitt, but the basis of his criticism and of his subsequent and influential dating of B is flawed. Consequently, he failed to appreciate the role B almost certainly played in establishing the anselmian canon.³⁸

³⁸ Intriguing questions remain to be answered concerning (i) Eadmer's failure to mention this attempt to produce an anselmian canon or (ii) to mention Thidricus, (iii) the lack of evidence of for the involvement of Eadmer in producing the manuscript, apart from the correction to one letter, a 'g' in folio 23vb line 11 first word, which is similar to Eadmer's 'g', and (iv) the prolific Scribe 3, Eadmer's contemporary, who shows no signs of the influence of the Christ Church script, of which Eadmer was the foremost exponent. My forthcoming paper on 'Anselm and Thidricus' will attempt to address some of these questions.

Appendix – The Contents of Ms Bodley 271

Ms Bodley 271				AOO	PL	Prayer to
Contents	Sequence	Folio		Prayer No	Prayer No	
Contents page		ii v				
Monologion	1	1r				
Proslogion	2	2.1	23v			
Sumptum		2.2	30v			
Pro Insipiente		2.3	31r			
Responsio Anselmi		2.4	32v			
De Veritate	3		36r			
De Libertate Arbitrii	4		43r			
De Casu Diaboli	5		50r			
De Incarnatione Verbi	6		62v			
Cur Deus Homo	7		71r			
De Conceptu Virginali et de Originali Peccato	8		97v			
De Processione Spiritus Sancti	9		109r			
Epistola de Sacrificio Azymi et Fermentati	10		123v			
Epistola de Sacramentis Ecclesiae	11		124v			
Meditatio Redemptionis Humanae	12		125v	M3	M11	Meditation
De Concordia Praescientiae &c. cum Libero Arbitrio	13		127v			
Orationes sive Mediationes	14	1	139ra	Prologue	Prologus	N/A
		2	139rb	O2	20	Our Lord
		3	140rb	O4	41	The Holy Cross
		4	140vb	O5	50	Our Lady
		5	141vb	O6	51	Our Lady
		6	142rb	O7	52	Our Lady
		7	144rb	O8	63	St John the Baptist
		8	145rb	O9	64	St Peter
		9	146rb	O10	65	St Paul
		10	148vb	O11	67	St John the Evangelist
		11	149va	O12	68	St John the Evangelist
		12	150vb	O13	69	St Stephen
		13	152rb	O14	71	St Nicholas
		14	154ra	O15	72	St Benedict
		15	154vb	O16	74	St Mary Magdalene
		16	155vb	O17	75	Diocesan or abbatial patron (here St Peter)
		17	156vb	O18		For friends
		18	157ra	O19	24	For enemies
		19	157va	M1	M2	Meditation
		20	158vb	M2	M3	Meditation
		21	159vb	O1	9	God
De Grammatico	15		159v			
Final Prayer	16	22	166ra	O3	34	On receiving the body and blood of the Lord