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*The Importance of Writing Institutional History in the Anglo-Norman Realm, c.1060-c.1142,
with special reference to Eadmer's Historia Novorum, Symeon of Durham's Libellus de exordio,
and the Historia Ecclesiastica of Orderic Vitalis.*

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Medieval History

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2013



Abstract

‘The importance of writing institutional history in the Anglo-Norman realm, c.1060-c.1142, with special reference to Eadmer’s *Historia novorum*, Symeon of Durham’s *Libellus de exordio* and the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Orderic Vitalis’.

This thesis examines the place of the past within the lives and works of three notable Anglo-Norman authors of history: Eadmer of Canterbury, Symeon of Durham, and Orderic Vitalis of the monastery of Saint-Évroul in Normandy.

The first half of the twelfth century witnessed an unprecedented flowering of historical writing in England and Normandy. Scholarly interest and debate surrounding the historical texts produced in this context, and in particular the reasons for their composition, has grown significantly in recent years. This thesis examines the place of Eadmer’s, Symeon’s and Orderic’s historical writings within the wider corpus of works which they are known to have studied and composed, according to surviving manuscript evidence. Particular attention is placed on: their engagement with wider themes of learning such as exegesis and theology, Latin poetry and computistical studies; their participation in the organisation of monastic and ecclesiastical life, including record-keeping, revision and care of book-collections and their role as monastic cantors; and their experiences of training in and engagement with historical studies and resultant self-identification as authors of history.

This thesis will argue that although all three authors had access to a concise framework through which medieval audiences understood the nature and purposes of historical studies (as shown in chapters three and four) the exact character and intended purposes of their historical texts was in fact heavily dependent on the degree to which each author interacted with the wider textual culture of contemporary Benedictine studies (as outlined in chapters five, six and seven). Conclusions will observe that the three examples considered demonstrate the multifaceted nature of historical studies in the medieval period, and especially the overlap between the various sub-genres of history, such as narrative text, annal, chronicle, and hagiography, and also reveal the resonances of the past within almost every aspect of monastic life and studies in the period.

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List of Abbreviations

<i>ANS</i>	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
Delisle, 'Notice'	L. Delisle, 'Notice Sur Orderic Vital', in <i>Orderici Vitalis ecclesiasticae historiae libri tredecim</i> , ed. A. Le Prévost, 5 vols. (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1838-5), vol. 5, pp. i-cvi.
<i>Eadmeri Historia</i>	<i>Eadmeri Historia novorum in Anglia et opuscula duo De vita Sancti Anselmi et quibusdam miraculis Ejus</i> , ed. Martin Rule, (London: Longman, 1884).
Gameson, <i>MENE</i>	<i>The Manuscripts of Early Norman England, 1066-c.1130</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
Gransden, <i>Historical Writing</i>	Antonia Gransden, <i>Historical Writing in England</i> , 2 vols. (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1974-82).
Gullick, 'Hand'	Michael Gullick, 'The Hand of Symeon of Durham: further reflections on the Durham Martyrology Scribe', in: <i>Symeon: Historian</i> , ed. Rollason, pp. 14-31.
Gullick, 'Scribes'	Michael Gullick, 'The Scribes of the Durham Cantor's Book (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library MS B.IV.24)', in <i>Anglo-Norman Durham: 1093-1193</i> , eds. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994) pp. 93-109.
<i>HRE</i>	<i>Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England</i> , trans. Geoffrey Bosanquet (London: Cresset Press, 1964).
Nortier, <i>Bibliothèques médiévales</i>	Geneviève Nortier, <i>Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie</i> (Paris: Bibliothèque d'histoire et d'archéologie chrétiennes, 1971)
Omont, <i>Catalogue général</i>	Henri Omont, <i>Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France</i> (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1886-).

<i>GND</i>	<i>The Gesta normannorum ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni</i> , ed. and trans. Elisabeth van Houts, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
<i>HE</i>	Orderic Vitalis, <i>The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis</i> , ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-80).
<i>LDE</i>	Symeon of Durham, <i>Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis, ecclesie</i> , ed. and trans. D.W. Rollason (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).
<i>LVD</i>	<i>The Durham Liber Vitae: London, British Library MS Cotton Domitian A.VII</i> , eds. David and Lynda Rollason with A.J. Piper, 3 vols. (London: British Library, 2007).
<i>Symeon: Historian</i>	<i>Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North</i> , ed. D.W. Rollason (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 1998).
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> .
<i>VA</i>	<i>The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury by Eadmer</i> , ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Throughout the modern development of Anglo-Norman studies, inquiry into the social, political, cultural and ecclesiastical history of England and Normandy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries has been intimately linked to a body of key contemporary narrative sources produced in the region during the first half of the twelfth century. Within a context of increasing book-production and library expansion at monastic and other ecclesiastical centres of learning seen throughout the Anglo-Norman realm,¹ those directing the procurement of books added an increasing number of texts which collected information about the past. A diverse range of historical texts were collected, including lengthy narrative histories relating to a particular theme, people, political unit or institution through time; to secular lives or (more frequently) hagiographical writing in prose and verse redactions, and shorter, non-narrative chronicles or annals listing particularly notable events, punctuated regularly with the record of ecclesiastical and secular successions.² Richard Gameson's analysis of these developments within the English context calculates that between c.1066 and c.1130, the proportion of historical texts acquired in Anglo-Norman England

¹ The wider expansion of Anglo-Norman libraries and book-production are outlined in Richard Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) pp. 14-21; R.M. Thomson, *Books and Learning in twelfth-century England: the ending of alter orbis* (Walken, Herts.: Red Gull Press, 2006); Teresa Webber, 'Monastic and Cathedral Book Collections in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Peter Hoare, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 109-125.

² For useful introductions to the numerous types of historical texts produced in the central Middle Ages, see: Reginald L. Poole, *Chronicles and Annals: a Brief Outline of their Origin and Growth* (Oxford, 1926); Bernard Guenée, 'Histoires, annales, chroniques. Essai sur les genres historiques au moyen âge', *Annales E.S.C.* 28:4 (1973), pp. 997-1016; Guenée, 'Histoire et chronique: nouvelles réflexions sur les genres historiques au Moyen-âge', in *La chronique et l'histoire au Moyen Âge*, ed. Daniel Poirion (Paris: Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1984) pp. 3-12; Antonia Gransden, 'The Chronicles of Medieval England and Scotland: Part I', *Journal of Medieval History* 16 (1990) 129-50, in which the genres of history are discussed at pp. 129-41; R.C. van Caenegem, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire médiévale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 23-80; Elisabeth van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge, 74 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999); Geoffrey Martin and R.M. Thomson, 'History and History Books', in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain volume 2: 1100-1400*, eds. R.M. Thomson and Nigel J. Morgan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 397-415.

rose from one book in eighteen during the late eleventh century, to one in ten by the beginning of the 1120s.³

Established texts which had existed for several centuries provided the bulk of the historical texts produced and exchanged in this period. Works such as Josephus' *De antiquitate Iudacia* and its twin the *De bello Iudaico*, Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*, and Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* were circulated widely throughout the Anglo-Norman world, and may be considered among the most popular works of narrative history, while sections of Eusebius alongside Gregory of Tours' *De Gloria martyrum* provided long-established models of sacred historical biography.⁴

Alongside increases in the procurement of existing historical narratives, there is considerable evidence to demonstrate a surge in original composition of texts which explored multiple aspects of the past among Anglo-Norman scholars. This is seen both in terms of the numbers and types of histories which were newly compiled across various different centres of learning. In the first volume of her survey of *Historical Writing in England*, Antonia Gransden suggested that up to the very end of the eleventh century, history was a genre exploited and patronised only intermittently and usually only by one particularly interested individual, or locally-focused group.⁵ In contrast, the first half of the twelfth century has been seen to have witnessed a revolution in Anglo-Norman scholars' interest in the past. Richard Southern observed what he described as 'the first historical revival' around a generation after the Norman Conquest,⁶ and Elisabeth van Houts has identified nothing less than an 'outpouring of historical writing' in the same period.⁷ Peter Damian-Grint suggested that these years saw the rise of 'some of the most important of all medieval historians',⁸ while Geoffrey Martin and Rod Thomson have similarly suggested that the turn of the twelfth century marked the beginning of 'one of the greatest epochs in the long tradition of historical writing in Britain, both qualitatively and quantitatively.'⁹ New

³ Gameson, *MENE*, pp. 24-5; Richard Gameson, 'English Book Collection in the Late Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries: Symeon's Durham and its Context', *Symeon: Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. D.W. Rollason (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 1998) pp. 230-53, at pp. 237-8 and 243.

⁴ Gameson, *MENE*, pp. 24-5; Webber, 'Monastic and Cathedral Book Collections'.

⁵ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols. (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1974-82) vol. 1, pp. 105-35.

⁶ Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing, 4: 'The Sense of the Past', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, vol. 23 (1973) 243-63, at p. 246.

⁷ Elisabeth van Houts, 'Historical Writing', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, eds., Christopher Harper-Bill and Elisabeth van Houts (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), pp. 120-1.

⁸ Peter Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the twelfth-century Renaissance: Inventing Vernacular Authority* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 43-8, at p. 44.

⁹ Martin and Thomson, 'History and History Books', p. 397.

historical works such as Eadmer of Canterbury's *Historia novorum in Anglia*, Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio*, William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* and later his *Historia novella*, the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Orderic Vitalis, and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, appeared in greater numbers and varieties than in any previous fifty-year period of either English or Norman history.¹⁰

The purpose of this PhD thesis is to offer fresh insight into this renewed interest in the past in England and Normandy during the Anglo-Norman period, and especially within the lifetimes of three authors notable in this connection: Eadmer of Canterbury, Symeon of Durham and Orderic Vitalis, who were active between c.1090 and 1142. This thesis aims to re-examine their lives and works, not just in terms of their contributions to the corpus of Anglo-Norman historiography, but by also viewing their respective experiences and interests in the past in the round, and within a distinctly monastic and devotional context of learning. Discussions shed light on the study and writing of the past by understanding the role of the past within a specific textual milieu of Benedictine monasticism. Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic all belonged to this old order, which has been seen to have had a unique potential to generate historical writing. In 1986, John van Engen observed that, 'Benedictines wrote virtually all of the great chronicles and lives extant from the years 850-1150',¹¹ and Southern made the same observation by arguing that Benedictine monks were uniquely placed to observe and record the impact of the Norman Conquest in England, claiming that: 'The only people who were in a position to observe, feel, and express their reaction to these changes, were Benedictine monks in monasteries sufficiently old and wealthy to evoke an acute sense of the difference between the present and the past.'¹² While this thesis is not concerned to analyse the development of Benedictine monasticism in the Anglo-Norman period, it reconsiders the perceived Anglo-Norman revival of history, by shifting discussions

¹⁰ Eadmer's *History of Recent Events*, trans. Geoffrey Bosanquet (London: Cresset Press, 1964); Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis, ecclesie*, ed. and trans. D.W. Rollason (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum*, eds. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998-9); William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, ed. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007); William of Malmesbury, *Historia novella: the Contemporary History*, ed. Edmund King, trans. K.R. Potter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-80); Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Diana Greenway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

¹¹ John van Engen, 'The "Crisis of Cenobitism" Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050-1150', *Speculum*, 61:2 (1986) 269-304, at pp. 297-8.

¹² Southern, 'Aspects, 4: the Sense of the Past', pp. 246-7.

away from established examinations of the uses of the past in socio-political terms, and back into original intended textual and intellectual context of Benedictine monasticism.

A number of studies have already investigated some of the underlying causes of the perceived Anglo-Norman historiographical turn by examining the possible uses of the past within wider social and political upheavals associated with the transition to Norman rule in England, and the increased cultural interaction between England and Normandy during the years following 1066. These studies have contributed much towards current understandings of the study and relevance of the past within what is generally assumed to have been a period of anxiety and uncertainty as new Norman rulers made their mark on the new kingdom. The precise nature and extent of the impact of Norman rule in England has proved one of the most durable areas of research within the development of modern Anglo-Norman studies.¹³ While many authorities have seen the Conquest as a defining point in the history of England and Normandy encompassing the imposition of a planned and conscious 'Norman' agenda, typified by the introduction of feudal rule and within a unit which Le Patourel knew as a 'Norman empire',¹⁴ other readings have attempted to provide a more nuanced reinterpretation of the precise impact of Norman rule and have in particular highlighted continuity and cultural exchange between Anglo-Saxon and Norman participants in the new Anglo-Norman society.¹⁵ Symeon's *Libellus de exordio* and Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* recorded and provided contemporary commentary on some of the social problems associated with the transition to Norman rule in England.¹⁶ However, the very existence of these two texts suggests that the aftermath of the conquest did not divide English and Norman down a line sharply felt. Symeon was a Norman, writing in England and

¹³ A review of the historiographical debate up to 1999 was provided in Marjorie Chibnall, *The Debate on the Norman Conquest* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

¹⁴ H.R. Lyon, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (London: Longman, 1962), pp. 315-30; Frank Barlow, 'The Effects of the Norman conquest' in *The Norman Conquest: its Setting and Impact* Dorothy Whitelock et al. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1966), pp. 123-61; D.J.A. Matthew, *The Norman Conquest* (London: Batsford, 1966); Southern: 'Aspects 4: the Sense of the Past', p. 246; Jean Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); Le Patourel, *Feudal Empires: Norman and Plantagenet*, ed. Michael Jones (London: Hambledon, 1984); W.L. Warren, *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England, 1086-1272* (London: Arnlond, 1987), pp. 55-63; R. Allen Brown, *The Normans and the Norman Conquest*, 2nd edn. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), pp. 61-90;

¹⁵ David C. Douglas, *The Norman Achievement, 1050-1100* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1969); R.H.C. Davis, *The Normans and their Myth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976); Marjorie Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), pp. 208-18; Ann Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995); M.T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers, 1066-1272*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 27-40; Brian Golding, *Conquest and Colonisation: the Normans in Britain, 1066-1100*, 2nd edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 61-85; Nick Webber, *The Evolution of Norman Identity, 911-1154* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005); George Garnett, *Conquered England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹⁶ *LDE*, pp. 182-5 and 216-21; *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 190-7, 202-39, 248-55, 256-71, and 311-23.

revealing a deep knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon past.¹⁷ In Orderic's case, a double exile can be posited. While his father was from Orléans, his mother is presumed to have been English; he himself spent fifty-six of his sixty-six years in the monastic community of Saint-Évroul, in Normandy.¹⁸

Whatever the exact nature and impact of Norman rule in England after 1066, statistics noted above suggest that the study and narration of the past received renewed attention in a significant number of monastic and ecclesiastical centres of learning on both sides of the Channel from around the last decade of the twelfth century onwards. Reflecting on this, van Houts has observed that similar periods of intensity in historiographical composition can be witnessed in the years immediately following several of the great moments in Norman history, including 911, 1066, and 1204, which she described as 'periods of great upheaval and trauma'.¹⁹ The Anglo-Norman context from c.1090 onwards suggests that this increased interest in the past was not restricted to the study and composition of historical narratives, but encompassed also the compilation of shorter chronicles and historical annals, and is particularly noteworthy for the study of hagiography, both in revision of existing works and composition of new texts. While these sub-genres of historically-oriented studies did so for different reasons and in different forms, all were concerned to collect information from the past and to present it to contemporary audiences.²⁰

A number of previous scholars have highlighted the potential uses of new and revised works of history and hagiography in post-Conquest society. Gransden suggested that 'the Anglo-Saxon saints and their relics were on trial' in an evolving and ill-defined Anglo-Norman liturgy, and suggested that a number of new and revised accounts of the Anglo-Saxon saints were produced as responses to these challenges.²¹ Important discussions by Southern, William Aird and Jay Rubenstein have suggested some of the ways in which historical and hagiographical texts used past precedent in order to claim and protect communal rights and status.²² In a similar manner,

¹⁷ Michael Gullick, 'The Hand of Symeon of Durham: further reflections on the Durham Martyrology Scribe', in *Symeon: Historian*, pp. 14-31, at pp. 18-22; *LDE*, pp. xliv-l.

¹⁸ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 1-6 and 23.

¹⁹ van Houts, 'Historical Writing', p. 103.

²⁰ For a more detailed overview of the numerous sub-genres of 'historical' texts as they appear in the Middle Ages and for a review of the categorisations applied in this thesis, see chapter three, below.

²¹ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1, p. 105.

²² Southern, 'Aspects', 4: 'The Sense of the Past', pp. 246-55; W.M. Aird, 'The Political Context of Symeon's *Libellus de exordio*', in *Symeon: Historian*, pp. 32-45; Jay Rubenstein, 'Liturgy Against History': the Competing Visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury', *Speculum* 74, No. 2 (1999) 279-309.

Martin Brett and Leah Shopkow have examined the ways in which knowledge of the past was used to foster cultural and institutional awareness and integration.²³ Brett in particular, has provided a particularly convincing portrayal of the *Chronicon* of John of Worcester, arguing that this text used the past as a means by which a 'new, and sometimes sceptical audience' of Norman readers could be successfully integrated into the rich heritage of Worcester's Anglo-Saxon legacy.²⁴ Alan Piper, Michael Gullick and William Aird have all suggested that Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio* fulfilled a similar aim, arguing for a particular version of the Anglo-Saxon past which characterised and legitimised the new Anglo-Norman community in the aftermath of monastic reform and united in the face of continuing political uncertainty in northern England.²⁵

Although links between the increased composition and circulation of texts relating to the past in the years which followed the Norman Conquest and the various social and political changes wrought by the imposition of Norman rule in England cannot be denied, the Anglo-Norman historiographical turn cannot be explained in purely socio-political terms. Attention must also be paid to the specific textual milieu in which these works were composed. In order to know the past and to compose new works which preserved and discussed this past, it was necessary for the medieval author to have sufficient source materials at hand, whether written, oral or material. It was also necessary to have to hand several previous examples of the genre (whether extended narrative history, shorter annals and chronicles, or biographical texts) so that an author might apply the conventions of the particular field in which he wished to write. Before any writing could be carried out, it was necessary for an author to be working in an environment which gave him sufficient access to the physical resources through which he was able to do so, such as parchment and inks, and which were often provided through his position within a well established school with adequate patronage. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the

²³ Southern, 'Aspects 4: The Sense of the Past', p. 456; Martin Brett, 'John of Worcester and His Contemporaries', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: essays presented to Richard William Southern*, eds., R.H.C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) pp. 277-285; Martin Brett, 'The Use of Universal Chronicle at Worcester', in Genet (ed.), *L'Historiographie médiévale en Europe* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991), pp. 277-285; Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon and the Revival of the English Nation' in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Alan V. Murray (Leeds: University of Leeds School of English, 1995), pp. 75-101; Leah Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1997).

²⁴ Brett, 'The Use of Universal Chronicle at Worcester'.

²⁵ William Aird, 'The Political Context'; Michael Gullick, 'The Two Earliest Manuscripts of the *Libellus de exordio*', in *Symeon: Historian*, pp. 106-119; A.J. Piper, 'The Historical Interests of the Monks of Durham', in *Symeon: Historian*, pp. 301-5.

composition of an historical text depended on the presence and motivation of an author: a single individual scholar whose skills, experiences and interests gave him the authority and ability to design and carry out the proposed project, whether alone or in collaboration with others.

Research carried out by Gameson, Thomson and Webber has suggested that books of all kinds were being copied and exchanged in substantially increased numbers throughout western Europe during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁶ Thomson has proposed that the increased collection and manufacture of books in England in the first half of the twelfth century should be considered within a 'pan-European enterprise' of increased production and standardisation of resources.²⁷ Giles Gasper has shown the extent to which the library at Bec grew during the last decades of the twelfth century (showing that Orderic Vitalis commented that Bec provided a 'great store of learning', which was 'magnificently increased' during Anselm's tenure as prior).²⁸ The growth of Bec and other libraries in Normandy, including Fécamp, Mons-Saint-Michel, Saint-Évroul, Lyre, Jumièges, Saint-Wandrille and Saint-Ouen may be seen in earlier discussions by Geneviève Nortier.²⁹

Previous surveys suggest that English libraries grew significantly from the last decades of the eleventh century to the middle of the twelfth. Gameson has suggested that between 1066 and 1130, the total number of books produced or acquired by English libraries increased fivefold.³⁰ These increases in the production and exchange of reading materials have been interpreted in different ways. Thomson's interpretation argued that English library collections were extensively reorganised in the years following the Norman Conquest in order to bring them into line with what he perceived as new Continental tastes, and proposed that the Conquest represented a 'decisive dividing line' between distinct Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman forms of learning.³¹ Both Thomson and Gameson have noted that one of the consequences of the Norman Conquest was demand for the production and exchange of books across the Channel.³² Webber identified increases in book-collection throughout Europe as a whole, and suggested that in most cases,

²⁶ Gameson, *MENE*; Thomson, *Books and Learning*; Webber, 'Monastic and Cathedral Book Collections'.

²⁷ Thomson, 'Monastic and Cathedral Book Production' in his (ed.) with Nigel J. Morgan, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, volume 2: 1100-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 136-76, at p. 140.

²⁸ Giles E.M. Gasper, *Anselm of Canterbury and his Theological Inheritance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 81-106, at p. 88.

²⁹ Geneviève Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (Paris: Bibliothèque d'histoire et d'archéologie chrétiennes, 1971).

³⁰ Gameson, *MENE*, p. 5.

³¹ Thomson, *Books and Learning*; Thomson, 'Monastic and Cathedral Book Production', p. 137.

³² Thomson, *Books and Learning*; Gameson, *MENE*, pp. 10-13.

significant increases in library resources could be linked to wider programmes of monastic reform which may be characterised by their increasing emphasis on the pursuit of meditative monastic studies.³³

This is the wider intellectual context in which this thesis will consider the Anglo-Norman historiographical turn. It places the study of the past within the specific textual milieu of the authors with which it is concerned, examines the provision of various types of historical texts (broadly defined) within three noted centres of historical writing, and assesses the ways in which three individual authors developed their interests in the past within the specific context at each location. The three principal authors whose careers and works will be studied are Eadmer of Canterbury, Symeon of Durham, and Orderic Vitalis of the monastery of Saint-Évroul in Normandy. The aim of this thesis is to identify what, in each case, were the factors which necessitated or inspired their study of the past. Discussion will show that while existing sources and models were provided for these authors in increasing numbers during their lifetimes (and often through their own work as scribes) their own contributions towards the corpus of Anglo-Norman historiography in fact read as highly individual works, which, although often ordered or supported by the official mandate of monastic associates and superiors, are in fact coloured by each author's experiences of the past in his experience of monastic devotional life, rather than by any possible medieval theories and models of historiography. While conclusions will acknowledge that socio-political factors that influenced their various historical texts, this analysis seeks to re-emphasise the role played by individual authors and the importance of their experiences of working within their own particular monastic environments.

As outlined below in chapter three, there existed many different types of 'historical' texts in the medieval period. While it is sometimes helpful to categorise these under the three main sub-genres of narrative history, hagiography and biography, and shorter non-narrative annals and chronicles, many surviving texts cross these divides. Eadmer's *Historia novorum*, Symeon's *Libellus de exordio* and Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* are prime examples of the difficulties associated with the genres of medieval historiography. Eadmer's *Historia* mixes biography and personal memoir. Symeon's *Libellus* and Orderic's *Historia* both provide accounts of one particular monastic community, but while Symeon's scope is narrow, Orderic's is manifestly broad. All three works contain elements of hagiography. In addition to its primary aim, this

³³ Webber, 'Monastic and Cathedral book-collections', pp. 109-11.

thesis sheds some light on the ways in which Anglo-Norman authors conceptualised these sub-genres of historical study and were able to integrate them within a single text. While these genres are discussed in more detail in chapter three, this thesis is concerned to analyse Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's contact with and compositions of all texts which might be understood as 'historical': that is, any text related to the past, whether narrative histories, shorter annals and chronicles, or works of biography and hagiography.

Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic have been carefully selected as subjects for analysis. All three authors display considerable experiences in the study of numerous types of texts relating to the past, including not only narrative history but also hagiography, and shorter chronicles and annals. The timescale of their respective writings places them in the midst of the Anglo-Norman historiographical revival. All were active from c.1090 onwards, with Orderic the last to finish writing in 1141-2. Although two of the authors were active in England, and one in Normandy, this should not be seen as a significant aspect of why they wrote. As observed above, their own backgrounds were often mixed, and the similarities in their working environments and the overall progression of their own individual activities as scribes and authors far outweigh the differences. As adherents to Benedictine monasticism, Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic were united by a particular vision of the monastic ideal in a period of reform and rediscovery within the order.³⁴ Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul provide institutions which were all active in this programme of reform, which often placed the past at the centre of this drive to re-cast or restore the principles of monastic life, as seen in the works of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic. Their respective experiences in the production and care of reading materials suggest that each author was familiar with the textual milieu in which they wrote historical works, and indeed, that they may even have helped to shape it, through the selection of works to be copied and studied. Identification of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's respective hands indicates the breadth of their experiences as monastic scribes, and suggests that all three supervised and perhaps directed the production of manuscripts.³⁵ Symeon and Orderic's involvement in the production of book-lists

³⁴ van Engen, 'The "Crisis of Cenobitism"', pp. 294-8; Southern, 'Aspects, 4: the Sense of the Past', p. 246.

³⁵ For Eadmer's hand, see Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer: a study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059-c.1130* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963) p. 238, note 1, and 367-74; Teresa Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production at Christ Church, Canterbury, after the Norman Conquest', in: *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066-1109*, eds. Richard Eales and Richard Sharpe (Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press, 1995), pp. 145-158; Gullick, 'The Scribal Work of Eadmer of Canterbury to 1109', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 118, (1998) 173-189; for Symeon, see Michael Gullick, 'The Scribes of the Durham Cantor's Book (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library MS B. IV. 24)', in *Anglo-Norman Durham: 1093-1193*, eds. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994) pp. 93-109; Gullick, 'Hand'; *LDE*, pp. xlv-l; for Orderic, see

illustrates the point further, reflecting their probable status as custodians of library resources, and further demonstrating their advanced familiarity with the specific textual milieu of their respective in-house schools and the potential role of historical texts within this.³⁶

Eadmer of Canterbury was resident at the monastic cathedral community of Christ Church, Canterbury from his oblate years in the early 1060s until his death around the end of the 1120s.³⁷ The majority of his writings exist in a single autograph manuscript, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 371. Amongst a selection of his theological and devotional texts, this item also houses Eadmer's *Vita sancti Wilfridi*, *Vita sancti Odonis*, *Vita sancti Dunstani* with a collection of Dunstan's miracles, *Vita sancti Oswaldi* along with a collection of Oswald's miracles, and the *Vita et conversatio Anselmi*, and a list of Anselm's miracles.³⁸ The *Vita Anselmi* forms the first of two major contributions by Eadmer to the surviving corpus of Anglo-Norman historical and biographical works. The second is the accompanying narrative of the wider events of Anselm's archiepiscopal years, which was named *Historia novorum in Anglia*.³⁹ The first versions of both texts were completed between 1109 and 1115, with each receiving later additions and revisions until Eadmer's own death in or just after 1128.⁴⁰ Although the *Vita Anselmi* survives in numerous near-contemporary copies,⁴¹ the only surviving versions of the

Jules Lair, 'Matériaux pour l'édition de Guillaume de Jumièges', *Extrait de la Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* (Paris, 1910), pp. 13-16; *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 201-3; Denis Escudier, 'Orderic Vital et le scriptorium de Saint-Évroult', in *Manuscrits et Enluminures dans le monde Normand (xe-xve siècles)*, eds. Pierre Bouet and Monique Dosdat (Caen: Caen University Press, 1999), pp. 17-28.

³⁶ On this aspect of Symeon's career, see Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 20-1 and for Symeon's book-list, see Alma Colk Browne, 'Bishop William of St Carilef's Book Donations to Durham Cathedral Priory', *Scriptorium* 42:2 (1988) 140-55, and plate 15. For Orderic as librarian, see Nortier, *Bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 108; *HE*, vol. 1, p. 24; Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium', p. 108. For Orderic's book-list, see Henri Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements: 2, Rouen (suite et fin): Dieppe, Eu, Fécamp, Elbeuf, Gournay-en-Bray, Le Havre, Neufchâtel-en-Bray, Bernay, Conches, Gisors, Louviers, Verneuil, Evreux, Alençon, Montivilliers* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1888), pp. 468-9; Nortier, *Bibliothèques médiévales*, pp. 106-8, and the plate of this catalogue on p. 15.

³⁷ The best outlines of Eadmer's life are provided in Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*; Southern, *Saint Anselm: a Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) pp. 406-7.

³⁸ For a discussion of the contents of this manuscript, see: Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 367-74.

³⁹ Eadmer of Canterbury, *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury by Eadmer*, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); *HRE*. Eadmer's *Historia* was edited with parallel translation into Italian, in *Eadmero Historia novorum in Anglia: Storia dei Tempi Nuovi in Inghilterra (libri I-IV)*, eds. Aldo Granata and Antonio Tombolini with introduction by Inos Biffi (Milan: Jaca Books, 2009). While this provides an excellent introduction to Italian audiences, Biffi's introduction is fundamentally based on the discussions featured in Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*. All references to the *Historia* featured in this present thesis are derived from the English translation of Bosanquet in *HRE* and the Latin edition of Rule in *Eadmeri Historia novorum in Anglia et opuscula duo De vita Sancti Anselmi et quibusdam miraculis Ejus*, ed. Martin Rule (London: Longman, 1884).

⁴⁰ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 239-40; 298-9; 316-7, and 368-9; Eadmer of Canterbury, *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan and Oswald*, eds. Andrew Turner and Bernard Muir (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), pp. xxv-xxvi.

⁴¹ The manuscript tradition of *Vita Anselmi* is outlined in VA, pp. xiii-xxiv.

Historia novorum are two copies in Eadmer's own hand, which survive in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 341, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 452.⁴² The latter survives in its entirety, while the former is fragmentary. Although these are now absent from the Corpus Christi 371 collection, Southern has presented convincing evidence to suggest that the first version of this text probably also occupied space within the same volume, before its removal and continuation after c.1116.⁴³

Symeon of Durham lived and worked at Durham's Cathedral Priory from the beginning of the 1090s down to his death at the end of the 1120s.⁴⁴ Surviving manuscript evidence suggests that he made notable contributions to the intellectual and spiritual life of his community during these years. Between c.1104 and 1107x15, Symeon wrote a locally-focused history of the community of St Cuthbert generally referred to by modern scholars as the *Libellus de exordio*, which he noted had been officially sanctioned by his monastic superiors.⁴⁵ Although he is almost exclusively known to modern commentators for this work, David Rollason and Michael Gullick have identified a wide pool of manuscript evidence which records Symeon's activities in Durham.⁴⁶ Through this evidence, it is possible to witness the evolution of Symeon's career from scribe to decorator and supervisor of Durham book production.⁴⁷ While he remained active in these roles throughout his life, manuscript evidence shows that Symeon composed at least one treatise which collected counter-arguments against Origen's theories of sin and redemption in 1119x1120; produced or helped to oversee at least three collections of historical annals from around 1115 to the end of the 1120s; served as Durham's cantor from at least 1126, and also produced a range of administrative records throughout his time in Durham.⁴⁸

⁴² Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 372-3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 368-9. Eadmer's autograph *Historia novorum* is now found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 452.

⁴⁴ Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 14-31, at pp. 18-22; *LDE*, pp. xlv-l.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁶ Gullick, 'Scribes'; Gullick, 'Hand'; *LDE*, pp. xlv-l.

⁴⁷ Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 18-22.

⁴⁸ Richard Sharpe, 'Symeon, Hildebert, and the Errors of Origen' in *Symeon: Historian*, pp. 282-300; On Symeon's annals, see: *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, ed. Thomas Arnold, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1882-5), vol. 2, pp. ix-xxv; H.S. Offler, *Medieval Historians of Durham* (Durham, 1958), pp. 8-9 (reprinted in H.S. Offler, *North of the Tees: Studies in Medieval British History*, eds., A. J. Piper and A.I. Doyle (Aldershot, 1996); P. Hunter Blair, 'Some Observations on the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham', in *Celt and Saxon*, ed. N.K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 63-118, at p. 112; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1, pp. 148-9; Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 21-2; Christopher Norton, 'History, Wisdom and Illumination', in *Symeon: Historian*, pp. 61-105, at pp. 101-2; J.E. Story, 'Symeon as Annalist' in *ibid.*, pp. 202-213; *LDE*, pp. xlviii-l; On Symeon as cantor, see: A.J. Piper, 'The Durham Cantor's Book (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.24)', in *Anglo-Norman Durham: 1093-1193*, eds. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 79-92, especially at 88-

Orderic Vitalis lived and worked at the monastery of Saint-Évroul in southern Normandy from his arrival as an oblate aged ten on 21st September 1085 until his death in 1141 or 1142.⁴⁹ Two autobiographical sections of his *Historia ecclesiastica* state that Orderic was born in 1075 to father Odelerius of Orléans at Atcham in modern-day Shropshire, that he received his early education in nearby Shrewsbury between the ages of five and ten, and that he arrived at Saint-Évroul in 1085.⁵⁰ The final section of the entire *Historia* records that Orderic was writing in his sixty-seventh year, and claiming that he was ‘worn out with age and infirmity’,⁵¹ it is likely that, writing in either 1141 or 1142, Orderic died not long after, probably on 13 July, as suggested by the entry ‘*Ordricus*’ in a contemporary calendar entry from Saint-Évroul.⁵² A number of scholars have made efforts to identify and profile the range and character of Orderic’s scribal contributions to surviving manuscripts, of which a total of fourteen have been located so far.⁵³ Although not all have been precisely dated, those whose dates are known chart Orderic’s progression from junior scribe and collaborator to sole copyist and interpolator by the mid-1090s. These materials show Orderic active in copying and compiling works with historical contents including narrative histories, sacred biography and historical annals. In addition, other items also show his activities in other subject areas, including Latin poetry, theology, and biblical exegesis, and show Orderic’s wider interest in various areas of the wider monastic curriculum.

Although well-known, Eadmer, Orderic and Symeon make particularly good subjects for this study. A comparative case serves to make this point. John of Worcester’s contemporary *Chronicon ex chronicis* provides a useful example of the ways in which the past was collected, studied and analysed.⁵⁴ Surviving in various redactions, John’s *Chronicon* illustrates history in action, as a cumulative and collaborative exercise. However, examination of John’s text, and in

90; Gullick, ‘Scribes’, pp. 108-9; Gullick, ‘Hand’, pp. 20-21; *LDE*, p. xliii; for Symeon’s administrative documents, see: Gullick, ‘Hand’, pp. 26, 28 and 30.

⁴⁹ The major studies of Orderic’s life and works are: Léopold Delisle, ‘Notice Sur Orderic Vital’, in *Orderici Vitalis ecclesiasticae historiae libri tredecim*, ed. ad trans., A. Le Prévost, 5 vols. (Paris: Société de l’histoire de France, 1838-5), vol. 5, pp. i-cvi; Hans Wolter, *Ordericus Vitalis; ein Beitrag zur kluniazensischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1955); *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 1-128; Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman monks and Norman knights* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1984).

⁵⁰ *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 6-9; *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 550-557.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 550-1.

⁵² Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms Latin 10062, fol. 19v, as noted in *HE*, vol. 1, p. 113, note 1, and Chibnall, *World*, p. 41.

⁵³ Delisle, ‘Notice’, pp. xciii-xcv; Lair, ‘Matériaux’, pp. 13-16; *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 201-3; Escudier, ‘Orderic et le scriptorium’.

⁵⁴ *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. R.R. Darlington and P. McGurk, trans. J. Bray and P. McGurk, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995-).

particular the career and authorial role of John himself, remains a complex and contested area. Gransden was uncertain over the exact authorial roles played by John and his contemporary, Florence, and while this uncertainty has now been largely addressed, difficulties remain.⁵⁵ The authoritative edition of this text remains incomplete, limiting the suitability of the text for the current project when compared with more readily available material in the works of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic.

Almost at the other extreme, William of Malmesbury's three major historical works, the *Gesta regum Anglorum*, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, and *Historia novella*, provide three of the best-known historical texts from one of the most well-known authors of the age.⁵⁶ As a result, William's works have attracted significant scholarly attention, including that of Thomson and Sønnesyn.⁵⁷ William's conception of history is not in such urgent need of exploration; indeed the present discussion can function, in part, as a comparative measure for the scholarly consensus on William's methods, the place of history within his mental and physical worlds and his motives for writing.

Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* is a similarly well-known text, which provides a wealth of material towards the investigation of twelfth-century historiography.⁵⁸ Henry's work sheds important light on the methods by which he judged the course of world history and the significance of events in his own lifetime, while further illuminating twelfth-century views of history as a vehicle for moral instruction. However, Henry's status as a secular cleric carries very different issues in terms of establishing the significance, or not, of the immediate environment in which he composed his historical works. While it places him outside of the particular Benedictine context in which Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic worked, it is also more difficult to demonstrate that Henry spent the greater part of his time in one location of study, as it is for monastic scholars, nor do we know the true extent to which Henry's role as archdeacon allowed

⁵⁵ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1, pp. 143-4.

⁵⁶ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum*; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*; William of Malmesbury, *Historia novella: the Contemporary history*, ed. Edmund King, trans. K.R. Potter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

⁵⁷ R.M. Thomson, 'The Reading of William of Malmesbury', *Revue bénédictine* 85: 3-4 (1975) 362-402; Thomson, 'The Reading of William of Malmesbury: addenda and corrigenda', *Revue bénédictine* 86: 3-4 (1976) 327-35; Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury as Historian and Man of Letters', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 29:4 (1978) 387-413; Thomson, 'The Reading of William of Malmesbury: further additions and reflections', *Revue bénédictine* 89: 3-4 (1979) 313-24; Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003); Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury and the Latin Classics revisited', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 129 (2005) 383-93; Sønnesyn, *Ethics of History*.

⁵⁸ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*.

him to pursue his own studies, as Eadmer, Symeon, and Orderic can be shown to have done during their careers as monastic scholars. Without this, it is not possible to provide as comprehensive a picture of Henry's intellectual experiences as is possible for the three main authors featured within this thesis.

Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic, by contrast, offer a sound basis for a comparative analysis of the ways in which and the reasons for which the past was studied by a select group of Anglo-Norman monastic polymathic scholars. The discussions featured within this PhD thesis will show that Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic were all involved in multiple exercises which brought them into contact with the study and writing of texts relating to past events and individuals. While all will be considered within the analysis of chapters five, six and seven, below, much of the examination which follows will focus on their best-preserved works, namely: Eadmer's *Historia novorum* and its twin, the *Vita et conversatione Anselmi*; Symeon's *Libellus de exordio*, his annals and the contemporary *Durham historia regum*; Orderic's interpolated version of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* of William of Jumièges, and his *Historia ecclesiastica*. These works allow the detailed analysis of each author's experiences of the study and writing of the past, and well convey the idiosyncratic nature of historical writing in the period.

This thesis is organised using the following structure. Chapter two outlines the development of modern scholarship surrounding the study of historical writing in the Middle Ages, locating the present study within the existing field and outlining the intellectual rationale of this research in more detail. Chapter three introduces criteria through which it is possible to create a framework for the study of the past in the medieval period, and outlines several categories of texts which feature in the corpus of works produced by Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic. In doing so, this highlights several of the difficulties associated with examining and codifying exactly what can be meant by a 'historical' text, and clarifies the parameters by which such distinctions are applied within the remainder of the thesis, following those likely to have been understood by Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic.

Chapter four presents the first chapter of analysis, making extensive use of three appendices in order to provide an exploratory overview of the intellectual contexts at Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul during the relevant periods, with particular emphasis on identifying the

provision and potential roles of historical texts (as defined within chapter three) within this.⁵⁹ Chapters five, six, and seven provide in-depth analysis of the extent to which Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic studied and wrote about the past. Each chapter examines some of the possible reasons why these authors were interested in the past, how they were able to access it, and the possible relationships that their historical texts may have had with other areas of monastic life and studies. Within these chapters, particular emphasis is placed on the following areas of interest: their interaction with and use of potential sources and models of historiography housed both at home and in external collections; their experiences of and possible contributions to the wider curriculum of studies at each institution; their possible training and development as students and authors of the past; and their presentation and articulation of their role in the study of the past.

Concluding chapter eight reviews the results of this analysis and suggests several potential conclusions regarding the study of the past by Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic. It will be suggested that the three principal works produced by each (that is, Eadmer's *Historia novorum*, Symeon's *Libellus* and Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica*) are highly individualised works which bear the particular marks of their respective authors and the circumstances through which they were written. This conclusion proposes that the examples of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic provide valuable evidence to suggest that the study and writing of the past in the Anglo-Norman historiographical turn owed much to contemporary circumstances, but that the most important aspect of these circumstances was their own individual experience of the monastic intellectual and textual culture in and for which these authors wrote, which, although influenced by external concerns, was fundamentally rooted in the institutions of monastic devotional life recorded within their works.

⁵⁹ These appendices are not included within the word count of this thesis.

Chapter 2: Previous Approaches, Theoretical, and Methodological Considerations

As indicated in the previous chapter, Eadmer of Canterbury's *Historia novorum in Anglia*, Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio*, and the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Orderic Vitalis provide three of the best-known and most widely-consulted sources for the study of Anglo-Norman history, society and culture. Eadmer's *Historia novorum* was first edited in 1623.⁶⁰ The editorial tradition of Symeon's *Libellus de exordio* dates back to 1652, with subsequent editions appearing in 1732, 1882-5, and the most recent edition in 2000.⁶¹ Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* has likewise received considerable editorial attention dating back to 1619, with sections from, or all of, the text printed in 1723, 1807, 1855, and 1838-55, and most recently, between 1968 and 1980.⁶² The production of editions and translations has, in the case of the three authors considered here, gone hand in glove with extensive use of their works within historical interpretation.

The ubiquity of historical authors and their works within Anglo-Norman scholarship is easily demonstrated by the example of Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica*. The text remains a staple for research into a variety of subject areas, including wider surveys and interpretations of Norman history, biographical studies of Anglo-Norman kingship and rulership, studies of the Anglo-Norman church, and the development of eleventh- and twelfth-century warfare.⁶³ Likewise,

⁶⁰ *Eadmeri Historia*, p. ix.

⁶¹ *LDE*, pp. xci-xcii.

⁶² *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 115-118; *HE*.

⁶³ For wider studies of Anglo-Norman history, see: Douglas, *Norman Achievement*; Davis, *The Normans and their Myth*; Jack Lindsay, *The Normans and Their World* (Abingdon: Purnell Book Services, 1977); David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London: Longman, 1982); Brown, *The Normans*; Emily Albu, *The Normans in their Histories: Propaganda, Myth and Subversion* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001); Marjorie Chibnall, *The Normans* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001); Webber, *Evolution of Norman Identity*; Dan Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); for Anglo-Norman rulers, see: David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (London: Philip, 1989); C. Warren-Hollister, *Henry I*, ed. and completed by Amanda Clark Frost (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Judith A. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); for a review of this approach, see: David Bates, 'The Conqueror's Earliest Historians and the Writing of His Biography' in *Writing Medieval Biography*, ed., Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 129-141; for the Anglo-Norman church, see: Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154* (London: Longman, 1979); Véronique Gazeau, 'Les abbés bénédictins de la Normandie ducale' *ANS*, XXVI (2004) 75-86; for warfare, see: Stephen Morillo, *Warfare under the Anglo-Norman Kings, 1066-1154* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994); Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry: the*

Eadmer's *Historia novorum* has proved essential for studies relating to Archbishop Anselm and the Anglo-Norman church,⁶⁴ while Symeon's *Libellus* forms the bedrock for the study of early medieval and Anglo-Norman Northumbrian history.⁶⁵

Although these narratives have continued to act as stores of historical information and contemporary opinion throughout the development of Anglo-Norman studies, there have been caveats raised as to how much more nuanced their interpretation aspires to be. A desire to use medieval works of history as something other than simple reservoirs of contemporary fact and opinion has been present and explicitly articulated in modern scholarship for the last two generations. In the 1970s, Southern argued against the tendency in which modern scholarship has been:

...content to use chronicles and histories of the past quite simply as quarries of facts that require to be sifted and purified in order to make them useable for our purposes...⁶⁶

At the same time and in a similar manner, Roger Ray summarised the ways in which modern scholars utilise contemporary historical narratives by suggesting that:

...the researcher takes his topic to the index of a printed chronicle, and if it registers a relevant place, he turns there and notes whatever seems worthwhile. This method, of course, varies according to the sort of history the scholar wishes to write. Recent research calls this extractive, one-dimensional reading of medieval historiography into serious question, for it has become clear that one must know a great deal about the nature of the whole text before very much can be decided with reasonable certainty about some part of it.⁶⁷

The comments of Southern and Ray were reflective of the opinions held by a growing number of medievalists whose work showed an increasing awareness of the dangers of this extractive

Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066-1217 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Marjorie Chibnall, 'Mercenaries and the *Familia Regis* under Henry I', in ed., Matthew Strickland, *Anglo-Norman Warfare* (Boydell, Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 84-92; J.O. Prestwich, 'The Military Household of the Norman Kings' in *ibid.*, pp. 93-127; Jim Bradbury, 'Battles in England and Normandy, 1066-1154' in *ibid.*, pp. 182-193.

⁶⁴ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*; Barlow, *The English Church*; Southern, *Anselm: Portrait*; Gasper, *Anselm and his Theological Inheritance*.

⁶⁵ D.W. Rollason, *Northumbria: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). See also essays in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, eds. Rollason, Harvey and Prestwich.

⁶⁶ Southern, 'Aspects 1: The Classical Tradition', pp. 173-4.

⁶⁷ Roger D. Ray, 'Medieval Historiography through the Twentieth Century: Problems and Progress of Research', *Viator* 5 (1974) 33-59, at p. 58.

approach to medieval historical works (often employing metaphors relating to the process of mining and extracting) and attempted to highlight the immense potential of reviewing medieval studies of the past through increased analysis of the original aims and purposes of their medieval authors. Walter Goffart criticised the methods by which historical texts had been ‘mined for information’, comparing them to an ‘ore sifted through a fine mesh of criticism, so that their evidence, suitably refined, might take its due place in modern narratives.’⁶⁸ Giles Constable commented that the prevailing ‘traditional approach towards medieval historiography’, was centred on identifying the apparent value and reliability of texts that were to be used as potential source materials, and suggested that for the majority of these scholars ‘the most important question about a historical work is the trustworthiness of the information it contains, not the point of view from which it was written’ and that ‘the first responsibility of a historian is to factual accuracy and objective truth’, rather than deeper engagement with the sources themselves.⁶⁹ More recently, Sigbjørn Sønnesyn has suggested that despite the efforts of Southern, Ray and their successors, such a problem still persists at the beginning of the second decade of the twenty-first century. He observes that ‘we very rarely encounter anything more than a passing engagement with the question of what the purpose of historical writing was’, and concludes that there is still much work to be done within the study of medieval historical writing:

...the study of historical texts has traditionally been conducted by historians mainly interested in uncovering as much reliable factual knowledge concerning the Middle Ages as our preserved source material may possibly allow - in other words, in conducting enquiries important and fruitful in and of themselves, but only tangentially concerned with investigating the matrix of values and presuppositions constituting the basic outlook within which these historical texts were being produced.⁷⁰

Generalised acknowledgements of debts to narrative sources are common enough. For example, Matthew Strickland noted that Orderic’s *Historia ecclesiastica* was ‘the single most important source for the study of contemporary warfare and chivalry’.⁷¹ Frank Barlow declared the *Historia* ‘without rival’, as a starting-point for the study of the Anglo-Norman church, and

⁶⁸ Walter A. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History, A.D. 550-800: Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 15.

⁶⁹ Giles Constable, ‘Past and Present in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: Perceptions of Time and Change’, in his (ed.) *Culture and Spirituality in Medieval Europe, IV* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), pp. 135-70, at p. 136.

⁷⁰ Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), p. 9.

⁷¹ Strickland, *War and Chivalry*, p. 12.

lauded Orderic's 'thumping monastic style.'⁷² Véronique Gazeau judged that without Orderic's work, her research into Norman Benedictine abbeys 'would not have been possible'.⁷³ More detailed evaluations of sources are less common, and range from brief, gnomic, statements to the more declaratory. Such evaluations can both heighten and diminish the reputations of medieval texts among modern readers. Barlow, for example, reacted to Orderic Vitalis' moralising tendencies by labelling him a 'gossipy, snobbish chronicler',⁷⁴ while John Gillingham lauded William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum* by declaring that it was 'brilliantly and often ironically written, full of cynical insights into human nature and spiced with entertaining and scandalous anecdotes, many of them set far away from England.'⁷⁵ Although both approaches represent well-intentioned evaluations of primary evidence, neither lends particular insight into the methods by which Orderic and William learned to conceptualise their roles as authors of two of the most widely-cited contemporary sources for the study of Anglo-Norman history.

It is almost too obvious a statement to observe that historical works from the medieval period bear huge differences in their content, form, and original intended purposes, from those of the present day. Orderic, for example, copied almost complete works verbatim, assimilating them into his narrative as second nature with the circulation of information more important to him than any notions of intellectual property.⁷⁶ His language was that of the monastic scholar, and was saturated with quotations and references to the Bible, and with prayers and requests to God found throughout.⁷⁷ The supernatural loomed large, with Orderic reporting past miracles and visions at every possible opportunity, and lamenting their perceived decline in his own day.⁷⁸

One result of the distance between medieval and modern perceptions of historiography has been a tendency amongst modern commentators to approach medieval historical writing with unjustified methodological criticism. An example of this appears in Richard Vaughan's review

⁷² Barlow, *The English Church*, pp. 12 and 20.

⁷³ Gazeau, 'Les abbés bénédictins de la Normandie ducale', p. 76: '*sans duquel l'entreprise aurait été impossible*'.

⁷⁴ Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 12.

⁷⁵ John Gillingham, 'Civilizing the English? The English histories of William of Malmesbury and David Hume', *Historical Research*, vol. 74, no. 183 (February 2001) 17-43, at p. 17.

⁷⁶ For examples, see *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 322-51, 3; vol. 3, pp. 55-70, 218-26; vol. 5, pp. 418-9

⁷⁷ For an overview of Orderic's extensive quotations, see 'Index of Quotations and Allusions' in *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 217-221; vol. 2, pp. 371-2; vol. 3, pp. 369-70, vol. 4, pp. 357-8; and 383-4; vol. 6, pp. 359-60.

⁷⁸ For some examples see *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 156-7; vol. 3, pp. 8-9, 225-6, 269-70, 293-4, and 347-8; vol. 4, pp. 18-9, 128-9, 162-3, and 236-51; vol. 5, pp. 100-3, 108-9, 284-7. On Orderic's lament on the decline of miracles, see *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 8-9.

of some of the differences between medieval historiography and that of the twentieth century, in which Vaughan observed that:

...in the middle ages, far greater liberties were taken with the past than are permissible now. The sort of manipulation, selection, and even invention, to which the past was subjected in the middle ages shows that, even if some medieval historians accepted the notion of God's plan at work in history, they did not scruple to revise that plan in the light of their own needs. That is to say, their theory was ignored in practice.⁷⁹

Vaughan, who added that 'the fabrication of the past was a major industry in the middle ages',⁸⁰ convincingly signposted distinctions between medieval and twentieth-century historiographical theory for potential researchers, even if he did not attempt to present and examine the conceptual frameworks that underpinned its composition in the Middle Ages, most of which were dismissed as mere 'lip-service'.⁸¹

The differences between the aims, methods, and motivations of the medieval historian and those of the present day are so pronounced, that the detailed study of medieval texts cannot be carried out without significant prior investigation into the mentalities and the intellectual culture of the medieval period. However, Vaughan's comments suggest that this was neither an aim nor an outcome of his investigation. In fact, in their efforts to evaluate the perceived worth or reliability of medieval sources, a number of modern scholars have been keen to apply value judgements. This approach is best illustrated in the first volume of Antonia Gransden's *Historical Writing in England*.⁸² Published in 1974, Gransden's aim was to introduce potential source materials for the study of English history, and to provide introductory commentary on what she described as 'what the student can expect to find in a specific work and what possible misrepresentations, resulting for example from political bias, local loyalties or literary mode, he must guard against.'⁸³ Although her work provided a critical introduction to medieval narrative sources, Gransden's method imposed modern value judgements on these sources throughout. She labelled Eadmer's discussions of the Christ Church relics as 'digressions', without recognition that Eadmer was an experienced and committed hagiographer, and that he had intended his history

⁷⁹ Richard Vaughan, 'The Past in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 12, no. 1 (1986) 1-14, at p. 11.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁸² Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. xi.

for a Christ Church audience, whose interests in such topics are self-evident.⁸⁴ Similarly, Gransden's declaration that Eadmer's use of the 'Canterbury forgeries' represented his 'his worst sin as a historian', included little analysis of how or why Eadmer had employed such materials in his writing.⁸⁵ In contrast, Gransden found considerable worth in the works of William of Malmesbury, but did so only because his methods, and in particular his engagement with and critical selection of source materials, earned the development of his works a position as 'an important landmark in historiography'.⁸⁶

This brief range of reactions to the nature of medieval historical writing has been listed in order to illustrate the ingrained habits of interpretation that exist in the study and use of medieval historical writing. In the words of Roger Ray, 'for reasons not hard to grasp, scholars...have with the best intentions fallen into the narcissism of seeing in medieval historiography little of worth if it does not somehow reflect their own narrative sense'.⁸⁷ To understand how this situation developed, it is necessary to conduct a closer review of the traditions in which the study of medieval historical texts has been developed. The study of medieval historiography has been carried out within much wider cultures of medieval studies, whose overall aims and inquiries have had a fundamental impact on the prevailing treatment of the medieval source materials used to carry out this research. Modern attitudes and approaches to the study of the past in the Middle Ages are therefore intimately linked to wider currents within the development of medieval studies as a whole.

In 2002, Peter Burke's review of previous academic engagement with the theory and practice of historical writing in the medieval period, suggested that the study of medieval historical texts and their authors was almost entirely absent from mainstream Anglophone scholarship.⁸⁸ He suggested that in comparison with Continental European traditions, and especially those of Germany, the British and North American traditions of research lacked a conscious and developed interest in the ways in which historical writing had developed through the Middle Ages. Burke declared that British academia was 'still sometimes viewed by foreigners as a land without historiography, in the sense of a place in which historians show unusually little concern

⁸⁴ *HRE*, pp. 1 and 229-30.

⁸⁵ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1, p. 141.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 175 and 185.

⁸⁷ Ray, 'Medieval Historiography through the Twentieth Century', p. 57.

⁸⁸ Peter Burke, 'Historiography and Philosophy of History', in *History and Historians in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Peter Burke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 230-249.

for the past of their own discipline', and suggested that this amounted to nothing less than a 'cultural resistance to historiography and philosophy of history' in British institutions, which was even judged as active in 'discouraging the next generation from entering this field'.⁸⁹

While the presence of this 'cultural resistance' may or may not be proven, comparison with the situation in neighbouring European scholarly traditions suggests that the study of medieval historical works within English-language scholarship remains an underdeveloped area of research. In particular, the German school has been regarded as the traditional forerunner in the progression of historiographical studies for which Thomas Arnold's statement in 1879 on F. Liebermann's study of Henry of Huntingdon that it was 'characterised by true German thoroughness' may stand as witness.⁹⁰

Although its roots can be traced back to the nineteenth-century professionalisation of historiography at Oxford in England, and in Germany under Leopold von Ranke and the increased rhetoric of science within historiographical debates, the study of medieval historiography gathered strong momentum among German scholars in particular during the second and third quarters of the twentieth century.⁹¹ A crucial difference from previous approaches was that the study of medieval texts was conducted for its own sake, rather than as a necessary prerequisite to wider historical research. Works by scholars such as Johannes Spörl, Heinz Richter, and Helmut Beumann, sought to standardise scholarly approaches to medieval historical texts and the vocabulary through which this was carried out, successfully combining consideration of '*Geschichtsschreibung*;' (historical writing), and '*Ideengeschichte*' (history of ideas).⁹²

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 230-1.

⁹⁰ *Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendenensis Historia Anglorum*, ed. Thomas Arnold (London: Longman, 1897), p. x.

⁹¹ On the development of historical studies at Oxford, see: Oswyn Murray, 'Ancient History', in *The History of the university of Oxford, vols. 6-7: the Nineteenth Century*, eds. M.G. Brock and M.C. Curthoys (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997-2000) vol. 6, pp. 520-42 and Murray, 'Ancient History, 1872-1914' in *ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 361-84; For Leopold von Ranke, see for example: *The Theory and Practice of History*, ed. and trans. Georg. G. Iggers, Wilma A. Iggers and Konrad von Moltke (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1973). For commentary on von Ranke and his influence, see: *Leopold von Ranke and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline*, ed. Georg. G. Iggers and James M. Powell (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990); John Kenyon, *The History Men*, 2nd edn. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1993), pp. 149-208 and John Burrow, *A History of Histories* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), pp. 428-33.

⁹² Johannes Spörl, 'Das Alte und das Neue im Mittelalter, Studien zum Problem des mittelalterlichen Fortschrittsbewusstseins', *Historisches Jahrbuch Der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 50 (1930), pp. 297-341; Spörl, 'Das mittelalterliche Geschichtsdenken als Forschungsaufgabe', *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 53 (1933), pp. 281-303; Spörl, *Grundformen Hochmittelalterlicher Geschichtsanschauung: Studien zum Weltbild der Geschichtsschreiber des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: 1935); Heinz Richter *Englische Geschichtsschreiber des 12*

By contrast, a series of nineteenth-century editions of historical texts and sources from the medieval period, which came to be known as the *Rolls Series*, articulate somewhat different values among Anglophone scholars working in the same period. These editions increased the potential for the discussion of medieval histories, producing and circulating critical editions of leading primary source materials based on scrutiny of surviving manuscript testimonies, and accompanied by extensive preparatory introductions. The overall aims of the series were reiterated on the opening pages of every volume published, outlining a collective desire to provide discussion of not only the methods by which the editor had arrived at his set version of the text, but also of the original development and composition of the work itself. According to this preface, each editor agreed to provide ‘an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities’, and ‘a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology’.⁹³

Despite its successes in augmenting access to chosen texts by medieval historians, the appearance of the *Rolls Series* did not spark wholesale scholarly engagement with the theory, practise and development of historical writing in the medieval period in Anglophone scholarship. Their ambitions were rooted in a tradition which sought to identify the origins and development of British constitutional history, and as such, the texts edited in the series were best used as sources for such enquiry, rather than as subjects for study in their own right.⁹⁴ Although a number of the editors acknowledged some of the wider influences that played upon the works of their designated historical author, with commentary on the author’s education, the works he had read or copied, and the resources of his home foundation,⁹⁵ this information was not used towards in-depth examinations of authors’ conceptualisations of history or their original aims and intentions in writing them. Comments on this matter were rare within the series and, when they did appear, seemed to suggest that the editors’ views were more influenced by their own nineteenth-century attitudes to history than by an awareness of original medieval constructs. William Stubbs’ evaluation of William of Malmesbury’s historical method provides a case in

Jahrhunderts (Berlin: Junker und dunnhaupt verlag, 1938), especially pp. 23-33, 58-62, 76-91, and 131-41; Helmut Beumann *Widukind von Korbz Untersuchungen zue Geschichtschreibung und Ideeengeschichte des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar, 1950), pp. 51-65.

⁹³ *Eadmeri Historia*, p. a2.

⁹⁴ For this view, see J.W. Burrow, *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

⁹⁵ For examples, see *Eadmeri Historia*, pp. ix-cxv; *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi, De Gestis Regum Anglorum libri quinque, Historiae Novellae libri tres*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1887-9), vol. 1, pp. ix-cxlvii; *Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendenens Historia Anglorum*, pp. ix-lxvi.

point. Adopting a retrospective view of William's works, Stubbs declared that William's methodology occupied a 'definite and distinguished place in the development of Historical study in England', and that his works occupied an important place in the 'working out of historiography'.⁹⁶ As such, Stubbs' criteria for assessment were entirely based on William's source citation and understanding of causality: essential criteria in the execution of modern historical research, but perhaps anachronistic when applied to medieval scholarship.

Evaluations of medieval historical sources by other editors within the *Rolls Series* employed similar value judgements. Perhaps the most marked example is the unforgiving evaluation of Henry of Huntingdon provided by Thomas Arnold. Arnold included no discussion of the methods by which Henry learned to conceptualise his role as an author of history, nor did he explore any of Henry's edificatory intentions, nor of the constraints pressing upon the medieval historian. Of Henry, Arnold wrote:

He was ambitious, but not laborious; literary, but not exact; intelligent, but not penetrating. He founded large projects, but was not able to execute them satisfactorily. His knowledge of the course of events, even in his own day, seems to have been very scanty. When it comes to moralising he is copious enough; it is when he ought to describe a complex transaction in full detail, so as to make it live before his readers, that he is so terribly curt and perfunctory.⁹⁷

Arnold's comments represent perhaps the most pronounced evidence of the nineteenth century scholar's preference for identifying the factual basis of medieval texts, over deeper explorations of the ways in which authors like Henry and their original audiences might have understood the study and writing of the past.

The legacy of nineteenth-century exactitudes and empiricism, combined with a continued desire for constitutional history, dominated the study of medieval historical writing in Anglophone scholarship of the first half of the twentieth century. An absence of specific studies surrounding medieval historical texts suggests that in utilising the editions of the *Rolls Series*, scholars happily accepted the authoritative introductory commentaries within. As a number of scholars, including Southern, Ray, Burke, and Sønnesyn have suggested, during this period medieval scholarship on and around the writing of history was not practiced to uncover the mentalities

⁹⁶ *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi, De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, vol. 1, pp. ix-x.

⁹⁷ *Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendenens Historia Anglorum*, p. lxiii.

which provided the context in which the essential sources on which more empirical historical enquiries were based.⁹⁸ Instead, this empirical approach sought to explain and justify the dominance of British constitutional history.⁹⁹ Within such a framework, the respective theories and justifications which determined the writing and contents of medieval historical sources were far less important than the story which could be reconstructed in modern times through the study and selection of their contents.

This situation began to change following the appearance of a number of influential studies of medieval intellectual culture. In 1927, Charles Homer Haskins' *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* depicted a marked revival of learning across Western Europe during the twelfth century, identifying the dissemination and influence of both classical and Christian models within this new and rapidly expanding culture of knowledge.¹⁰⁰ Although he did not conduct an extensive study of the ways in which historical texts featured within this, Haskins did at least identify historical writing as 'One of the best expressions of intellectual revival', and in doing so, provided a potential stimulus for further examination.¹⁰¹ Haskins' bold proclamation of a 'twelfth-century renaissance' encouraged a new generation of research into the intellectual history of the central Middle Ages. A key figure within this movement, Southern depicted historical texts as essential agents of a perceived humanistic revival in twelfth-century Europe,¹⁰² and labelled history as the 'strongest creative impulse' of early twelfth-century intellectual culture.¹⁰³ Although these broader discussions suggested history's place within eleventh and twelfth-century intellectual culture, Southern's most lasting contribution to the study of medieval historical writing came arguably in his series of four Presidential Addresses to the Royal Historical Society which examined 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing'.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ Southern, 'Aspects, 1: The Classical Tradition', pp. 173-7; Ray, 'Medieval Historiography through the Twentieth Century' pp. 39-42; Burke, 'Historiography and Philosophy', p. 233; Sønnesyn, *Ethics of History*, pp. 8-12.

⁹⁹ Burrow, *Liberal Descent*.

¹⁰⁰ Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press and London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1927), pp. 224-78. For discussion of Haskins, see: S.N. Vaughn, 'Charles Homer Haskins' in *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies in the Formation of a Discipline*, (3 vols.) ed. H. Damico and J. B. Zavadil (Garland, New York 1995), vol. 1, pp. 169-84, and N.F. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages* (Morrow and Co., New York 1991).

¹⁰¹ Haskins, *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, p. 224.

¹⁰² R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), vol. 1, pp. 208-214.

¹⁰³ R.W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), p. 160.

¹⁰⁴ Southern, 'Aspects, 1: The Classical Tradition'; Southern, 'Aspects, 2: Hugh of St. Victor and the idea of Historical Development', *TRHS*, fifth series, vol. 21 (1971), pp. 159-179; Southern, 'Aspects, 3: History as prophecy', *TRHS*, fifth series, vol. 22 (1972), pp. 159-180; Southern, 'Aspects, 4: The Sense of the Past'. Southern's

Southern's lectures drew a line under previous approaches to the study of medieval histories and proposed that his exploratory papers might provoke further discussion and research in what was at the time regarded as an embryonic field.¹⁰⁵

Ray's review of previous and then current academic research into medieval historical writing, noted above, appeared four years after the publication of Southern's first lecture.¹⁰⁶ In it, Ray suggested a reluctance to engage with medieval historiography among scholars of his own day. He proposed further that potential research into historiographical constructs in the Middle Ages was hampered by the problem that if they were to do so successfully, scholars required a near encyclopaedic knowledge of classical and Christian learning alongside deep engagement with contemporary conceptualisations of form and genre. Urging scholars to take up these challenges, Ray argued that it was 'imperative that the study of historiographical genres proceed on the basis of as much knowledge as can be gathered of the social settings and functions of medieval historical writing';¹⁰⁷ an instruction which Ray himself attempted to follow in much of his own subsequent work.¹⁰⁸

During the decades which followed, the study of medieval histories provided a steadily expanding focus of medieval scholarship. The 1960s had already seen Robert Hanning's *Vision of History in Early Britain*, which applied a literary approach towards his attempt to identify among early medieval histories, that which he described as 'the varying tinctures applied by men of the past to reflect to a variable but definite extent the chief concerns or dominant ideas of the age in which they write'.¹⁰⁹ Further developments in the 1970s include, as noted above, the first volume of Gransden's *Historical Writing in England* (1974), and although her evaluative approach has been criticised here, her survey has had an undeniable impact within research into

lectures were later collected in *History and Historians: Selected Papers of R. W. Southern*, ed. Robert Bartlett (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

¹⁰⁵ Southern, 'Aspects, 1: The Classical Tradition', p. 173. Southern too, acknowledged the rich German scholarly tradition in the philosophy of history on p. 173, n. 1.

¹⁰⁶ Ray, 'Medieval Historiography'.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁰⁸ For Ray's major works, see: Roger Ray, *The Monastic Historiography of Ordericus Vitalis* (unpublished PhD thesis, Duke University, 1967); Ray, 'Orderic Vitalis and William of Poitiers: a Monastic Reinterpretation of William the Conqueror', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 50 (1972) 1116-1127; Ray, 'Bede, the Exegete, as Historian', in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. Gerard Bonner (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1976), pp. 125-40; Ray, 'Bede's *Vera Lex Historiae*', *Speculum* 55 (1980) 1-21; Ray, 'Rhetorical Scepticism and Verisimilar Narrative in John of Salisbury's *Historia Pontificalis*', in *Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography*, ed. Ernst Breisach (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1985), pp. 61-102.

¹⁰⁹ Robert W. Hanning, *The Vision of History in Early Britain from Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), at p. vii.

English medieval historiography ever since.¹¹⁰ Appearing in the same year, Beryl Smalley's survey of *Historians in the Middle Ages* adopted a broad and introductory approach, supplying commentary on some of the themes outlined by Southern and Ray, with a broadly chronological narrative charting the development of medieval historiography introducing important themes for analysis, such as classical and Christian inheritances, and social and political triggers of historical writing.¹¹¹

Such studies provided much-needed introductions to some of the major types of historical texts and their authors, and suggested some of the underlying aims and contemporary perceptions of these works. A further evolved example of this approach can be seen in Bernard Guenée's *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval*.¹¹² Like Southern and Ray before him and the German school noted above, Guenée suggested that the previous study of medieval historiography had resembled a 'poor parent', in comparison to the study of later historiography, and proposed that the increased drive to present new editions of primary historical texts had heightened the importance of developing the field.¹¹³ Guenée attempted to place medieval histories back into their original contexts, analysing the terminology used to refer to history in the medieval period, the ways in which authors accessed and utilised source materials in their writings, and even analysed the role of history in wider culture, the *culture historique*, of medieval western Latin Christendom. As such, his chronological scope and methodological framework offers a benchmark of general surveys of medieval historical texts. Guenée's approach was similar to that followed by Hans-Werner Goetz in his 1999 monograph on historical writing and historical awareness in the medieval period.¹¹⁴ Like Guenée, Goetz sought to uncover not only the historical texts written in the Middle Ages, but some of the mentalities which had produced them, examining in the process the location of historical studies in medieval intellectual frameworks, and examining the status of historical studies in the Middle Ages.¹¹⁵

Interest in the study of medieval historical works continued to grow and scholarly approaches further refined during the 1980s and beyond. The expansion of studies in this area has encouraged, and benefitted from, the development of various sub-fields within the discipline.

¹¹⁰ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1.

¹¹¹ Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974).

¹¹² Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1980).

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16: 'L'histoire de l'historiographie médiévale pouvait sembler un parent pauvre'.

¹¹⁴ Hans-Werner Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im hohen Mittelalter* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999).

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-91 and 97-106.

The application of literary theory towards medieval texts has shed new light on medieval authors' perceptions of form, language and narrative style in their historical writings.¹¹⁶ The development of social anthropological theories of narrative has also left its mark on the study of medieval histories, offering fresh considerations of the functions that historical texts fulfilled within medieval society.¹¹⁷ The development of gender theory within medieval studies has also left its mark on the study of historical texts, opening new lines of enquiry into the attitudes of medieval authors and the societies in which they worked.¹¹⁸ The growing field of studies surrounding medieval constructs and uses of memory has also seen new approaches to the study of historical texts as repositories and disseminators of memory.¹¹⁹ A related field, the study of cultural memory and the growth of local and national identities in the medieval period, has also generated eye-opening new interpretations of historical texts as facilitators of communal identity.¹²⁰

Scholarly interest in the study of medieval historical texts, and the refinement of methodologies and terminologies through which this may be pursued, has made undoubted progress within the last two generations of scholarship. It is now possible to speak of a distinct body of scholarship surrounding the study of medieval historical texts, their authors, and their role in contemporary

¹¹⁶ For example: Partner, *Serious Entertainments: the Writing of History in twelfth-century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977); Monika Otter, *Inventiones: fiction and referentiality in twelfth-century English historical writing* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: the Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in thirteenth-century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Spiegel, *The Past as Text: the Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Damian-Grint, *New Historians*.

¹¹⁷ Hayden White, *The Content and the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987); Elizabeth M. Tyler, 'Fictions of Family: the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and Virgil's *Aeneid*', *Viator* 36 (2005) 149-179; Sarah Foot, 'Finding the meaning of form: narrative in annals and chronicles', in *Writing Medieval History* ed. Partner, pp. 88-108; Monika Otter, 'Functions of Fiction in Historical Writing' in *ibid.*, pp. 109-130; Robert M. Stein 'Literary Criticism and the Evidence for History', in *ibid.*, pp. 67-87.

¹¹⁸ Marjorie Chibnall, 'Women in Orderic Vitalis', *Studies in Medieval History* 2 (1990) 105-121; Jean A. Truax, 'From Bede to Orderic Vitalis: changing perspectives on the role of women in the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman churches', *Studies in Medieval History* 3 (1991 for 1992) 35-51; Elisabeth van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999); and essays in *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300*, ed. Elisabeth van Houts (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001).

¹¹⁹ The development of this field is best represented by: M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993); Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: a study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). For other, wide-ranging studies of memory and history see Jacques le Goff, *History and Memory* (Gallimard, 1988, trans. Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Calman, New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the end of the first millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); van Houts, *Memory and Gender*.

¹²⁰ Goffart, *Narrators*; Richard Wissolik, 'The monk Eadmer as Historian of the Norman Succession', *American Benedictine Review*, 30:1 (1979) 32-43; Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon and the Revival of the English Nation'; Shopkow, *History and Community*; Nick Webber, 'England and the Norman Myth', in *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters*, ed. Julia Barrow and Andrew Wareham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 211-228.

social and intellectual structures,¹²¹ and scholars such as Thomson and Weiler have built large portions of their careers around the study of individual historical authors and their texts.¹²²

Despite the significant advances in scholarly interest and methodological theory laid out in the above discussions, much more remains to be said and a number of problems remain. A common strategy in analysing the study of the past in the medieval centuries has been to examine the various ways in which medieval scholars may have understood the genre of ‘*historia*’. This subject will be discussed in more detail below, in chapter three. Here it is important to note that scholars including Beryl Smalley, Richard Vaughan, Janet Coleman, and Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis have used key texts which influenced medieval structures of learning, including St Augustine of Hippo’s *De doctrina Christiana*,¹²³ Cassiodorus’ *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum*,¹²⁴ and the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville,¹²⁵ in order to suggest that history simply did not exist as a recognised discipline or genre in the medieval period.¹²⁶ The argument featured in chapter three of this thesis suggests that in fact, there were several possible

¹²¹ As seen in specialist volumes including: *Le Métier d'historien au Moyen Age: études sur l'historiographie médiévale*, ed. Bernard Guenée (Paris, 1977); *La chronique et l'histoire au Moyen Age*, ed. Poirion; *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe: actes du colloque organisé par la Fondation européenne de la science au Centre de recherches historiques et juridiques de l'Université Paris I du 29 mars au 1er avril 1989*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991); *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2002); *Writing Medieval History*, ed. Nancy Partner (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005); *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*, eds. Elizabeth M. Tyler and Ross Balzaretti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

¹²² Thomson, ‘The Reading of William of Malmesbury’; Thomson, ‘The Reading of William of Malmesbury: addenda and corrigenda’; Thomson, ‘William of Malmesbury as Historian and Man of Letters’; Thomson, ‘The Reading of William of Malmesbury: further additions and reflections’; Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*; Thomson, ‘William of Malmesbury and the Latin Classics revisited’; For Weiler, see: B. Weiler, ‘Matthew Paris, Richard of Cornwall’s candidacy for the German throne, and the Sicilian business’, *Journal of Medieval History* 26:1 (2000) 71-92; Weiler, ‘William of Malmesbury on Kingship’, *History* 90:297 (2005) 3-22; Weiler, ‘*Stupor mundi*: Matthäus Paris und die zeitgenössische Wahrnehmung Friedrichs II In England’, in *Herrschaftsräume, Herrschaftspraxis und Kommunikation zur Zeit Kaiser Friedrichs II*, eds. Knut Görich, Jan Keupp and Theo Brokemann (Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2008), pp. 63-95; Weiler, ‘William of Malmesbury, King Henry I, and the *Gesta regum Anglorum*’ *ANS XXXI* (2009) 157-176; Weiler, ‘Matthew Paris on the Writing of History’, *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009) 254-278.

¹²³ *Sancti Aurelii Augustini, Opera*, ed. W.M. Green, *Corpus scriptorium ecclesiasticorum latinorum*: 80, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1963), vol. 6, pp. 63-5; for an English translation, see: Augustine, *On Christian Teaching*, trans. R.P.H. Green (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

¹²⁴ Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 55-7; for an English translation, see: Cassiodorus, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning and On the Soul*, trans. James W. Halporn with an introduction by Mark Vessey (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004).

¹²⁵ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911) (without page numbers); for an English translation, see: *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹²⁶ For examples, see: Smalley, *Historians*, pp. 12 and 15-25; Vaughan ‘The Past in Middle Ages’, pp. 1-2; Janet Coleman, ‘Universal History *secundum et physicam et ad litteram* in the twelfth century’, in *L'historiographie médiévale*, ed. Genet, pp. 263-75, at pp. 263-7; Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, ‘Introduction’ in her (ed.) *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, pp. 1-13, at pp. 1-2 and 10.

ways of theorising the study and writing of *historia* in the medieval period. However, conclusions will propose that while Smalley, Vaughan, Coleman and Mauskopf Deliyannis are essentially correct in their general conclusions, a more advanced understanding of why medieval authors such as Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic were less influenced by these theories of history can only be achieved by a more thorough analysis of their own individual experiences of the particular textual milieu in which they studied and wrote about the past.

This present thesis adopts this narrowed approach to the study of medieval historiography. Building on the growth of studies surrounding the textual culture of Anglo-Norman learning and combining this with past palaeographical examination of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's lives and works, this thesis examines the Anglo-Norman historiographical turn with fresh insight.¹²⁷ As noted in the introduction, this thesis develops the study of the various historical works produced in this context by turning to focus on their role within the specific Benedictine textual milieu of their composition. Several areas in particular will be emphasised relating to Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's experiences of and interest in the past, namely: their interaction with the historical texts known to have been present in their home foundations as sources or models for historiography; their training and development as students and re-constructors of the past; their training and development in other fields of learning and the relationship of these subject areas towards the study of the past; their authorship of original works relating to the past (including, where relevant, narrative history, shorter non-narrative chronicles, annals, and works of hagiography); their participation in public or administrative life and its potential relationship with historical writing; and, finally, their own descriptions relating to the nature and purposes of their principal historical works.

By exploring these contributing themes, the discussions which follow therefore place the study of the past and the composition of texts which explored this past, firmly back into its original compositional context. This is to take seriously Goffart's injunction that research into medieval historical writing highlights a need to 'grasp each author's work as an artistic whole, often illuminated by his other writings'.¹²⁸ In highlighting the mode of devotional life and associated

¹²⁷ For the former, see Nortier, *Bibliothèques médiévales*; Gameson, *MENE*; Webber, 'Monastic and Cathedral Book Collections'; Thomson, *Books and Learning*; Thomson, 'Monastic and Cathedral Book Production'. For the latter, see for Eadmer: Gullick, 'The Scribal Work of Eadmer'; Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 238, note 1, and 367-74; for Symeon: Gullick, 'Scribes'; Gullick, 'Hand'; *LDE*, pp. xlv-l; for Orderic: Lair, 'Matériaux'; *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 201-3 Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium'.

¹²⁸ Goffart, *Narrators*, p. 17.

educational structures in which Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic explored the past, this thesis aims to shed new light on the ways in which these authors engaged with their past, and how each made it relevant to their daily lives as students not only of history, but of a monastic, devotional life and learning which penetrated every aspect of their being.

Chapter 3: Definitions of History: Medieval and Modern

The place of history within Anglo-Norman structures of learning is one that remains disputed by modern commentators. As noted in the previous chapter, several previous scholars have argued that history in this period existed only as a subsidiary genre, which although able to make contributions to the pursuit of the contemporary *trivium* or to the revelation of sacred scripture, did not exist as a separate area of study or composition in its own right.¹²⁹ Other scholars have adopted the opposite view, including R.A. Markus, who suggested the existence of not only history but also of an entire sub-genre of ecclesiastical history, and Southern, who, in comparing the historical works of Bede and Eadmer, spoke of these texts as belonging to a genre which he described as ‘genuine history – history with a theme of some magnitude and a certain elevation of view’.¹³⁰

Exactly what Southern meant by ‘genuine history’ when referring to Eadmer’s *Historia novorum* is subject to interpretation. Elsewhere, he described the same text as ‘the first piece of large-scale contemporary historical writing in England after Bede’, and depicted Eadmer and his contemporary, William of Malmesbury, as ‘enthusiastic researchers into the history of pre-Conquest monasticism’ and ‘extensive historians of their own times.’¹³¹ In comparing Eadmer’s historical writing to that of Bede, it is likely that Southern sought to portray Eadmer as an author of that which is understood below as extended narrative history: that is, a depiction of past events all relating to a particular theme, presented within narrative form, and often featuring a narrative voice.¹³²

¹²⁹ Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages*, pp. 12 and 15-25; Vaughan ‘The Past in Middle Ages’, pp. 1-2; Coleman, ‘Universal History *secundum et physicam et ad litteram*’, pp. 263-7; Mauskopf Deliyannis, ‘Introduction’ in her ed. *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, pp. 1-13, at pp. 1-2 and 10.

¹³⁰ R.A. Markus, ‘Church History and Church Historians’, *Studies in Church History*, 2 (1975) 1-17; Eadmer, *HRE*, p. vii.

¹³¹ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 229 and 274.

¹³² van Caenegem, *Introduction aux sources*, p. 23; Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, p. 203; Gransden, ‘Chronicles of Medieval England and Scotland: I’, pp. 129-30.

The uncertainty over Southern's definition of history provides a good example of the complexities associated with interpreting the numerous types of historical texts which survive from the medieval period. It illustrates two major problems associated with the study of the genre. These problems lay first, in defining what constitutes a work of history, and second, in identifying the variety of purposes towards which such texts were intended. These two main issues provide the basis for the discussions of this chapter, which sets out the criteria through which the remainder of the thesis will discuss the study and writing of historical texts in the lives and works of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic.

A wide range of previous studies have sought to identify and define the numerous types of historical text which survive from the medieval period.¹³³ These discussions have regularly spoken of the problems associated with separating and defining genres of writing about the past which do not easily fit into rigid categories.¹³⁴ Elisabeth van Houts' study of local and regional chronicles provides a commentary on the problems associated with defining medieval histories. She notes that 'Although a distinction between 'histories' (*historiae*), 'annals' (*annales*) and 'chronicles' (*chronicon*) was recognised in the Middle Ages, these terms were never clearly defined. Indeed, they were used with extraordinary freedom, not only by medieval historians themselves but also by the scribes who copied their works.'¹³⁵ As van Houts demonstrates, one of Eadmer's successors, Gervase of Canterbury, distinguished and defined the two different genres of history and chronicle, but himself acknowledged that the lines of distinction were not always adhered to by authors writing in the twelfth century:¹³⁶

¹³³ For some major surveys of the genre, see: Poole, *Chronicles and Annals*; Bernard Guenée, 'Histoires, annales, chroniques'; Michael McCormick, *Les annales du haut moyen âge*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge, 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975); Karl Heinrich Krüger, *Die Universalchroniken*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge, 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976); Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 203-7; Guenée, 'Histoire et chronique: nouvelles réflexions'; Gransden, 'The Chronicles of Medieval England and Scotland: Part I', pp. 129-41; van Caenegem, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire médiéval*, pp. 23-80; van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*; David N. Dumville, 'What is a Chronicle?', *The Medieval Chronicle*, vol. II. ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 1-28; Martin and Thomson, 'History and History Books'.

¹³⁴ For example: McCormick, *Les annales*, pp. 11-2; Krüger, *Die Universalchroniken*, p. 13-6; Chibnall, *World*, pp. 169-77; Gransden, 'Chronicles of Medieval England and Scotland: I', pp. 129-30; van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, pp. 13; Martin and Thomson, 'History and History Books', p. 397.

¹³⁵ van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, p. 13.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13; Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1879-80), vol. 1, pp. 87-8.

There are many who write chronicles and annals, who exceed their limits...While they want to compile a chronicle, they follow the manner of historians, and what they should say briefly with a simple manner of writing, they try to swell with elaborate words.¹³⁷

Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* is deployed by van Houts as an example of the ways in which an initially localised history of a single institution could grow to become what she describes as 'a historical narrative covering the period from the birth of Christ to his own time and concerning the whole of Western Europe.'¹³⁸ Before Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's respective experiences of historical texts can be examined in detail, it is first necessary to clarify some of the ways in which they may have experienced the study of the past.

Throughout the introduction to her study of localised chronicles, van Houts suggested that distinctions between annals, world chronicles, local chronicles, genealogies, *Gestae* of bishops and abbots and histories were much more fluid than may be suggested by separating them into their respective groups, and indeed, warned of 'the dangers of treating one set of texts in isolation'.¹³⁹ Gervase of Canterbury's comments suggest that he at least believed in a distinct nomenclature of historical works, even if, as he claimed, they were not always followed. The exact titles through which authors and audiences referred to their histories demonstrate this fluidity between specific historiographical genres. Bernard Guenée suggested that while modern scholars debate the boundaries of annal, chronicle and history, the matter is further complicated by medieval authors' reluctance to give titles to their works, often preferring instead to refer to them simply as a 'small work', or 'little book' rather than more tangible alternatives such as 'history', 'annal', or 'chronicle'.¹⁴⁰ While an absence of labels may cause problems in and of itself, identifying which of the many possible labels to attach to a text causes further difficulties.

Whatever their various titles, medieval manuscript survivals have left a wide variety of texts which recorded details of events of personalities from the past. These exist from lengthy narrative histories of particular peoples, kingdoms or institutions, to short one-line records of

¹³⁷ Ibid., pp. 87-88: '*Sunt autem plurimi qui, cronicas vel annales scribentes, limites suos excedunt, name philacteria sue dilatare et fimbrias magnificare delectant. Dum enim cronicam compilare cupiunt, historici more incedunt, et quod breviter sermoneque humili de modo scribendi dicere debuerant, verbis ampullosis aggravare conantur.*'

¹³⁸ van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, p. 13.

¹³⁹ Ibid., pp. 13-5, at p. 15.

¹⁴⁰ Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, p. 203: '*Ne prenons pas au pied de la lettre les historiens qui nous parlent dans leur prologue de leur <opuscule>, de leur <petit livre>, de leur <petit opuscule>.*' This view was also expressed in McCormick, *Les annales*, pp. 11-2.

deaths or regnal years within chronologically-arranged tables. The list of books held at Saint-Évroul during Orderic's lifetime recorded a number of examples, including Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*, Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*, Josephus' *Antiquitatum* and *Bello Judaico*, Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, a *Gesta pontificum*, and an extremely wide variety of *Lives* and *Passions* of saints.¹⁴¹ In addition, manuscript survivals indicate that Orderic's community also collected William of Jumièges' *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (which was expanded though Orderic's additions),¹⁴² and compiled a collection of house annals; the latter were also accompanied by a necrology and a *liber memorialis*.¹⁴³ While it is certain that not all of these sources were written and circulated because authors or readers wished to learn more about the past as an end in itself, all of them can be seen to have carried the potential to inform their audiences about the past, especially following Hans-Werner Goetz's observation that history is 'what happened, placed in a temporal frame'.¹⁴⁴ Even if this definition referred to the concept of historical knowledge rather than the genre of historical writing, all of the examples noted above can still be said to have contributed to knowledge of history among their audiences, regardless of whether they belonged to the genre of narrative history or not.

Based on the contents of manuscript survivals, the three main sub-categories of histories, chronicles and annals may be accompanied by historical biography (and in particular, hagiography), and, linked to these, various other forms of short records of the lives and deaths of individuals, both past and present, including necrologies, obituaries, martyrologies, and *libri vitae*. Although discussions within this chapter will argue that these categories were not rigidly applied by medieval authors, these categories certainly did exist, and were articulated by several influential authors.

The first of these categories are those texts commonly known as histories, *historia*, or for the remainder of this thesis, 'narrative histories'. These types of historical texts are distinguishable through their nature as narratives written for posterity and for the transmission of ideas and contemporary opinions to later audiences, particularly through the deployment of a particular

¹⁴¹ Henri Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 2, pp. 468-469.

¹⁴² Appendix C, item 27. For discussion, see: *Gesta Normannorum ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Toringi*, ed. Elisabeth M.C. van Houts, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), vol. 2, pp. lxvi-lxxvii and ciii-civ.

¹⁴³ Appendix C, item 15.

¹⁴⁴ Hans-Werner Goetz, 'The Concept of Time in the Historiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, eds. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried and Patrick Geary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and the German Historical Institute, 2002), pp. 139-65, at p. 140.

theme or voice.¹⁴⁵ It is also notable that many examples deal with identity, whether local, national and regional, or ecclesiastical (especially in definition against heresy or threat to the unity of Catholic doctrine). Within this category, van Caenegem included works of church history, such as the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Eusebius and that by Orderic Vitalis, as well as histories focused on specific peoples, such as Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum*, and Isidore's *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum*.¹⁴⁶ As will be shown in chapter four, Eadmer, Symeon, and Orderic had access to models of this particular type of historical writing. These included church histories, such as Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*,¹⁴⁷ or Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*,¹⁴⁸ national and regional histories, such as Eutropius' *Breviarium historiae Romanae*,¹⁴⁹ and Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*,¹⁵⁰ and Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*.¹⁵¹

Collections of annals and short chronicles presented basic historical data in brief entries, commonly presented in tabular form but always in chronological order, and usually featuring records of either local or institutional events.¹⁵² At their most basic, annals and chronicles take the form of simple one-line entries within the annals of chronological tables in *computus* texts, while in their most advanced, both annals and chronicles may appear as texts produced in their own right in manuscripts designed solely for their compilation.¹⁵³ Modern commentators including McCormick, Gransden, van Caenegem, van Houts and Hayward, have discussed the blurred boundaries between 'annal' and 'chronicle' in the Middle Ages.¹⁵⁴ Symeon's Durham provides many examples, ranging from marginal tabular annals,¹⁵⁵ to longer and more detailed

¹⁴⁵ van Caenegem, *Introduction aux sources*, p. 23; also noted in Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, p. 203 and Gransden, 'Chronicles of Medieval England and Scotland: I', pp. 129-30.

¹⁴⁶ van Caenegem, *Introduction aux sources*, pp. 37-9.

¹⁴⁷ See appendix A, item 54 and Appendix C, item 86.

¹⁴⁸ Appendix A, item 14; Appendix C, item 35.

¹⁴⁹ Appendix A, item 55; Appendix B, item 114.

¹⁵⁰ Appendix A, item 55; Appendix C, item 155.

¹⁵¹ Appendix B, item 44; Appendix C, item 28.

¹⁵² For introductions on the nature of these texts, see: Poole, *Chronicles and Annals*; McCormick, *Les annales du haut Moyen Âge*; Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 203-7; van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*; Dumville, 'What is a Chronicle?'

¹⁵³ McCormick, *Les annales du haut Moyen Âge*, pp. 14-7.

¹⁵⁴ McCormick, *Les annales du haut Moyen Âge*, pp. 12-13; Gransden, 'Chronicles of Medieval England and Scotland: Part I', pp. 129-30; van Caenegem, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire*, pp. 26-32; van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, pp. 13-5; Paul Anthony Hayward, *The Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles: hitherto unnoticed witnesses to the work of John of Worcester*, 2 vols. (Tempe, Arizona: University of Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies Press, 2010), vol. 1, pp. 18-28.

¹⁵⁵ Appendix B, items 93 and 102.

annals,¹⁵⁶ and included one world chronicle.¹⁵⁷ In addition, the Durham *Historia regum*, compiled by Symeon and several contemporaries, occupies several genres at once. On the one hand, it is a shortened version of an *historia*; on another, a collection of saints' lives and passions, while on yet another level, it may be regarded as an extended collection of annals.¹⁵⁸

Various types of works may be placed under the umbrella of hagiography, or sacred biography, all of which carried and circulated historical information. Again, surviving examples from the Middle Ages vary in the range and extent of information recorded. Guy Philippart has identified fourteen different categories of hagiographical texts from the medieval period, but proposed that many of these typologies cross over into one another.¹⁵⁹ However, three major genres as outlined by Pierre André Sigal and van Caenegem. These are: *vita* and *passio* (a joint category, comprising accounts of the saint's life and deeds and often especially, deaths), *miracula* (records of the miracles performed by the saint both during and after their life) and *translatio* (accounts of the saint's cult after death, and in particular of the locations and treatment of the saint's body or other associated relics).¹⁶⁰

A further category of texts may be counted among the various sources through which Anglo-Norman authors came into contact with the past, and especially within the delivery of the monastic liturgy. Records of liturgical commemoration, including martyrologies, *libri vitae*, necrologies and obituaries, collected together the names of personalities, who might be monastic or secular, living or dead, in order to guarantee public ceremonial memorial, often in the offering of prayers or masses for the souls of the deceased.¹⁶¹ Both Dubois and Huyghebaert have noted that such items were often used within public settings, either in the monastic church, chapter, or the refectory.¹⁶² Although the contents of these documents were certainly not historiographical, the presentation lists recording the names of kings, bishops, and other secular and ecclesiastical

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., item 91.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., item 82.

¹⁵⁸ *Symeonis Opera*, vol. 2. For discussion, see: *Symeonis Opera*, vol. 2, pp. ix-xxxviii; *Gransden, Historical Writing in England*, vol. 1, pp. 148-51; *LDE*, p. lxxiv.

¹⁵⁹ Guy Philippart, *Les légendiers Latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge, 24-5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977) pp. 24-6.

¹⁶⁰ P.A. Sigal, 'Le travail des hagiographes aux XIe et XIIe siècles: sources d'information et méthodes de rédaction', *Francia* 15 (1987) 149-82, at p. 149.

¹⁶¹ For introductions to these types of sources, see: N. Huyghebaert, *Les documents nécrologiques*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1972); Dom Jacques Dubois, *Les martyrologes du moyen âge Latin*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge, 26 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978); Dubois and Lemaître, *Sources et méthodes de l'hagiographie médiévale*, pp. 60-160.

¹⁶² Dubois, *Les martyrologes*, p. 13; Huyghebaert, *Les documents nécrologiques*, p. 19.

personalities, usually in chronological order, communicated information relating to the past. Such texts can be regarded therefore, as storehouses of historical information which, although collected for liturgical purposes, had the potential to communicate knowledge of the past and the individuals from that past to large numbers of readers or listeners, when used within public ceremony.

As communities based on endowment, secular patronage and estate management, monastic and ecclesiastical houses in the Middle Ages collected a variety of administrative documents through which it was possible to discover events and personalities from the past. Records of possession and management of economic interests such as charters and accounts, or of monastic and ecclesiastical precepts and profession exist in large numbers from the medieval period, especially in Benedictine houses of ancient inheritance such as Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul.¹⁶³ Some foundations even compiled dossiers of these items in chronological order, creating cartulary-histories in the process.¹⁶⁴ Eadmer and Symeon both played active roles in the production of administrative documents.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic were all aware of the ways in which administrative documents preserved knowledge of the past. Each used sections from or whole copies of various land grants and administrative correspondence in order to compile their historical writings.¹⁶⁶ Due to the extent to which their histories did so, sections of Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* and Symeon's *Libellus de exordio* resemble the genre of cartulary-history. Orderic and Eadmer explained why this was a necessary aspect of historical writing. On copying William the Conqueror's charter to Saint-Évroul, Orderic wrote of its use 'for the information of future generations', and elsewhere lamented the loss of written records which could otherwise illuminate the picture of a lost past.¹⁶⁷ Eadmer too, acknowledged the 'inestimable benefit' of written sources for future generations, and noted that a 'scarcity of written documents' had blighted his attempts to discover the past.¹⁶⁸ The fact that Eadmer,

¹⁶³ For a review of these sources, see: Olivier Guyotjeannin, Jacques Pycke and Benoît Tock, *Diplomatique médiévale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993). On their role in local and institutional chronicles, see: van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, pp. 19, 27-9, and 32-3.

¹⁶⁴ For some important studies of these items, see: Jean-Philippe Genet, 'Cartulaires, registres et l'histoire: l'exemple Anglais', in: *Le métier d'historien au Moyen Âge*, ed. Guenée, pp. 95-138; *Les cartulaires: Actes de la table ronde (Paris, décembre 1991)*, eds. Olivier Guyotjeannin, L. Morelle and M. Parisse (Paris: Ecole des Chartres, 1993); K.S.B. Keates-Rohan, *The Cartulary of the Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel* (Shaun Tyas: Donnington, 2006).

¹⁶⁵ For discussion of these activities, see: Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production'; Gullick, 'The Scribal Work of Eadmer of Canterbury'; Gullick, 'Hand'.

¹⁶⁶ See for example: *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 116-211 and 226-65 and *LDE*, pp. 152-5, 166-9, and 180-1.

¹⁶⁷ *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 232-3 and 282-5.

¹⁶⁸ *HRE*, pp. 1-2.

Symeon and Orderic all explicitly acknowledged the importance of administrative records within their historical writings, ensures their place among the texts through which contemporary authors gained knowledge of the past.

According to the categories laid out above, subsequent discussions within this thesis will consider the following genres as ‘historical’ texts: extended narrative histories, chronicles, annals, works of hagiography, the numerous forms of short records compiled primarily for liturgical or administrative purposes, including necrologies, obituaries, martyrologies and *libri vitae*. While modern scholars might recognise the historical value of any or all of these texts simply because they preserved records of the medieval past in various ways, for medieval audiences immersed within the intellectual and devotional culture within which such works were created, understanding of their nature, intended purposes and relative historical value, were perhaps more nuanced and implicit. Understanding these various roles requires a holistic approach to not only the intellectual and textual culture of medieval monasticism, but also of the spiritual and religious foundations on which this culture of religious studies was built.

A window into this way of life and learning is offered by a small collection of works composed by leading patristic authors, whose later reception and influence may be seen to have shaped intellectual frameworks and contemporary definitions of learning in the Anglo-Norman period. St Augustine of Hippo’s *De doctrina Christiana*,¹⁶⁹ Cassiodorus’ *Institutiones Divinarum et Saecularium Litterarum*,¹⁷⁰ and the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville,¹⁷¹ were compiled as guides to the formulation of Christian learning. As such, study of their placement of historical studies within the overall mission of the Christocentric curriculum sheds important light on some of the ways in which they and their contemporaries approached the study and writing of history.

Compiled over the last years of the fourth century and the early years of the fifth, Augustine’s *De doctrina Christiana* was designed to enshrine the Christian models of learning, to separate them from those which he considered secular, and to direct them towards the fullest possible level of engagement with, and interpretation of, the Bible. The *De doctrina* was widely circulated throughout the medieval period, remaining a cornerstone of medieval, and particularly

¹⁶⁹ *Sancti Aurelii Augustini, Opera; On Christian Teaching.*

¹⁷⁰ Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*; Cassiodorus, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning.*

¹⁷¹ Although it was produced without page numbers, the best printed edition of this text remains: Isidore *Etymologiae*, ed. W.M. Lindsay. For an English version, see: *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney *et al.*

monastic, learning for the duration of the period. Although no copies from Eadmer's Christ Church or Symeon's Durham are known, the text was included in the book-list from Orderic's Saint-Évroul,¹⁷² and Gameson's identification of six surviving copies from Anglo-Norman England before c.1130 confirms that the text was certainly in circulation within the relevant period.¹⁷³

Identifying the significance of time and historical events formed a major strand for discussion within Augustine's corpus of writings. In particular, his *Confessiones* discussed theological questions relating to time, eternity, and creation,¹⁷⁴ while his *De civitate Dei* (and book nineteen in particular) used historical precedents to argue for the ultimate worthlessness of earthly human institutions.¹⁷⁵ In the *De doctrina* Augustine discussed *historia* only as a subject taught, and used in Christian learning and as part of an idealised Christian curriculum. This acknowledged the existence of 'the subject called history' among the canon of late antique learning, and suggested that it was typically encountered in the early years of education.¹⁷⁶

Despite acknowledging its presence within contemporary learning, Augustine's instructions stipulated that as a secular discipline, history was useful only by virtue of its 'greatest assistance in interpreting the holy books', and not as a subject worthy of study in its own right.¹⁷⁷ In particular, Augustine suggested that skills learned through the study of past events were to be directed towards understanding the sequence of events depicted within the Bible, which he claimed were often dated in terms of Olympiads or consular years and therefore open to misinterpretation.¹⁷⁸

The *Historiae adversus paganos*, written by Augustine's pupil Paulus Orosius at his master's request, adds further evidence towards understanding Augustine's views of historical studies. As a close follower of Augustine, it is likely that Orosius' version of history closely followed that

¹⁷² Appendix C, item 80.

¹⁷³ Gameson, *MENE*, p. 163.

¹⁷⁴ Augustine, *Confessions: books I-IV*, ed. Gillian Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 74-6; For an English translation, see Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 221-56.

¹⁷⁵ *Sancti Aurelii Augustini, De civitate Dei*, eds. Bernhard Dombart and A. Kalb, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955); for book 19, see: vol. 2, pp. 657-99. For further discussions of Augustine on time and historical events, see: R.A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) and Garry Wills, *St Augustine* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1999), pp. 91-8, and 113-26.

¹⁷⁶ Augustine, *Opera*, vol. 6, pp.63-5 at p. 63: '*ea quae appellatur historia*', and '*puerili eruditione discatur*'.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 63: '*plurimum nos adiuvat ad libros sanctos intellegendos*'.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 63; Augustine, *On Christian Teaching*, pp. 55-6.

prescribed by his master. As such, it reveals the extent to which it was possible to study and present a detailed account of ancient history under Augustine's plan, while at the same time providing an illustration of the ways in which history was to be utilised as a tool in the revelation of Scripture and divine agency, rather than as a means by which its readers could discover the story of past events as an end in its own right. Orosius' prologue acknowledged that Augustine had requested the work, asking him to 'set forth from all the records available of histories and annals', instances of war, disease, famine and natural disaster.¹⁷⁹ Orosius wrote that this was envisaged in order to demonstrate that pre-Christian times were 'the more wretched the more distant they are from the solace of true religion', and so that examples from history might prove that 'an avaricious and bloody death prevailed, as long as the religion which forbade bloodshed was unknown'.¹⁸⁰ Under Augustine, history was to be studied, but only because of its uses towards these higher purposes. Orosius' *Historiae* features among the few widely-circulated historical works found in multiple Anglo-Norman libraries, and as such had the potential to influence the study and presentation of the past in the eleventh and twelfth-centuries under the Augustinian model.¹⁸¹

Augustine's *De doctrina* provided a direct model for Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*.¹⁸² Writing in the first half of the sixth century, Cassiodorus sought to follow Augustine in defining the character of secular learning and suggesting the means by which these educational traditions could be directed towards the pursuit of Christian learning. Cassiodorus' stated ambition was to correct a situation where 'Holy Scripture should so lack public teachers, whereas secular authors certainly flourish in widespread teaching'.¹⁸³ Although neither Christ Church, nor Durham, nor Saint Évrout can be shown to have held copies during the Anglo-Norman period, Gameson has

¹⁷⁹ Orose, *Histoires (Contre les Païens)*, ed. Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet, 3 vols. (Paris : Les Belles Lettres, 1990), vol. 1, p. 8: '...ex omnibus qui haberi ad praesens possunt historiarum atque annalium fastis, quaecumque aut bellis grauius aut corrupta morbis aut fame tristia aut terrarum motibus terribilia aut inundationibus aquarum insolita aut eruptionibus ignium metuenda aut ictibus fulminum plagis que grandinum saeua uel etiam parricidiis flagitiisque misera per transacta retro saecula repperissem, ordinato breuiter uoluminis textu explicarem.'

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 9: 'Nactus sum enim praeteritos dies non solum atque ut hos graues, uerum etiam tanto atrocius miseros quanto longius a remedio uerae religionis alienos: ut merito hac scrutatione claruerit regnasse mortem auidam sanguinis dum ignoratur religio quae prohiberet a sanguine, ista inlucescente illam constupuisse; illam concludi cum ista iam praeualeat, illam penitus nullam futuram cum haec sola regnabit'.

¹⁸¹ Nortier, *Bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 223; Gameson, *MENE*, p. 178.

¹⁸² Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*: for discussion, see pp. ix-lvi and Cassiodorus: *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning*, pp. 3-101.

¹⁸³ Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, p. 3: 'gravissimo sum, fateor, dolore permotus ut Scripturis divinis magistri publici deessent, cum mundani auctores celeberrima procul dubio traditione pollerent'.

identified five manuscripts in England before c.1130, whose presence suggest that at least some contemporary centres of learning collected the text and observed its contents.¹⁸⁴

Cassiodorus discussed the topic of Christian historians (*De historicis Christianis*) in chapter seventeen of his first book.¹⁸⁵ This acknowledged a distinct class of Christian historical authors, many of whose writings had appeared in the centuries following Augustine's *De doctrina*. Cassiodorus listed some of these authors, including Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Orosius and also included the first-century Jewish author Josephus in this list. He claimed that these historians wrote of the 'changing events and transformations of kingdoms', and told 'the history of the Church and describe the changes happening throughout different periods'.¹⁸⁶ While it is perhaps significant that Cassiodorus did not count himself among these notable Christian historians, it is almost certain that his work in compiling his *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* influenced the presentation of history here.¹⁸⁷ A Latin abridgement of church history according to the authority of Greek authors Sozomen, Theodoret and Socrates, the nature of the *Historia tripartita* matches exactly that described in Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*. His work on this project therefore almost certainly infiltrated Cassiodorus's understanding of at least what history was, and perhaps also how it could be used.

Like Augustine, Cassiodorus highlighted the theological and exegetical valance of historical writing, noting that histories:

...inevitably instruct the minds of the readers in heavenly matters. For these historians insist that nothing happens by chance or because of the weak powers of the gods as the pagans did; instead they truly strive to attach all levels of providential guidance to the Creator.¹⁸⁸

In addition to these '*historicis Christianis*', Cassiodorus also identified a second class of texts which collected information relating to the past, which he knew as '*chronica*', and defined as

¹⁸⁴ Gameson, *MENE*, p. 166.

¹⁸⁵ Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, pp. 55-7.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 55, bk. I, ch. 17: '*vicissitudines rerum mutabilitates*' and '*res ecclesiasticas referant, et vicissitudines accidentes per tempora diversa describant*'.

¹⁸⁷ *Cassiodori-Epiphani Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, ed. Rodolph Hanslik (Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky: Vindobonae, 1952).

¹⁸⁸ Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, p. 55, bk. I, ch. 17: '*qui cum res ecclesiasticas referant, et vicissitudines accidentes per tempora diversa describant, necesse est ut sensus legentium rebus caelestibus semper erudiant, quando nihil ad fortuitos casus, nihil ad deorum potestates infirmas, ut gentiles fecerunt, sed arbitrio Creatoris applicare veraciter universa contendunt*'.

‘Chronicles, which are sketches of history or very brief summaries of the past’.¹⁸⁹ In this sense, *chronica* appeared distinct from *historia* due to the brevity of their entries. Cassiodorus noted that the first of these *chronica* was compiled by Eusebius, translated by Jerome, and then continued in subsequent redactions by Marcellinus of Illyria and Prosper, and suggested that other later authors would choose to continue this version of cumulative historiography.¹⁹⁰ This he had done already, in the *Chronica* which is attributed to him, and which appears as a series of consular and regnal biographies from biblical times to 519.¹⁹¹ As Augustine had stated previously, Cassiodorus echoed the suggestion that such histories were to be directed towards deeper, theological or moral, questions than simply the reportage of events. Perhaps with an eye to his *Chronica*, Cassiodorus urged his readers to engage with these chronicles in conjunction with Jerome’s and Gennadius of Marseille’s collections of *De viris illustribus*, so that the models of virtue identified by Jerome and Gennadius might be applied by the ‘diligent reader’ (*diligens lector*) towards the reading of more recent human conduct and historical events.¹⁹²

Isidore of Seville’s early seventh-century *Etymologiae* provided a guide to the literal and figurative reading of the Bible which was heavily copied, exchanged, and used throughout the duration of the Middle Ages.¹⁹³ Isidore’s text is encyclopaedic, with a focus on etymological discussion. Its popularity in the Anglo-Norman period can be seen through Gameson’s identification of twenty-two surviving manuscripts featuring either the whole or sections from before c.1130,¹⁹⁴ five of which are from Christ Church and Durham.¹⁹⁵ Isidore’s *Etymologiae* presented a lengthy definition of the term *historia*, which cited notable classical and Christian historical authors, acknowledged the various types of historical texts, and suggested some possible uses for the genre. Isidore acknowledged that histories had been written throughout human civilisation, noting Moses among the first Christian authors, and Dares the Phrygian, Herodotus, and Pherecydes, among the best-known pagan authors. Like Cassiodorus, Isidore also identified sub-categories of historical writing. His list included *ephemeris* (daily-kept diary

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 56, bk. I, ch. 17: ‘*Chronica vero, quae sunt imagines historiarum brevissimae quae commemorationes temporum*’.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁹¹ Cassiodorus, *Chronica ad a. DXIX*, ed. Theodore Mommsen (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores Antiquissimi, vol. XI, Chronica Minora Saec. IV, V, VI, VII, vol. 2) (Berlin, 1894, Munich 1981), pp. 109-61.

¹⁹² Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, p. 57, bk. I, ch. 17.

¹⁹³ For discussion of Isidore’s text, see: Ernest Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville* (London: Longmans, 1912, repr. 1972); Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville et la culture classique dans l’Espagne wisigothique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1959).

¹⁹⁴ Gameson, *MENE*, p. 174.

¹⁹⁵ Appendix A, item 120 and Appendix B, item 78, and extracts in Appendix B, items 62, 94, and 95.

history), *kalendarium* (or monthly-updated accounts), *annales* (accounts updated yearly), *historia*, and *argumentum* (plausible narration),¹⁹⁶ and since Goetz has observed that Isidore's discussion of *historia* was intimately linked to notions of time, each of these sub-categories can be seen to be divided by the differing lengths of time each featured.¹⁹⁷ The category *historia* was given an extensive definition. Isidore distinguished it from *ephemeris*, *kalendarium*, and *annales* by noting its wider scope recording 'many years or ages', and noted that while annals left spaces for entries not yet completed, *historia* recorded only events which had already come to pass.¹⁹⁸

Isidore defined an *historia* as 'a narration of deeds accomplished', and suggested that 'through it what occurred in the past is sorted out'.¹⁹⁹ According to Isidore, histories were also notable for their truthfulness. He stipulated history recorded 'true deeds that have happened', and that any other text which merely reported what he termed *argumentum*, or 'plausible narration', belonged to the category of fable, rather than history.²⁰⁰ Linked to this, Isidore also commented that the term *historia* was derived from the Greek notion of inquiry or observation. According to Isidore, the best form of observation involved literally viewing events as they happened, arguing of the importance of eyewitness testimony as follows:

...among the ancients no one would write a history unless he has been present and had seen what was to be written down, for we grasp with our eyes things that occur better than we gather with our hearing.²⁰¹

A number of modern historians have attempted to evaluate Isidore's belief in the value of eyewitness testimony and to judge the extent to which this precept was adhered to by medieval historical writers.²⁰² Elisabeth van Houts has argued that Isidore's description reflects that

¹⁹⁶ Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, (in which there are no page numbers) bk. I, ch. 41; *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, p. 67.

¹⁹⁷ Goetz, 'The Concept of Time', p. 141.

¹⁹⁸ Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, vol. 1, bk. I, ch. 44: '*Historia autem multorum annorum vel temporum est*'.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., vol. 1, bk. I, ch. 41: '*Historia est narratio rei gestae, per quam ea, quae in praeterito facta sunt, dinoscuntur*'.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, bk. I, ch. 44: '*Inter historiam, et argumentum, et fabulam interest. Nam historiae sunt res verae quae factae sunt. Argumenta sunt quae, etsi facta non sunt, fieri tamen possunt. Fabulae vero sunt quae nec facta sunt, nec fieri possunt, quia contra naturam sunt*'. For discussion of this distinction, see: Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville*, vol. 1, pp. 174-6.

²⁰¹ Ibid., vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 41: '*Apud veteres enim nemo conscribat historiam, nisi is qui interfuisset, et ea quae conscribenda essent vidisset. Melius enim oculis quae fiunt deprehendimus, quam quae auditione colligimus*'.

²⁰² Jeanette Beer, *Narrative Conventions of Truth in the Middle Ages* (Geneva: Droz, 1981), p. 10; Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville*, vol.1, pp. 174-85; Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 77-8; A. Cizek, 'L'*historia* comme témoignage oculaire. Quelques implications et conséquences de la définition de l'historiographie chez Isidore de Séville', in *Histoire et littérature au Moyen Age. Actes du colloque du Centre d'Etudes Médiévales de l'Université*

attitude of medieval scholars that ‘in theory, anything other than an eyewitness account was considered second-rate information and the further away the account moved from the original event the more its value decreased.’²⁰³ She suggests that even though authors had probably not witnessed all of the events which they recorded, the language used in historical writing often suggested that authors had witnessed or heard these events, whether or not this was necessarily the case.²⁰⁴ Similarly, Damian-Grint has commented that ‘an extraordinarily high degree of authority was accorded to eyewitness accounts in the historiographical tradition of the middle ages’.²⁰⁵ He argued for an ‘upsurge of interest in eyewitness narratives (in Latin) of contemporary events’, and suggested that the potential successes of narratives recording the events of the First Crusade in particular were often written by authors who stressed that they had witnessed the events described.²⁰⁶

Although discussions below will note that the extent to which Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic knew Isidore’s description of *Historia* remains unclear, what is certain is that all three attached importance to the value of eyewitness testimony, regardless of whether this was derived directly from Isidore or not. While he features as a protagonist throughout (with books five and six especially personal) Eadmer’s preface to the first book of the *Historia novorum* boldly declared that he would narrate ‘the things which I have seen with my own eyes and myself heard’.²⁰⁷ Both Symeon and Orderic included accounts of events which had come to them via eyewitnesses. Symeon’s preface pledged to record historical events which had:

...come to our notice through the truthful accounts of our elders, who had seen the events themselves or had often heard them related by their own elders who were religious and most trustworthy men and who had been present at them, or which we have witnessed ourselves.²⁰⁸

de Picardie, Amiens, 20–24 mars 1985 (Göppingen, 1991) pp. 69–84; Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, pp. 68–74; van Houts, *Memory and Gender*, pp. 19–62; Y.N. Harari, ‘Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade: the *Gesta Francorum* and Other Contemporary Narratives’, *Crusades*, 3 (2004) 77–99; Elizabeth Lapina, ‘*Nec signis nec testis creditur...*: the Problem of Eyewitness in the Chronicles of the first Crusade’, *Viator*, 38:1 (2007) 117–39.

²⁰³ van Houts, *Memory and Gender*, pp. 20–1.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

²⁰⁵ Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, p. 68.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 72–3.

²⁰⁷ *HRE*, p. 1; *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 1: ‘statui ea quae sub oculis vidi vel audivi’.

²⁰⁸ *LDE*, pp. 18–21: ‘seniorum autem ueracium relatione qui ea uel uiderant, uel a partibus suis uiris religiosi fideque dignissimis qui interfuere sepius audierant, ad nostram peruenerunt, uel que et nos ipsi uidimus’..’

Orderic too, drew on eyewitness accounts in both his *Historia ecclesiastica* and his interpolated *Gesta Normannorum ducum*. The reverence with which Orderic held William of Jumièges is expressed in several ways, but eyewitness testimony was chief among them. Orderic recognised that William had recorded ‘all the events which he had seen with his own eyes and in which he himself had taken part.’²⁰⁹ Although, as van Houts has suggested, adherence to the value of eyewitness testimony did not originate from Isidore’s account (rather that it reflected and perpetuated already long-established conventions),²¹⁰ the narrative histories produced by Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic suggest that this convention was still very much a guiding principle within twelfth-century attempts to discover and narrate the past.

In contrast to this lengthy description of the types of *historiae*, Isidore’s prescription for the ways in which they were to be used (*‘de utilitate historiae’*) was short and open to ambiguity. His suggestion that the reading of histories by non-Christian authors was ‘no impediment to those who wish to read useful works’, allows the assumption that the reading of these histories at least, was thought in some way less ‘useful’ than the study of other disciplines.²¹¹ However, Isidore also argued that all histories could be read in order to aid ‘the instruction of the living’, thereby suggesting that they could be used in the teaching of ethics and perhaps also in the search for evidence towards theological or doctrinal controversies, as had been suggested by Augustine and Cassiodorus.²¹² Although his commentary is useful in identifying some of the different sub-genres that medieval scholars may have placed under the umbrella of *historia*, the absence of a prescriptive tone complicates attempts to review his impact on eleventh and twelfth-century authors of history.

Some light on this issue may be shed through a reading of Isidore’s own historical composition. His *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum* is useful here in that it deployed the term *historia* in its title, and reflects in its contents, many of the themes discussed in the *Etymologiae*.²¹³ It features narrative histories of three peoples of late antiquity, with their actions and the succession of their respective rulers providing the particular unifying themes throughout.

²⁰⁹ Orderic, *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 184-5: ‘*quae oculis suis uiderit et quibus interfuerit.*’

²¹⁰ van Houts, *Memory and Gender*, pp. 20-1.

²¹¹ Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, vol. 1, book 1, ch. XLIII: ‘*Historiae gentium non impediunt legentibus in his quae utilia dixerunt.*’

²¹² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, book 1, ch. XLIII: ‘*Multi enim sapientes praeterita hominum gesta ad institutionem praesentium historiis indiderunt.*’

²¹³ Isidore of Seville, *Historia Gothorum Vandalorum, Sueborum-Chronica maiora-Chronicorum epitome*, ed. T. Mommsen, (*Monumenta Germaniae historica: Auct. ant.* 11, 1894, pp. 267-295); for an English translation, see: *History of the Kings of the Goths, Vandals and Suevi*, trans. Guido Donini and Gordon B. Ford (Leiden: Brill, 1966).

Isidore showed history's capacity to edify its readership, and in particular highlighted the relative moral and spiritual successes and failings of his protagonists. However, Isidore's *Historia* also illustrates the flexibility with which Isidore himself was able to utilise the genre. The short, episodic nature of the entries within the text, arranged chronologically by order of the succession of rulers and with as much biographical information relating to those rulers as historical information of the wider contexts in which they operated, again call into question the rigid definition of an *historia*. Although Isidore did not identify the genre known to Cassiodorus as *chronica*, (that is: 'sketches of history or very brief summaries of the past') the contents of his *Historia* are much in keeping with this definition.²¹⁴ As such, it is possible to argue therefore, that the rigid definition of history and its constituent elements are uncertain, even in the historical writings of those authors through which medieval audiences identified the sub-genres of historical writing.

Through the study of commentaries by Augustine, Cassiodorus and Isidore, it is possible to identify some of the major conceptual frameworks inherited by, and re-imagined by the authors of the early twelfth century. It is important to observe that all three of these authorities recognised *historia* as a distinct field of writing and study, and that they also used the term in their identifications. Whether they agreed that this should be the case or not, there is evidence to suggest that all acknowledged that *historia* involved the detailed study of the past as an exercise in its own right. However, Augustine, Cassiodorus, and Isidore all agreed that although this was the case, *historia* was in fact best used as a guide to research into scriptural and doctrinal affairs, rather than simply for study of past events as an end in itself. This operated on two levels. First, following Augustine, a historian's skill was necessary for calculating the exact chronology of events recorded in the Bible (and therefore in understanding the literal sense of scripture). Second, as agreed by all three authors and evidenced in the works of early Christian historians such as Orosius and Eusebius, the study of events in human history could shed important light on discerning God's purpose through humanity and provided moral examples for good Christians..

The question remains how far, if at all, these patristic and early medieval conceptualisations and definitions of *historia* and its genres were used by Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic, and their Anglo-Norman contemporaries, and how they defined other types of historical texts. Manuscript

²¹⁴ Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, p. 56, bk. I, ch. 17: '*Chronica vero, quae sunt imagines historiarum brevissimae quae commemorationes temporum*'.

and contemporary book-list evidence suggests that the texts were known or knowable within the period, but it is in fact difficult to demonstrate the extent to which this translated into active contemplation of the subject. Only Orderic, of the three authors, made direct reference to any of the earlier writings on the curriculum within a historical text. Even in this case Isidore's *Etymologiae* is deployed within his *Historia ecclesiastica* not to help define the nature of his historical writing, but alongside Jerome's *De nominibus Hebraicis* in order to define certain Hebrew terminology.²¹⁵ Although this use confirms that Orderic knew and used Isidore's text and suggests that he may have known of its definitions of *historia*, at no point did he use this in order to describe and to present the nature and purposes of his *Historia ecclesiastica*.

Despite these difficulties, it is possible to chart some routes through which Anglo-Norman audiences, and Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic in particular, may have inherited and responded to the visions of historiography as laid out by Augustine, Cassiodorus and Isidore. Discussions within the next chapter will highlight the importance of patristic learning within the intellectual environments present at the homes of all three Anglo-Norman authors. Furthermore, a number of the fundamental historical models through which Augustine, Cassiodorus and Isidore derived their prescriptions for Christian *historia* were available in numerous Anglo-Norman centres of learning. As noted above, Cassiodorus' construction of narrative history was based upon his knowledge of texts by Josephus, Eusebius, and Orosius: all authors whose works have been shown to have circulated widely throughout monastic and ecclesiastical libraries in the Anglo-Norman period.²¹⁶

It is possible, then, to suggest that Anglo-Norman audiences had access to similar textual influences concerning historiography, as were used by Augustine, Cassiodorus and Isidore in defining the genres of history. However, while it is likely that these important exemplars were available, the circulation of historical material and more general information about the past was not always collected for the purposes of historical research all of the time. As suggested by Augustine and Cassiodorus, historical texts existed in a wider curriculum of Christian studies: one which employed a holistic approach to in response to how to deal with original sin, and amongst communities in which knowledge of the past and its inhabitants was preserved and used for the instruction and in particular edification of its followers. It is therefore necessary to

²¹⁵ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 169 n. 2, 173 n. 2.

²¹⁶ Gameson, *MENE*, pp. 36-7. For their presence at Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul, see Appendix A, items 1 and 14; Appendix B, item 27, and Appendix C, items 35, 86, and 154.

consider some of the specific purposes towards which medieval audiences can be shown to have used their histories.

The fact that monastic libraries acquired histories, chronicles, annals and hagiographical sources at all remains significant: every written text produced in this period represented investment of time and resources. As a result, it may be suggested that some level of planning was involved in the expansion of libraries and book-collections in the Anglo-Norman period. Any number of the historical texts housed at Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul may have been acquired and used as sources for the study of the past as an end in its own right. Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic all displayed a knowledge and enthusiasm for the study of the past that was only possible to possess thanks to their unique personal interest in the study of past events. Despite this, it is almost impossible to argue that any of them had initially begun to read historical texts simply because they found them particularly interesting. We do know, however, that Eadmer, Symeon, and Orderic used historical examples as sources for further enquiry. Eadmer used several existing lives of Canterbury saints in his hagiographical research.²¹⁷ Symeon used several sources of local history in the compilation of his *Libellus de exordio*, and it will be suggested below that the initial collection of these historical resources may have been implemented with such uses in mind.²¹⁸ Orderic made use of a wide variety of historical texts as sources for his historical writing, and it will also be suggested that he regarded the provision of basic historical information as one of the historical author's primary duties.²¹⁹

A variety of additional evidence suggests that contemporary audiences applied their knowledge of past events, and the skills developed in the pursuit of history towards what they would have perceived as the revelation of higher truths fundamental to the vision of contemporary monastic learning. The information presented in extended narrative histories can be seen to have supported multiple subject areas. Several previous commentators have suggested that historical texts assisted in the delivery of early monastic education, and particularly in the subject areas of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric and logic).²²⁰ However, although Augustine's *De doctrina* acknowledged that history could be learned in the early years of education, it is unclear exactly

²¹⁷ Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, pp. lxix-lxx, 50-51, and 160-1.

²¹⁸ On Symeon's sources, see: *LDE*, pp. lxxviii-lxxvi.

²¹⁹ On Orderic's sources, see: *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 48-77.

²²⁰ Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 26-7; Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages*, pp. 15-25; Coleman, 'Universal History *Secundum physicam*', pp. 266-7; Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, 'Introduction', in her (ed.): *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 1-13, at p. 1.

how historical texts were to be used in this exercise.²²¹ Some uses can be suggested by considering the nature of some of the historical texts collected by Anglo-Norman audiences. For example, with its short, episodic and formulaic entries, a text such as Eutropius' *Breviarium historiae Romanae*, housed at both Christ Church and Saint-Évroul, might allow students to engage with manageable and clearly-divided extracts of Latin.²²² Longer, more developed narratives such as Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos* or Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* could further enhance the teaching of Latin, while also demonstrating the construction of a sustained rhetorical argument through the detailed examination of historical events and extended logical construction.²²³

As noted above, early Christian commentators, and especially St Augustine, also suggested that the study of history should be directed towards biblical exegesis, even if it was regarded by Augustine in particular as an especially secular discipline.²²⁴ Although later discussions will acknowledge that Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic all participated in the study of biblical exegesis, none of them wrote original works through which they might be considered as exegetes. As such, discussions featured in this thesis do not embark on a detailed analysis of each author's perceptions of the historical sense of scripture and the uses of this framework within their original historical writings.²²⁵

What was probably more influential was the notion of the moral and didactic usefulness of historical examples. In this way, historical texts also occupied space in the study of ethics.²²⁶ Cassiodorus suggested this when, in his *Institutiones*, he proposed that collections of past biography such as the two redactions of *De viriis illustribus* by Jerome and Gennadius of Marseille could be used to demonstrate models of good Christian life.²²⁷ In this way, Cassiodorus' regard for such texts might be seen as a forerunner to later edificatory readings of hagiography. Several well-known historical texts from the early medieval period also used

²²¹ *Sancti Aurelii Augustini, De doctrina*, p. 62: 'ea quae appellatur historia', and 'puerili eruditione discatur'.

²²² Appendix A, item 55 and Appendix B, item 114.

²²³ For copies at Christ Church and Saint-Évroul, see Appendix A, item 54; Appendix C, items 35 and 86.

²²⁴ *Sancti Aurelii Augustini, De doctrina*, p. 63; On this, see: Smalley, *Historians*, pp. 27-49; Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 29-30; Nico Lettinck, 'Comment les historiens de la première moitié du XIIe siècle jugent-ils leur temps?' *Journal des savants* (1984) 51-77, at p. 54; Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: the Writing of History in Medieval England* (Hambleton and London: London, 2004), pp. 21-37.

²²⁵ For discussion, see Henri De Lubac, *Exegese medievale: le quatre sense de l'écriture*, 4 vols. (1959); Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 19-31; Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edition. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

²²⁶ Sønnesyn, *Ethics of History*, especially at pp. 76-9.

²²⁷ Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, p. 57.

history to highlight the ills of the secular world, most notable of which was Orosius' *Historiae*. Sønnesyn has suggested that William of Malmesbury carried out this task with a highly significant depth of moral and ethical philosophical training,²²⁸ and later discussions will argue that Orderic too, saw this as a key facet of his task as an author of history.²²⁹

As accounts of particularly holy and venerated individuals, hagiographical texts such as the *vita*, *miracula* and *translation* undoubtedly contributed to the means through which historical texts (or in this case, texts with historical information in them) contributed to the edification of their audiences. The possible uses of hagiographical texts have been commented on at length, and include assistance in the delivery of public readings on or around the date of a saint's feast day, as edificatory reading either in public or in private, as evidence for the piety of the particular community in which the saint lived or with which saints interacted, or, and especially in the case of relics, as proof of ownership and association with the saint and his or her cult.²³⁰ However, by their very nature as records of particular individuals whose lives had shown themselves to have been particularly pious, devout or miraculous in either deed or action, hagiographical sources automatically collected and circulated information on past individuals. Since almost every hagiographical record preserved and circulated the memory of a subject who was deceased, each of these therefore propagated information relating to the past. Commenting on this, van Houts has suggested that many surviving examples of saints' lives and miracles 'are in fact histories of the institutions where the saint lived or where the relic was discovered or housed', and in this way, occupy space in both the genres of hagiography and in local and regional history,²³¹ while Dubois and Lemaître argued that the disciplines of history and hagiography were simply impossible to separate during the Middle Ages.²³² In stipulating that his *Historia novorum* and *Vita Anselmi* were to be read in tandem, Eadmer suggested that while he saw the need to separate

²²⁸ Sønnesyn, *Ethics of History*.

²²⁹ For discussion, see Lucien Musset, 'L'horizon géographique, moral et intellectuel d'Orderic vital, historien Anglo-Normand', in *La chronique et l'histoire*, ed. Poirion, pp. 101-22; Lettinck, 'Comment les historiens jugeaient-ils leur temps?.'

²³⁰ Philippart, *Les légendiers et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, 30-2; Dom Jacques Dubois and Jean-Loup Lemaître, *Sources et méthodes de l'hagiographie médiévale* (Paris: Le Cerf, 1993), pp. 21-2; Sigal 'Le travail des hagiographes'; van Caenegem, *Introduction aux sources*, pp. 74-80. For further discussion of the circulation of hagiographical texts, see essays in *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'occident médiéval*, eds. Monique Goullet and Martin Heinzelmann (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2003); *Miracles, vies et réécritures dans l'occident médiéval* eds. Monique Goullet and Martin Heinzelmann (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2006); and Monique Goullet, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques: Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval (VIIIe-XIIIe s.)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

²³¹ van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, p. 15.

²³² Dubois and Lemaître, *Sources et méthodes de l'hagiographie*, p. 1: 'Les sources et méthodes de l'histoire monastique sont associées à celles de l'hagiographie, car elles sont indissociables au Moyen Âge.'

on the one hand an account of the wider context in which Anselm lived and on the other an intimate biography of Anselm's life and miracles, he nevertheless considered both as part of an overall project.²³³

It is possible to speculate further on some of the links between historical and hagiographical texts in the Middle Ages. Several scholars, including Delehaye, Aigrain, Dubois and Lemaître, Sigal, and Goulet, have commented that authors of hagiography often followed similar methodologies to those involved in the writing of historical texts.²³⁴ Sigal in particular, has commented on this point at length. He suggested that in seeking to preserve the memory of a saint's actions and the development of their associated cult for posterity, eleventh and twelfth-century hagiographers 'behaved like historians'.²³⁵ Certainly, Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic each at certain points wrote that their histories shared this goal, with all three professing a common desire that their historical works would save the memory of past events from extinction at different points in their historical narratives.²³⁶ This is unlikely to have been coincidental. Later discussions will show Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic to have all been involved in the copying, writing or re-writing of hagiographical texts, so all were effectively at the same time hagiographers and historians. In occupying these twin roles (or perhaps, a single role that was one and the same) Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic were able to apply the study of history towards that of hagiography, and, as will be argued below, added hagiography to their histories.²³⁷

Shorter histories such as annals and chronicles can be shown to have served multiple scholastic purposes. Although these records offered brief skeletal historical narratives of secular and ecclesiastical successions, the truncated nature of their entries, which are often made within the margins of apparently more important information such as Easter tables, suggests that historical enquiry was not the main intended use of such texts.²³⁸ While Michael McCormick has suggested the existence of a separate sub-genre of annals whose contents appear solely directed towards historical curiosity, Paul Hayward has collected a number of examples of Anglo-Norman annals in order to argue that several are located in manuscript contexts which suggest

²³³ Eadmer, *VA*, pp. 1-2.

²³⁴ Delehaye, *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique* (Brussels, 1934), pp. 7-8; René Aigrain, *L'hagiographie, ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1953), p. 7; Dubois and Lemaître, *Sources et méthodes de l'hagiographie médiévale*, pp. 1-2; Sigal 'Le travail des hagiographes', pp. 149-152; Goulet, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques*, pp. 230-1.

²³⁵ Sigal 'Le travail des hagiographes', p. 152.

²³⁶ Eadmer, *HRE*, pp. 1-2; Symeon, *LDE*, pp. 18-21; Orderic, *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 212-3 and 282-5.

²³⁷ See below, chapters 5, 6, and 7.

²³⁸ For example, see those in Appendix B, items 93 and 102.

that they were compiled as aids to the study of *computus*, rather than the provision of historical information.²³⁹

In reviewing the origins of many sets of medieval annals within the margins of calendars and Easter-tables, Hayward and McCormick have argued that such texts developed from the study of *computus*.²⁴⁰ The process by which this originated has been suggested as an organic one by McCormick, who surmised that ‘A monk, having consulted his tables with the aim of knowing the date of Easter for the current year, thought to note one or two events which struck him as possessing a particular interest.’²⁴¹

Hayward reviewed the potential uses of these marginal annals within the navigation of Easter tables, especially amongst newcomers to the field. He suggested that because the negotiation of Easter tables may have struck novice students as extremely complex, even ‘baffling’, it was necessary to provide some form of assistance and encouragement. Hayward proposed that adding notices of chronology within the margins, as seen in the annals of Hunter 100, ‘helped to make these abstract matrices of data seem more concrete, and demonstrating that the numbers actually referred to real phenomena.’²⁴² In this way, the short records dating real historical events that were included in these annals, provided a valuable guide to the study of chronology and the systems through which it was calculated. Hayward concluded that the addition of annals and chronicles within the context of computistical studies in this way, provided: ‘a basic map of what had happened over the longer term’ which ‘supported the teaching of *computus*’, and provided a visual representation of the passing of time, thereby providing important aids to the study of computistical theory.²⁴³ The original manuscript contexts in which many medieval annals and chronicles are commonly found, suggest that they were intended to be used as much towards the study of time, mathematics and astronomy, as they were towards the investigation of past events.²⁴⁴ Of the three extant Durham examples noted above for example, two sets of annals are

²³⁹ McCormick, *Les annales du haut moyen âge*, pp. 12-13; Hayward, *Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles*, vol. 1, pp. 22-3.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 28-48.

²⁴¹ McCormick, *Les annales du haut moyen âge*, p. 15: ‘un moine, ayant consulté ses tables a fin de connaître la date de Pâques pour l’année en cours, aurait songé à y noter un ou deux événements qui le frappent comme possédant un intérêt tout particulier’.

²⁴² Hayward, *Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles*, vol. 1, p. 42.

²⁴³ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 37. For other studies of the uses of annals in *computus*, see: Poole, *Chronicles and Annals*; McCormick, *Les annales du haut moyen âge*; Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 203-7; Dumville, ‘What is a Chronicle?’.

²⁴⁴ See also Goetz, ‘The Concept of Time’, pp. 142 and 147-53.

found as marginal additions to Easter-tables in *computus* manuscripts,²⁴⁵ while the third is represented by a series of English and continental annals based on the Annals of Metz, but which are also found alongside another *computus* text, in this case, Regino of Prüm's *Libellus de temporibus dominicae incarnationis*.²⁴⁶

In reviewing some of the ways in which it is possible to identify and categorise the numerous types of texts through which medieval scholars were able to access the past, it is self-evident that scholars both medieval and modern have struggled to identify and conceptualise definitive founding principles through which all historical texts were written during the Middle Ages. Information relating to the events and inhabitants of the past was present within a much wider spectrum of studies than simply that of history. The study of Latin language and grammar, biblical exegesis, moral philosophy, and the sciences of mathematics and *computus* all used historical data, knowledge of past precedent and chronology in a number of ways. In participating in these studies, monastic scholars such as Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic might gain knowledge and understanding of institutional, local, or world history not as an end in itself, but rather as a by-product of their immediate studies.

Despite the extent to which this discussion has identified specific types of historical texts and sources, the extent to which medieval scribes and authors separated historical texts from other genres within the contemporary curriculum in their own time is unclear. The place of historical texts within surviving book-lists and library catalogues illustrates this point well. Where these inventories group texts of a particular definition, it is by author as much as by genre.²⁴⁷ Two surviving catalogues from the Norman abbey of Fécamp provide useful examples of this practise. While one eleventh-century list appears not to categorise by genre or by author, the first half of a twelfth-century example adopted a more structured policy of listing works by patristic authors before this firmer categorisation is again lost in the second section.²⁴⁸ It is reasonable to suggest that while some attempts were made to order and categorise library holdings, many entries within such lists were compiled on an intermittent basis, as and when new books were

²⁴⁵ Appendix B, items 93 and 102.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., item 91.

²⁴⁷ Albert Derolez, *Les catalogues de bibliothèques*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge, 31 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979) pp. 30-5.

²⁴⁸ Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 1, pp. xxiii-xxvi; Nortier, *bibliothèques médiévales*, pp. 6-33, especially at pp. 8-13.

added to the library, and perhaps also in different campaigns, depending on where and when books were held in the same locations.

Symeon and Orderic played leading roles in the composition of book-lists for their respective foundations. Neither appears overly keen to categorise historical texts. The initial and longest section of Orderic's Saint-Évroul list recorded Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* alongside the *Historia Clementis*, then featured a long line of works gathered in order of patristic authors, before later collecting the names of a large number of saints' lives, passions and miracles.²⁴⁹ Later sections added by Orderic's contemporaries, including notes on possession of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*, Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* and the historical works of Josephus, appear to have been added ad hoc, with no separation according to author or genre.²⁵⁰ In compiling his list of books given to Durham by Bishop William, Symeon categorised by genre only intermittently. While he grouped together several biblical texts and liturgical books, the *Historiae* of Pompeius Trogus, volumes housing *Lives* of the desert fathers and Bede's *Historia Anglorum* were scattered throughout the list, with no section devoted to the record of historical works.²⁵¹ Medieval library catalogues alone therefore, appear to offer little conclusive evidence towards discussion of the medieval genre of history.

The numerous and varied roles given to historical studies within a the monastic curriculum of the High Middle Ages has so far complicated modern scholars' attempts to categorise the texts through which it was studied. Although the discussions of this chapter have identified some more common types of histories through which Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic may have gained knowledge of historical individuals or events, the multiplicity of uses towards which these were used prevents the application of rigid dividing lines. For example, the basic one-line datum that might be found in the marginal Easter-table annals in a manuscript such as Durham, Cathedral Library MS Hunter 100 may be seen as complimentary to Symeon's *Libellus*, both in the information conveyed and the shared purposes that each served, whether liturgical, administrative, computistical, or historiographical. In the same way, Orderic's *Historia* may on the one hand be seen as a work of narrative history with a recurrent theme relating to the history

²⁴⁹ Omont, *Catalog général*, vol. 2, pp. 468-9 ; Nortier, *bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 106-8.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 468-9. On the evolution of the list, see: Nortier, *bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 106-8.

²⁵¹ Alma Colk Browne, 'Bishop William of St Carilef's Book Donations to Durham Cathedral Priory', *Scriptorium* 42:2 (1988) 140-55, at pp. 154-5.

and identity of the community at Saint-Évroul, while at the same time containing aspects of several related genres of historical texts, including world chronicle, cartulary-history, edificatory and sacred biography, and obituary. Moreover, many of the manuscripts housed at Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul contain multiple historical texts from two or more sub-genres, or individual texts which might be seen to span more than one sub-genre. For example, the aforementioned annals now housed in Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100 were added within a compendium of *computus* and scientific texts, among which the annals provide only a small section.²⁵² Likewise, the annals produced at Saint-Évroul were added to a much wider collection of organisational texts, including a *necrology*, a *Liber memorialis*, a calendar, excerpts from Bede's *De temporum ratione*, and the Saint-Évroul book-list.²⁵³

The visible variety of the monastic life and studies encountered by Eadmer, Symeon, Orderic and their contemporaries, ensured that they encountered the past in many different ways and on many different planes. All of their various experiences as monks and scholars to be discussed in chapters five six and seven of this thesis, contributed to their own distinct idiosyncratic views of the past, and guided their perceptions of how and why it was possible to write about it, within the context of an ordered and communal way of life. Although the legacies of guiding influences such as Augustine, Cassiodorus and Isidore suggested some of the ways in which historical texts could be written and used, the testimony of Gervase of Canterbury together with some of the surviving manuscripts discussed within this chapter combine to suggest that these distinctions were not always applicable to the works actually produced by medieval authors. Exactly which forms their histories took and the uses towards which their contents were directed, largely depended on the experiences and aims of their authors. The precise nature of each individual historical text depended to a great extent on a number of highly specific factors, including the range of sources, models and exemplars available to the author and the author's specific life experiences (both personal and intellectual), as well as the socio-political environment in which the text was written. These factors dictated the primary social and intellectual purposes towards which the work was intended. Although the above discussions have suggested a number of ways in which it is possible to categorise the end product of their historical writings, the discussions within the remainder of this thesis will argue that the historical writings of Eadmer, Symeon and

²⁵² See Appendix B, items 93-6. For discussion of this item see: R.A.B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the end of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1939), no. 57; Gullick, 'Scribes', p. 105; Gullick, 'Hand', p. 27; Hayward, *Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles*, vol. 1, pp. 12-61, especially at pp. 21-6;

²⁵³ See Appendix C, item 15.

Orderic Vitalis are best understood as unique examples of historiography, and best viewed through the prism of the author, his situation, experiences and the various social and intellectual currents from which and into which his historical writings grew.

Thanks to the identification of their respective hands in a variety of surviving manuscripts which contain information relating to the past, Eadmer, Symeon, and Orderic can each be seen to have interacted with numerous forms of writing and study which in some way relate to the discovery or preservation of historical information. As will be seen in subsequent chapters five, six and seven, their contact with such materials cannot always be shown to have originated from a basic interest in investigating the events of that past for its own sake. While all three may be depicted as individuals with a specific interest in the past, Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic also responded to these readings in different and individual ways. The subsequent chapters of this thesis contribute to our knowledge of the themes discussed within this chapter, aiming to negotiate the complex structures of Benedictine learning during the Anglo-Norman period, and assessing the ways in which the three principal authors examined responded to these structures through their study of the past.

Chapter 4: The Presence of the Past in Twelfth-Century Textual Culture: Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul Examined.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the textual milieux and intellectual environments in which Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic wrote history. Although, as argued in the previous chapter, medieval authors inherited potential guides to the perception and conceptualisation of historical studies from influential patristic and early medieval authors such as St Augustine, Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville, the extent to which these influenced any given exercise in historiographical enquiry was in fact far more open to interpretation. It was suggested that medieval histories should be regarded on an individual basis, as works whose precise nature was subject to a set of specific social, intellectual and personal circumstances through which their authors gained the desire and the means to record and write about the past. These circumstances depended on two key factors: first, the environment in which any given author was working (that is, the availability of sources and models through which it was possible to formulate and articulate his historical writing) and second, his specific experiences of this environment (that is, the extent to which his historical writing can be shown to have interacted with and drawn upon these materials).

The nature of the environment in which each author studied and wrote, and the priority areas of study and book collection within this, forms a major axis of enquiry when considering each author's experiences of the historical genre, and the extent to which these influenced his subsequent visions of the nature and purposes of his work. Where detailed examination of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's scribal and experiences will follow in subsequent chapters, the present discussion will first identify the potential sources and models through which each author was able to formulate his knowledge of the past and how it could be written, and second, evaluate the place of the past and the roles it may have played within the overall character of work and study at each given monastery.

There is considerable evidence to suggest that Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic all drew on external resources or learning. Even though Symeon is not known to ever have left Durham after c.1090,

alongside Eadmer and Orderic, he can be shown to have enjoyed access to external books from other libraries. A number of the items which arrived at Durham throughout Symeon's lifetime have been shown to have been produced elsewhere. Volumes from Continental Europe,²⁵⁴ and Christ Church, Canterbury,²⁵⁵ suggest that Symeon's Durham benefitted from a healthy programme of book exchange and acquisition.²⁵⁶ So too, did Eadmer's Christ Church and Orderic's Saint-Évroul. Gameson has noted the continental origins of several surviving Christ Church manuscripts from Eadmer's period of activity,²⁵⁷ and has commented at length on the role played by Norman houses in the expansion of post-Conquest English libraries, and vice versa, suggesting that significant numbers of books were exchanged over considerable distances in this period.²⁵⁸ Eadmer's proximity to Saint Augustine's of Canterbury and the cathedral school at Rochester increases the likelihood that he drew on external resources from these two foundations. While it will be seen below that Orderic's narrative of the restoration of Saint-Évroul places a heavy emphasis on the development of the library and learning in the generations after 1050, he did not go to great lengths to outline the practice of borrowing and exchange. Given the high numbers of books attributed to the earliest members of the community in Orderic's description, it is likely that the earliest scribes of Saint-Évroul relied on the resources of neighbours with established libraries, such as Bec, Mont-Saint-Michel, Fécamp, and Jumièges.²⁵⁹ It is necessary therefore, to acknowledge briefly, the extent to which external collections and resources contributed to each author's experiences.

Although Symeon's movements while resident at Durham are entirely unknown, Orderic and Eadmer are known to have travelled widely.²⁶⁰ Orderic in particular, took advantage of the opportunity to consult historical texts that were previously unavailable to him at Saint-Évroul. He noted in the *Historia ecclesiastica* several occasions on which he did so, as far afield as

²⁵⁴ Appendix B, items 8, 12, 14, 19, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39, 45, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54-7, 119, 124 and 128.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., items 33, 58, 77, 81 and 98.

²⁵⁶ Richard Gameson, 'English Book Collections', p. 233.

²⁵⁷ Appendix A, items 15, 17, 40, 51, 62, 81, and 116.

²⁵⁸ Gameson, *MENE*, pp. 10-12; Richard Gameson, 'La Normandie et l'Angleterre au XIe siècle: le témoignage des manuscrits', in P. Bouet & V. Gazeau (eds.) *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Age*, (Caen: CRAHM, 2003), pp. 129-172.

²⁵⁹ For Orderic's narrative, see: *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 48-51, 74-77 and 108-9. For discussions of these libraries, see: Nortier, *Bibliothèques médiévales*, pp. 6-13 (Fécamp), 34-45 (Bec), and 61-72 (Mont-Saint-Michel) 143-71 (Jumièges).

²⁶⁰ For examples and discussions of their movements, see: *HRE*, pp. 48, 41, 73, 75, 55, and 91-124; Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 18-22; *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 25-7 and 203; Véronique Gazeau, *Normannia monastica: Prosopographie des abbés bénédictins (x^e-xii^e siècle)*, 2 vols. (Caen: CRAHM, 2007), vol. 1, p. 20.

Crowland Abbey, Worcester, and Cambrai.²⁶¹ Eadmer offers a different case. As the *Historia novorum* reveals, the author travelled extensively through England and parts of Western Europe during Anselm's archiepiscopate, but the emphasis on relating Anselm's public deeds did not leave room for Eadmer to discuss his own private studies at length. What is known, however, is that Eadmer exchanged reading materials with external contacts while resident at Canterbury. Eadmer's preface to his *Vita Dunstani* noted that he had gathered materials by writing letters, 'everywhere throughout England where I knew that studies in these sorts of things were thriving, and I myself was not able to go'.²⁶²

The evidence of manuscript exchange and first-hand testimony, suggests that Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic derived considerable benefit from bibliographic resources housed outside of their home institutions. This is an important context to hold in mind when considering their experiences of uncovering and recording the past. However, their home institutions remain of primary importance: these were the places where they spent the majority of their time, and carried out the majority of their reading and writing. Both Eadmer and Orderic were child oblates, and spent their entire adult lives as members of their home institution, adding up to a period of around sixty years for each.²⁶³ Although Symeon was probably schooled in Normandy and only arrived in Durham when he was probably already around twenty years old, Michael Gullick has proposed that Symeon probably never left Durham between his arrival in c.1090 and his death in 1128 or 1129.²⁶⁴ All three authors noted that their historical works were directed towards specific circumstances at home. Eadmer claimed to have written his *Historia novorum* in response to 'the wishes of my friends' who requested he compile the text in the hope of restoring Archbishop Anselm's fractured reputation,²⁶⁵ while, in addition, one of the manuscripts of its companion, the *Vita Anselmi*, contains a later marginal note that this work had been written on the command of Anselm's successor, Ralph.²⁶⁶ Symeon and Orderic both noted that their narratives had been conceived as official house histories following an official mandate from

²⁶¹ Ibid. vol. 2, pp. 322-51 and vol. 5, pp. 186-9.

²⁶² Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, pp. 44-5: 'ut quaque per Angliam ubi talium studia uigere sciebam et ipsemet ire non poteram pro hoc ipso me mittere non pigeret'.

²⁶³ Southern, *Anselm and His Biographer*, pp. 231 and 237-40; *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 6-9; Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 550-557.

²⁶⁴ Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 18-22.

²⁶⁵ *HRE*, p. 1.

²⁶⁶ *VA*, p. 150, note a: 'Eadmerus qui hunc librum secundum composuit his finem ponit, qui vidit testimonium perhibuit: ex precepto Raduphi pontificis perfecit.'

monastic superiors: in Orderic's case, from Abbot Roger of Le Sap,²⁶⁷ and in the case of Symeon, from a group of unnamed elders within his community.²⁶⁸

The discussion which follows profiles both the wider textual and intellectual environments of Christ Church, Durham, and Saint-Évroul, and the place and likely roles played by historical texts within these. The evidence for this exercise is collected together and presented in tabular form as Appendices A to C. Appendix A sets out the evidence from Christ Church, B from Durham, and C from Saint-Évroul. Where known, the contents of surviving volumes are listed together in a single entry, in order to aid possible discussion of the relationship of constituent texts. Texts which have since been lost are included in a single entry recording the title and author of each identifiable work. Dates of arrival or production are noted where known. These tables have been compiled from three types of evidence: surviving manuscripts of confirmed relevant provenance; contemporary or near-contemporary book-lists, and first-hand descriptions of topics studied, books copied, or individual scholars from each centre. Surviving manuscripts of confirmed date and provenance survive from all three monastic centres. These items provide the firmest evidence of exactly which texts were housed, in what redaction, and with what possible additions. The evidence from Christ Church and Durham has been provided by the lists compiled by Ker, Andrew Watson, Gullick and Gameson,²⁶⁹ while that from Saint-Évroul has been compiled using evidence within general surveys by Henri Omont, Geneviève Nortier and François Avril,²⁷⁰ and in studies of learning at Saint-Évroul carried out by Chibnall and Denis Escudier.²⁷¹ These resources have enabled the identification of 287 manuscript survivals from across all three centres: 129 from Christ Church; 128 from Durham; and thirty from Saint-Évroul.

In addition to known manuscript survivals, significant numbers of items included in Appendices B and C are known thanks to the survival of contemporary book-lists. These provide vital supplementary information on many items which can be seen to have been owned but which

²⁶⁷ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 130-1 and vol. 3, pp. 6-7. For Roger, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, vol. 2, pp. 281-4.

²⁶⁸ *LDE*, pp. 2-3 and 4-5.

²⁶⁹ Ker (ed.), *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*; Ker and Watson (eds.), *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, supplement to the second edition; Gullick, 'Scribes'; Gullick, 'The Scribal Work of Eadmer of Canterbury'; Gullick, 'Hand'; Gameson, *MENE*.

²⁷⁰ Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 2, pp. 468-469; Nortier, *Bibliothèques médiévales*; François Avril, *Manuscrits Normands, XI-XIIe siècles* (Rouen: Musée des beaux-arts, 1975).

²⁷¹ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 11-29 and 201-3; Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium'.

have not come down to us. Palaeographical evidence confirms that Symeon compiled the entire Durham book-list, and that Orderic began and completed large sections of the example from Saint-Évroul.²⁷² This makes it likely that all of the items listed in their respective hands were available and at least known to Symeon and Orderic at the point or points at which the lists were compiled. In the case of Saint-Évroul, this has been especially useful, providing 139 items that have since been lost, and would otherwise have remained unknown.²⁷³ The Durham book-list includes twenty-one items otherwise unaccounted for in surviving manuscript evidence.²⁷⁴ No adequate book-list evidence has come down to us from Eadmer's Christ Church. The earliest inventory that we have has been shown to have been compiled in the 1170s.²⁷⁵ Since this post-dates Eadmer's death by at least a generation, it would be difficult to reconstruct his educational and intellectual environment based on the contents of this list, and as a result, Appendix A has been compiled independently of the Christ Church book-list from the 1170s.

Although book-list evidence makes an important contribution to the evidence for contemporary studies at Durham and Saint-Évroul, the limitations must also be acknowledged.²⁷⁶ Because most lists recorded only those books which were present in a particular location or at a particular point in time, they cannot be taken to provide a complete picture of every single item owned but possibly absent from the collection at that time, or held in different parts of the monastic complex.²⁷⁷ Often they provide only skeletal information on those items which are recorded. For example, the Saint-Évroul list includes a note of '*Historia ecclesiastica*', and although this can be taken to imply the text of that name by Eusebius of Caesarea with reasonable certainty (with Orderic's text listed as '*Quattuor volumina Vitalis*') this is not possible to confirm beyond all doubt.²⁷⁸ Likewise, both the Durham and Saint-Évroul inventories include notes of '*Liber pastoralis*', and again while the popularity of Gregory the Great's work of this title leaves little doubt over its identification, exactly what else the manuscript may have contained in terms of

²⁷² For Symeon, see Gullick, 'Scribes', p. 106; Gullick, 'Hand', p. 25; for Orderic, see Lair, 'Matériaux', pp. 13-16; *HE*, vol. 1, p. 201; Nortier, *Bibliothèques médiévales*, pp. 106-8; Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium', pp. 19 and 24.

²⁷³ See: Appendix C, items 29-169. This list has been edited in Lair, 'Matériaux', pp. 14-6; Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 2, pp. 30-2 and been reproduced in facsimile in Geneviève Nortier, *Bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 25.

²⁷⁴ Browne, 'William of St Carilef's Book Donations'.

²⁷⁵ An edition with facsimile features in M.R. James *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903), pp. 3-12.

²⁷⁶ On the major issues, see Albert Derolez, *Les catalogues de bibliothèques*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental: 31 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979); Gameson, *MENE*, pp. 3-4 and 45.

²⁷⁷ As discussed in A.J. Piper, *The Libraries of the Monks of Durham* (London: Scholar Press, 1978), pp. 214-6.

²⁷⁸ Appendix C, item 35; Nortier, *Bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 25; Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 2, pp. 468-9.

possible additions or commentaries cannot be known.²⁷⁹ The Saint-Évroul list also highlights the possibility of discrepancies between surviving manuscript and book-list evidence. The list records a large number of hagiographical texts, including lives, miracles and passions of saints. As a result, later discussions consider the possibility that the monks of Saint-Évroul had a particularly strong interest in acquiring and studying works of this type. However, the book-list itself gives little indication of exactly how these books were stored. Manuscript survivals from Saint-Évroul suggest that several hagiographical texts were housed in compendium volumes. Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 6, Paris, BNF MS Latin 6503, and Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale MSS 1343 (U. 43) and 1389 (U 35) are survivors from Saint-Évroul which all hold multiple hagiographical texts. No obvious breaks between quires or original bindings and clear consistencies of layout and use of display scripts in each volume, suggest that they were originally put together as compendium volumes. However, only one of these items features any material included on the Saint-Évroul book-list, this being Rouen 1343 (U 43), which holds the *Life* of St Martin and may be seen to represent the entry '*Vita sancti Martini*'.²⁸⁰ The example of Saint-Évroul demonstrates therefore, that any evidence from book-lists and library catalogues which is not supported by evidence from surviving manuscripts should be treated with caution. As a result, any conclusions resulting from their use within the remainder of this thesis are presented as provisional, rather than authoritative.

The final type of evidence surveyed in this chapter is that provided within contemporary testimony. In particular, Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* provides important evidence for learning at Saint-Évroul. By contrast Eadmer's *Historia novorum* made no mention of similar activity at Christ Church, and Symeon's *Libellus* noted only that Bishop Carilef had donated 'many books' (*libros plurimos*) to the monastic community at the beginning of the 1090s without further elaboration.²⁸¹ Orderic's narrative of the restoration and growth of Saint-Évroul in book two of his *Historia ecclesiastica* placed a heavy emphasis on the types of learning that were introduced into the community and described several of the most prominent individuals who had influenced the development of particular fields of learning in the generation before his own arrival.²⁸² Orderic's tendency to provide biographies of Saint-Évroul residents and visitors provides further information relating to some of the important works that had been written or

²⁷⁹ Appendix B, item 131; Appendix C, item 65; Nortier, *Bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 25.

²⁸⁰ Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 2, p. 468.

²⁸¹ *LDE*, pp. 244-5.

²⁸² *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 48-51, 74-77 and 108-9.

copied there during these years.²⁸³ In this way his narrative offers valuable insights towards both the types of studies pursued there in his lifetime, and also towards understanding the ways in which Orderic and his contemporaries regarded these studies.

Although these strands of evidence allow considerable insight into the environments in which Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic spent the major part of their respective careers, the discussions which follow cannot offer a fully comprehensive and definitive picture of all of the subjects studied and written, the books owned, or the individual scholarly expertise on offer at any of these centres of study during the period in question. It is not possible to know how many and what types of manuscripts have been lost in the intervening centuries. Gameson noted that although his corpus of early Anglo-Norman manuscripts produced or acquired before c.1130 featured well over 900 items, this nevertheless represents ‘certainly only a fraction of the original number’.²⁸⁴ His observation that, ‘losses have been uneven, afflicting some areas more than others’, demands caution in formulating conclusions.²⁸⁵ However, while Gameson acknowledged that these losses had almost certainly influenced the data provided in his survey of English manuscripts dated to between c.1066 and c.1130, the data with which he was able to work allowed Gameson to provide two valuable surveys of the number and types of books acquired by English foundations during this period, which were able to suggest a number of important conclusions based on the surviving evidence such as it was.²⁸⁶ Following this lead, the discussions featured within this chapter are regarded as guides to the general character of the working environments experienced by Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic, rather than definitive surveys. All conclusions should be regarded not as final but as suggestive and indicative.²⁸⁷

One of the reasons for studying Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic’s interaction with the textual environments provided by their home monasteries is timing. The libraries of Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul were all subject to significant and sustained programmes of reorganisation or expansion during the period in question. One of the earliest libraries to have

²⁸³ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 48-51, 74-77 and 108-9; vol. 3, pp. 168-71.

²⁸⁴ Gameson, *MENE*, pp. 1-2.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 1-2.

²⁸⁶ Gameson, ‘English Book Collections’; Gameson, *MENE*, pp. 1-52.

²⁸⁷ Issues concerned with dating the materials provide another limiting factor to the evidence surveyed in this chapter. It has not been possible to consult every relevant manuscript from each of the three centres in question, and to revise or confirm their respective dates accordingly. With this in mind, all dates of the items featured across these appendices are those supplied by the respective studies from which they have been drawn.

benefitted from these circumstances was that of Saint-Évroul. Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* informs us that the monastery as he knew it came into being in 1050, when benefactors Hugh and Robert of Grandmesnil re-founded the community on the site of an extinct Merovingian community in the forest of Ouche, southern Normandy (Robert was later to become the second abbot of the community in 1059).²⁸⁸ His narrative communicates the immense debt felt by Orderic and his contemporaries towards the provision of studies which was made by the first generation of monastic scribes and scholars. Orderic described the first post-reformation Abbot, Thierry of Mathonville (*fl.* 1050-7),²⁸⁹ as a 'brilliant calligrapher' (*'scriptor erat egregius'*) and noted that Thierry had recruited several 'excellent copyists' (*'excellentes librarii'*) from his former home at Jumièges, who had come to Saint-Évroul in order to 'copy precious volumes' (*'preciosos...codices'*) for their new home.²⁹⁰ The efforts of these earliest monks and their successors were such, that by the time Orderic compiled the first inventory of library holdings in around 1100, he was able to list almost 100 titles which had entered the collection over a period of around fifty years.²⁹¹ Later continuations of this list, together with our knowledge of Orderic's scribal activity, show that expansion continued well into Orderic's working lifetime.²⁹²

The textual environment of Christ Church Canterbury witnessed substantial changes from around the time of the Norman Conquest onwards. The surviving evidence records the addition of over one hundred individual manuscripts during Eadmer's lifetime, with many dated to before the end of the first decade of the twelfth century. In analysing the underlying causes of this, several previous scholars have suggested that the arrival from Saint Stephen's, Caen, of Lanfranc as Archbishop in 1070 and several Norman scholars in the years that followed were of key importance.²⁹³ Although somewhat imprecise in his exact figures, Southern suggested that the number of Norman scholars who arrived during these years was sufficient to have caused

²⁸⁸ *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 12-23. For commentary on the growth of the abbey, see: *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 6-29 and Chibnall, *World*, pp. 17-41 and 58-114. For Robert, see: Gazeau, *Normannia monastica* vol. 2, pp. 275-6.

²⁸⁹ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, vol. 2, pp. 273-5.

²⁹⁰ *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 48-53.

²⁹¹ Nortier, *Bibliothèques médiévales*, pp. 106-8.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 106-8; Cf. Omont, *Catalogue général*, pp. 468-9; *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 201-3; Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium'.

²⁹³ C.R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination, 1066-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 17; Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp.267-268; Nigel Ramsay, 'The Cathedral Archives and Library', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, eds. Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay and Margaret Sparks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 341-407 at pp. 346-351; Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production', pp. 148-153; Teresa Webber, 'Les manuscrits de Christ Church (Cantorbéry) et de Salisbury', in *Manuscrits et Enluminures*, eds. Bouet and Dosdat, pp. 95-105 at p. 95.

considerable unrest among an opposing Anglo-Saxon faction of Christ Church monks.²⁹⁴ Whatever their number, it is certain that their new archbishop assisted in the provision of books. Lanfranc's obit noted that he had given the community 'the precious gift of books, many of which he had corrected himself'.²⁹⁵ Furthermore, a number of items within Appendix A dated to the last quarter or the last years of the eleventh century suggest that monastic learning was influenced by his legacy.²⁹⁶

In addition to the impact of new personnel and cultural influences, the drive to reorganise the Christ Church library can also be read as a response to a devastating fire which ravaged the cathedral buildings in 1067. Eadmer, who probably witnessed this as a child, later wrote in his *Historia novorum* that the cathedral church had been 'reduced by fire and destruction almost to nothing', and elsewhere commented that many archiepiscopal documents had perished in the disaster.²⁹⁷ Although its exact impact on the library is unknown, Eadmer's comments suggest that the decision to acquire many new books in subsequent decades may have been equally, if not more, influenced by the effects of the fire, rather than by the arrival of the Norman cultural influences. Whatever the exact underlying cause, the surviving evidence featured within Appendix A depicts the implementation of a large-scale programme of book-production and acquisition from at least the 1080s onwards and possibly earlier, and which was still in place by the time of Eadmer's death at the end of the 1120s.

The library collection of Durham can be shown to have witnessed a significant programme of expansion during Symeon of Durham's residency between c.1090 and the end of the 1120s. Under the supervision of Bishop William Carilef, the community of St. Cuthbert was transformed from the existing congregation of cathedral canons to a new house of Benedictine monks in 1083.²⁹⁸ Symeon's *Libellus de exordio* informs us that the Benedictine community inherited at least some books from the community of canons in 1083. He noted that the Durham

²⁹⁴ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp.267-268.

²⁹⁵ Quoted in M.T. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 228: '*Pretioso insuper ornamento librorum. ecclesiam istam apprime honestavit. quorum quamplurimos per semetipsum emendavit*'.

²⁹⁶ See Appendix A, items 4, 6, 17, 31, 38, 52, 53, 58, 60, 68, 70, 72, 79, 80, 84, 95, 97, 101, 102, 109, 122, 124, 125 and 126.

²⁹⁷ *HRE*, p. 13; Eadmer, *Vita Bregwini archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, Patrologia Latina, vol. 159, col. 758B: '*cum ecclesia in qua servabantur igne consumptis*'. Accessed online at http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/all/fulltext?ACTION=byid&ID=Z200133272&WARN=N&TOCHITS=N&ALL=Y&FILE=../session/1351945171_26225 on: 2-11-2012.

²⁹⁸ The main narrative of this transition features in *LDE*, pp. 226-235 and 264-5.

church housed a ‘gospel-book ornamented with gold and gems’ (in all likelihood, the Lindisfarne Gospels) which had come down to his community from its itinerant predecessors.²⁹⁹ The presence and revival of the ninth-century *Durham Liber Vitae* may also reflect inherited material, although its whereabouts before c.1100 are largely unknown.³⁰⁰ In addition, Symeon also noted that some of the monks who came to Jarrow from the South of England, and who may have formed part of the first community of monks in 1083, had travelled with books that were required for religious life (*‘libri necessarii’*),³⁰¹ and his report that the itinerant community continued to sing the day and night offices throughout their wanderings, further increases the probability that additional service-books were inherited in 1083.³⁰²

It is likely that Bishop William understood that this new Benedictine community would require sufficient resources for devotional life and studies. R.A.B. Mynors suggested that William’s decision to gift these numerous books should be considered as an essential aspect of his monastic reform at Durham.³⁰³ While the exact nature and extent of the book collection in the early years remains elusive, it is certain that the community was endowed with numerous books through the donations of Bishop William before his death in 1096. Symeon wrote that along with ‘many sacred altar vessels of gold and silver’ and ‘various ornaments’, William had gifted the new community ‘many books’ (*libros plurimos*).³⁰⁴ The identities of many or all of these items are known through Symeon’s compilation of a list of forty-nine books that Carilef gave to Durham’s monks by the time of his death in 1096, and which appeared complete with the heading: ‘Here are the names of the books which were given by Lord William, Bishop of [the church of] St Cuthbert’.³⁰⁵ Having established this basis of a monastic library by at least 1096, Durham’s

²⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 114-121, especially 115, n. 68 and 120-1, n. 75; on this item, see: Janet Blackhouse, *The Lindisfarne Gospels* (Oxford: Phaidon and British Library, 1981); Michelle P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London: British Library, 2003).

³⁰⁰ Jan Gerchow, ‘The Origins of the Durham Liber Vitae’, in *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context*, ed. David Rollason et al. (Boydell: Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 45-61; Lynda Rollason, ‘History and Codicology’, in *The Durham Liber Vitae: London, British Library MS Cotton Domitian A.VII*, eds. David and Lynda Rollason with A.J. Piper, 3 vols. (London: British Library, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 5-42, at pp. 31-34.

³⁰¹ *LDE*, pp. 200-1.

³⁰² Ibid., at pp. 114-121: ‘*moremque sibi a monachis doctoribus traditum in officiis –dumtaxat diurne uel nocturne laudis –semper seruarunt*’.

³⁰³ Mynors, *DCM*, p. 32.

³⁰⁴ *LDE*, pp. 244-5: ‘*non pauca auro et argento sacra altaris uasa diuersa ornamenta, sed et libros plurimos ad ecclesiam premittere curauit*’.

³⁰⁵ Browne, ‘William of St Carilef’s Book Donations’, plate 15: ‘*Ista sunt nomina librorum quos dominus Wilelmus episcopus sancto cuthberto dedit*’.

monks acquired further volumes at a swift rate during the remainder of Symeon's lifetime, with Symeon himself playing a key role in producing many of these volumes.³⁰⁶

Revisions and expansions of library collections at Saint-Évroul, Christ Church and Durham implemented important programmes of growth and renewal during the working lifetimes of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic. The timeframe of these changes, together with the part that each author is known to have played within these expansions, increase the likelihood that the role of the past and its study within these collections influenced their respective views of history. Appendices A to C record the contents of 448 items which are likely to have been housed in the libraries of Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul during the lifetimes of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic, respectively. While this evidence cannot show the entire situation, numbers are sufficient to suggest certain trends across all three sites, and the suggested findings which follow compare favourably to those observed in Gameson's much broader sample of over nine hundred surviving manuscripts. Noteworthy trends in collection are visible across all three locations, and on the whole reflect the major necessities of monastic life and learning.

Texts relating to the study of theology and biblical exegesis provide the best-represented genre of studies throughout each of the Appendices A to C. Scriptural commentaries, theological treatises, patristic letter-collections and sermons, are visible in forty-six of the volumes from Christ Church, eighty of those from Durham, and sixty-four from Saint-Évroul. This evidence suggests that, numerically speaking, the study of theology and exegesis was deemed a priority area of expansion at all three centres during the lifetimes of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic. Although certain examples, including Durham's copy of Anselm of Laon's commentary on Matthew's gospel,³⁰⁷ and Saint-Évroul's copy of Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons on the *Song of Songs*,³⁰⁸ suggest that these patterns of collection encompassed the acquisition of new and recent theological debate, and the overwhelming majority of the exegetical and theological texts acquired by all three foundations reflect a widely-held preoccupation with patristic materials. Collection patterns mirror those laid out in key commentaries by Webber, Gameson, Lesley Smith and Thomson, which have all suggested that patristic materials were a defining

³⁰⁶ See: Gullick, 'Hand', and below, chapter six.

³⁰⁷ Appendix B, item 15.

³⁰⁸ Appendix C, item 62.

characteristic of collection patterns throughout Western European and in particular Anglo-Norman patterns of book-collection at this time.³⁰⁹

The single most popular author across all of the items featured in Appendices A to C is St Augustine, whose various commentaries, sermons, treatises and letters, feature in thirteen of the items from Christ Church, twenty-five at Durham, and sixteen at Saint-Évroul. All three centres held Augustine's *Confessiones*,³¹⁰ *De trinitate*,³¹¹ and *De Genesi ad litteram*,³¹² while both Durham and Saint-Évroul owned copies of his *De civitate Dei*.³¹³ Following Augustine, the next most popular author was Jerome, whose works featured in fourteen Christ Church volumes,³¹⁴ six at Durham,³¹⁵ and seven at Saint-Évroul.³¹⁶ Gregory's works were also popular, held in nine Christ Church items, ten at Durham and eight at Saint-Évroul,³¹⁷ as were those of Ambrose, whose texts were featured in four Christ Church books, six at Durham and six at Saint-Évroul.³¹⁸ Lastly, the exegetical and theological works of Bede, an author whose *gravitas* allows him to be considered among these patristic authors, occupied space in ten items at Christ Church, fourteen exegetical tracts in Durham and seven at Saint-Évroul.³¹⁹

Sections of Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* shed considerable light on the priority given to patristic theology and exegesis in early collection patterns at Saint-Évroul.³²⁰ His description of the foundation and expansion of the Saint-Évroul library listed some of the individual books for which certain scribes had been responsible, including Abbot Thierry, Ralph, and Hugh, who produced a collection of commentaries by Gregory the Great.³²¹ This description culminated in

³⁰⁹ Webber, 'Patristic Content of English Book-Collections in the Eleventh Century', in *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997), pp. 191-205; Gameson, 'English Book Collections', pp. 235-238; Gameson, *MENE*, pp. 20-21 and 32-4; Lesley Smith, *Masters of the Sacred Page* (Notre Dame, Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), pp. 13-16; Thomson, *Books and Learning*, pp. 21-23.

³¹⁰ Appendix A, item 35; B, items 64 and 146; C, item 81.

³¹¹ Appendix A, item 36; B, item 43; C, item 78.

³¹² Appendix A, item 42; B, item 23; C, item 166.

³¹³ Appendix B, item 42; C, item 23.

³¹⁴ Appendix A, items 2, 26, 28, 30, 31, 37, 45-7, 69, 91, 112, 115, and 117.

³¹⁵ Appendix B, items 30-4 and 122.

³¹⁶ Appendix C, items 91-3, 138, 152, and 165.

³¹⁷ Appendix A, items 9, 29, 59, 60, 71, 81, 106, 112, and 128; Appendix B, items 47, 48, 51, 62, 76, 81, 128, 130, 131, and 145; Appendix C, items 59-62 and 65-68.

³¹⁸ Appendix A, items 10, 32, 33 and 118; Appendix B, items 29, 61, 63, 73, 95, and 125; Appendix C, items 5, 94-7, and 147.

³¹⁹ Appendix A, items 5, 27, 103, 106, 110, 112, 113, 117, 123; and 128; Appendix B, items 2, 4, 5, 79, 94, 102, 103, 115, 116, 120, 121, 126, 132, and 144; Appendix C, items 8, 15, 88, 104, 105, 140, and 141.

³²⁰ For further commentary on this, see: Chibnall, *World*, pp. 91-9.

³²¹ *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 48-51.

the following proud declaration, which places the collection of patristic texts at the heart of this programme of acquisition. According to Orderic, Thierry added:

...in the eight years of his abbacy all of the books of the Old and New Testaments and the complete works of Pope Gregory the Great. Many excellent copyists...filled the monastic library with the treatises of Jerome and Augustine, Ambrose and Isidore, Eusebius and Orosius, and other fathers...³²²

By some margin, the study and interpretation of biblical exegesis and theology accounted for the largest proportion of books that were collected and produced at Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul. Alongside the evidence for the simple collection of books, scribal additions within surviving volumes, alongside original compositions by scholars active in these years, suggest that these materials were widely read and actively engaged with. Gullick has shown that Symeon of Durham added many notes within the margins of several exegetical works held by Durham's library.³²³ Richard Sharpe has edited a short exegetical treatise which appears to have resulted from these studies.³²⁴ Eadmer's corpus of writings provides firm evidence for his engagement with theological doctrine and biblical exegesis, especially his two works on the Virgin Mary.³²⁵ Although Orderic is not known to have composed original exegesis, his contact with this area of studies can be seen in certain surviving manuscripts featuring his hand and in his extensive use of quotations and allusions from theological and exegetical materials within the *Historia ecclesiastica* identified by Chibnall.³²⁶ In addition to his likely contact with these materials, evidence within Orderic's *Historia* and the contemporary book-list informs us of a number of new works and study guides put together by his contemporaries, all relating to the study of the Bible and its interpretation. These include sentence-collections by Warin of Les Essarts, Richard of Leicester, Warin of Séz and one 'Hubert', the composition of homilies by William of

³²² Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 48-51: '...octo annis quibus Vticensibus praefuit omnes libros Veteris et Noui Testamenti, omnesque libros facundissimi papae Gregorii Vticensium bibliothecae procuravit. Ex eius etiam scola excellentes librarii...tractatibus Augustini et Ieromini, Ambrosii et Isidori, Eusebii et Orosii aliorumque doctorum biblitecam sancti Ebrulfi repleuerunt'.

³²³ Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 16-7 and 24-31.

³²⁴ Gullick, 'Scribes', pp. 16-7; Sharpe, 'Errors of Origen'.

³²⁵ For discussion, see: Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 287-98.

³²⁶ For identification of these, see *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 217-221; vol. 2, pp. 371-2; vol. 3, pp. 369-70, vol. 4, pp. 357-8; vol. 5, pp. 383-4; vol. 6, pp. 359-60.

Merlerault, and one commentary on the Apocalypse by the same William.³²⁷ Of these, Warin's Sentences and William's homilies now feature in Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 16 and MS 149 respectively.³²⁸

In addition to the extensive provision of guides to the interpretation of the Bible, the libraries of Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul held or acquired numerous volumes containing selected, or all, books of the Bible itself. Emphasis on scriptural exegesis and theology during the lifetimes of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic necessitated the presence or the acquisition of biblical texts, and the evidence suggests that this was pursued in different ways at each location. Both Durham and Christ Church possessed large, two-volume editions of the entire Bible. Only one half of the Durham Bible (now known as the 'Carilef Bible') survives in Durham, Cathedral Library MS, A. II. 4; and is the second of the original two volume-set, housing books of the *Prophets* through to the *Apocalypse*.³²⁹ On stylistic grounds, this has been identified as a Norman production.³³⁰ Given Symeon's book-list entry which records a 'Bible: Old and New Testaments, in two volumes', it seems likely that this Bible was given by Bishop Carilef at some point before his death in 1096.³³¹ The Carilef Bible provides the only known means through which Symeon and his contemporaries were able to read and interpret biblical narrative during his lifetime. Although it is possible that further volumes did exist which have since been lost or were not recorded on Symeon's book-list, these remain unknown.

The evidence suggests that the biblical materials available at Christ Church during Eadmer's lifetime were mostly inherited from previous generations, and that the collection of new items in these areas was not a high priority for Eadmer and his generation. Almost none of the biblical material from Christ Church is dateable to within Eadmer's lifetime. Only two from the sixteen surviving manuscripts from this period provided new copies of biblical texts (one volume featuring the book of *Ezekiel* alongside Gregory's commentary, and one gospel-book, featured

³²⁷ Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 2, pp. 468-9; For some discussion, see *HE*, vol. 1, p. 22 and Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, vol. 1, p. 252. On Abbots Warin and Richard, see: *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 284-6.

³²⁸ Appendix C, items 7 and 9.

³²⁹ Appendix B, item 19.

³³⁰ For discussion of this item, see: Michael Gullick, 'The scribe of the Carilef Bible: a new look at some late-eleventh-century Durham Cathedral manuscripts' in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence. Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, Oxford, July 1988*, ed. Linda L. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills, Calif.: Anderson-Lovelace, 1990), pp. 61-83.

³³¹ Browne, 'William of St Carilef's Book Donations', plate 15: '*Bibliotheca; id est uetus et novum testamentum in duobus libris*'.

alongside a commentary by Augustine).³³² The remainder date from previous generations. For example, the late tenth-century two-volume Bible now housed in London, British Library, MSS Royal 1. E. vii and Royal 1. E. viii, dates from the end of the tenth century.³³³ Several other volumes including six Psalters,³³⁴ and seven gospel-books date from previous generations.³³⁵ It is not possible to know how far these remained in use during Eadmer's lifetime. Certain examples display strong indicators of earlier Anglo-Saxon readership, such as the Psalter with Old English glosses and the Old English *Genesis*.³³⁶ If these were still used by Eadmer and his contemporaries, it is likely that Anglo-Saxon influences remained strong or at least visible across the collection as a whole, during these years. However, since none of the items with English contents can be dated to after the third quarter of the eleventh century, it is possible to suggest that Christ Church witnessed a gradual decline of interest in English learning, and also scholars' abilities or needs to work in the language, thus rendering many of the Christ Church collection of biblical texts ultimately obsolete.

Evidence for the collection of biblical texts at Saint-Évroul suggests that the Bible was collected piecemeal, through the procurement of its individual constituent books and smaller compendiums, rather than by acquiring large volumes housing multiple books. The Saint-Évroul book-list records several individual books of the Bible separately, including *Genesis*, *Prophets*, *Kings* and three Psalters. Of these, only one text has survived. This is a copy of *Prophets*, now housed in Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1.³³⁷ The book-list also notes two copies of the New Testament described as '*novum testamentum*' and '*novo testamento*', which probably denote smaller volumes.³³⁸ The item listed as '*Textus vetus*' may have referred to a single volume housing the complete Old Testament.³³⁹ Through this method of collection, it is likely that Orderic's Saint-Évroul possessed the complete Bible. Indeed, despite the lack of surviving

³³² Appendix A, items 4 and 39 respectively.

³³³ Appendix A, items 99 and 100; Discussed in *Medieval Libraries*, ed. Ker, p. 36; Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 243. For discussion, see: George Warner and Julius Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols. (London: British Museum, 1921), vol. 1, pp. 20-21; Elzbieta Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066* (London: Harvey Miller, 1976), item 102; Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production', pp. 155-6; Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), item 449.

³³⁴ Appendix A, items 17, 23, 47, 77, 94 and 101.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, items 39, 72, 88, 90, 97, 98, 107, 124, and 126.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, items 101 and 119, respectively.

³³⁷ *HE*, vol. 1, p. 202; Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium', pp. 24 and 27.

³³⁸ Appendix C, items 34 and 69; Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 2, pp. 468-9.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 468-9, item 106.

manuscript evidence, this can be virtually confirmed by Chibnall's recognition that Orderic referenced or quoted from almost every book of the Bible in his *Historia ecclesiastica*,³⁴⁰ and Orderic's own testimony that the abbacy of Thierry of Mathonville (1050-7) saw the arrival of 'all of the books of the Old and New Testaments'.³⁴¹

All three centres of study seem to have collected the books of the Bible in different ways. Christ Church appears to have inherited a large collection of high-status Anglo-Saxon Psalters and gospel-books and a single whole Bible from previous scholars, but which may have fallen out of use during the course of Eadmer's lifetime. Durham can be seen to have been endowed with a single luxury two-volume set at some point between 1083 and 1096, and since this represents the only contemporary evidence for the Bible there, it can be suggested that Symeon and his contemporaries may have read their Bible from these two grand volumes. The evidence suggests that Saint-Évroul's monks acquired their biblical materials over a longer programme, and it is possible that this allowed wider circulation and, as a consequence, facilitated considerable engagement with the study and interpretation of the Bible, as seen in the works of Warin of Les Essarts, Richard of Leicester, Warin of Sééz, and William of Merlerault, at noted above.

Following exegesis and theology, the next best-represented category of texts across the evidence for books held at Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul, provided for the liturgical requirements of monastic life. This is true of each individual centre and of the aggregate total. Although the contents of these items cannot be seen to have influenced the development of monastic studies at any of the three centres, they nevertheless provided materials that were central to the underlying rhythms of the monastic vocation. The large variety of such volumes encompasses items housing collections of hymns and homilies, specialist service-books such as benedictionals, passionals, antiphoners, missals, graduals, and troparies, as well as collections of materials used in certain public performances such as necrologies and martyrologies.

These texts were held across a variety of volumes, and were added to each collection at different moments in their development. It is likely that the Christ Church materials, including a collection of English homilies and a volume housing hymns and canticles with an English gloss, were

³⁴⁰ 'Index of Quotations and Allusions' in *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 217-221; vol. 2, pp. 371-2; vol. 3, pp. 369-70, vol. 4, pp. 357-8; vol. 5, pp. 383-4; vol. 6, pp. 359-60.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 48-51: '*omnes libros Veteris et Noui Testamenti*'.

inherited from earlier generations.³⁴² Other new additions, including a tropary from around 1100, a pontifical and a benedictional both added at the beginning of the twelfth century, and a large seven-volume passional added before 1128 can be seen to have supplemented this pre-existing collection with new and updated materials.³⁴³

Naturally enough given their importance within monastic life, liturgical items were among the first books acquired following the re-foundation of Saint-Évroul in 1050 and the Benedictine reform of Durham in 1083. A number of service-books featured in Symeon's book-list were donated to the Durham monks during the episcopacy of Bishop Carilef, probably shortly after the introduction of Benedictine rule. These included the volume which originated at Christ Church which housed hymns and canticles with an English gloss,³⁴⁴ books of sermons and homilies,³⁴⁵ two breviaries,³⁴⁶ two antiphoners (one surviving, one now lost),³⁴⁷ one gradual,³⁴⁸ three missals,³⁴⁹ and the Durham 'cantor's book', which housed a calendar and martyrology and various lections.³⁵⁰ Such materials provided for the immediate needs of the community between c.1083 and c.1096, and it is likely that these were considered broadly sufficient thereafter, even if five further items suggest the continued collection of liturgical items at Durham after c.1096. However, as collections of sermons, all of these later manuscripts may have been added for their use towards the study of theology and exegesis as much as for public readings.³⁵¹

Liturgical materials appear to have been added to the collection at Saint-Évroul over a longer timeframe. As at Durham, such items were collected from an early period in the development of the community. Orderic's narrative noted that Abbot Thierry had copied a book of collects, a gradual and an antiphonary before his death in 1057, and that around the same time, Thierry's nephew Ralph had added a Missal, 'for the daily use of the convent'.³⁵² Later, Orderic added that during the abbacy of Osbern (1057-66),³⁵³ a monk named Guitmund had composed antiphons

³⁴² Appendix A, items 50 and 70.

³⁴³ Ibid., items 78, 66, 67 and 64, 87, 93, respectively.

³⁴⁴ Appendix B, item 58.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., items 24, 28, 29, 45, 51, and 90.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., items 49 and 137.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., item 52.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., item 98.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., items 147-9.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., items 83-4.

³⁵¹ Ibid., items 8, 29, 40, 50, and 117.

³⁵² *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 48-9.

³⁵³ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, vol. 2, pp. 277-8.

and responsories within the Saint-Évroul tropary and antiphonary, and that Abbot Roger of Le Sap ‘and other learned monks of their piety’ had also added hymns which were kept ‘for future generations in the library of Saint-Évroul.’³⁵⁴ This collection of liturgical resources, and Orderic’s note that they were continually expanded down to his own day, is confirmed by a small number of manuscript survivals, and later entries within the book-list. The surviving manuscripts include a single survivor from an original twelve-volume tropary, and one sacramentary.³⁵⁵ In addition, the book-list informs us that Saint-Évroul also held a three-volume antiphonary, and a three-volume gradual, the former of which can be seen to have been referred to in Orderic’s account.³⁵⁶

While the evidence is surely incomplete, the contents of all three appendices suggest that Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul were all well-provided with the materials through which the monastic liturgy was able to be fulfilled and developed. There is little to suggest that the collection of such items was sustained throughout the duration of Eadmer’s, Symeon’s and Orderic’s lifetimes, once the necessary resources in this area were obtained. While Orderic’s narrative description and the earliest sections of his Saint-Évroul book-list note the acquisition of numerous liturgical books in the generation following re-foundation in 1050,³⁵⁷ Geneviève Nortier’s dating of additions within the book-list suggests that no liturgical texts entered the collection at all after Orderic’s completion of the initial sections of the list by c.1110.³⁵⁸ In the same way, the majority of items from Durham were donated by Bishop William Carilef, with few added thereafter. This pattern is reflected at Christ Church, where a collection of inherited Anglo-Saxon liturgical items,³⁵⁹ was supplemented by selected acquisitions from the end of the eleventh century onwards, only one of which duplicates the types of books already held.³⁶⁰ It is therefore possible to argue that while the collection of these materials may have been regarded as a priority in the earliest years of post-fire Christ Church in 1067, at post-re-foundation Durham after 1083 and at Saint-Évroul after 1050, it seems that once these texts were acquired, they were neither duplicated nor superseded by later copies.

³⁵⁴ *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 108-9: ‘*Hymnos quoque plures de eodem Patre Rogerius de Sappo, aliique studiosi fratres ex devotione pia dictaverunt, suisque posteris in bibliotheca Uticensi commendaverunt.*’

³⁵⁵ Appendix C, items 16 and 20.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, items 38-40, and 41-3.

³⁵⁷ *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 48-9; Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 2, pp. 468-9.

³⁵⁸ Nortier, *Bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 107.

³⁵⁹ Appendix A, items 50, 68, 70, and 95.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, items 37, 64-87-93 (from the same collection), 66, 67, 73, 75, and 78. Item 67 may be seen to duplicate item 95, both benedictionals.

The three major categories of exegesis and theology, Bible texts, and liturgical items, account for the major proportion of items featured in the surviving evidence for the book collections at Eadmer's Christ Church, Symeon's Durham and Orderic's Saint-Évroul. In addition to these priority classes, a variety of additional evidence shows that several further fields of study were provided for at all three centres. These supplemented the main thrust of learning, providing additional aids through which the Scriptures could be better understood.

All three centres collected specific grammatical guides, presumably for pedagogic purposes. At least some of this teaching may have been carried out at Christ Church and Durham in English. We know, for example, that Christ Church held a copy of Ælfric's grammar, which was transported to Durham before c.1096.³⁶¹ This transfer may suggest that the Canterbury monks possessed a duplicate copy which is no longer accounted for, or that Eadmer's contemporaries no longer needed to use it. Some light may be shed on the status of English at Christ Church in this period, by the eight surviving items which employed English glosses and commentaries to works from a variety of genres, and which are known to have been present at this time.³⁶² Although Southern sensibly argued that many of these were made before the arrival of perceived Norman influences from c.1070 onwards,³⁶³ their continued presence thereafter nevertheless suggests that Christ Church monks with English backgrounds may have learned Latin with the help of English prompts and guides well into Eadmer's lifetime and indeed that Eadmer himself may have done so also.

In addition to these specifically English traditions of learning, the evidence suggests that all three centres possessed other more widely-established grammatical aids. Extant Saint-Évroul manuscripts collected Donatus' *Ars grammatica* with an accompanying commentary, a Latin and Greek vocabulary, and Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*.³⁶⁴ Isidore's *Etymologiae*, which may also be seen to have been directed towards the teaching of Latin, exists in copies from both Christ Church and Durham dating from the first quarter of the twelfth century, while Saint-

³⁶¹ Appendix B, item 58; Appendix A, item 70.

³⁶² Appendix A, items 52, 58, 60, 70, 89, 101, 102, and 109.

³⁶³ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 243-4.

³⁶⁴ Appendix C, items 4, 14 and 18.

Évrout also possessed Isidore's *Sinonima*.³⁶⁵ Two further Durham manuscripts, including a glossed copy of Cicero's *De inuentione rhetorica*, and a volume noted as '*Notae super Priscianum et super Rhetoricam Tullii*' suggest that instruction in grammar was also accompanied by education in rhetoric and logic.³⁶⁶

The study of Latin poetry was an element in the teaching of grammar and vocabulary, which could evolve into a discipline in its own right. Guibert of Nogent noted that his early education in Latin had involved the study and enjoyment of the Latin classics, while a letter from Anselm to Canterbury dated around 1076 urged his correspondent to apply himself diligently to the study of Latin grammar, using Virgil, and other classical authors.³⁶⁷ Works of Latin Christian poetry have also come down to us from all three locations. Christ Church provides the largest surviving collection of these, with seven known books collecting works by authors such as Priscian, Juvenius, Arator, Prosper and Tertullian, and a miscellany of further texts including works by Solinus and Dares the Phrygian.³⁶⁸ Examples such as a volume of Priscian dated to c.1100,³⁶⁹ and the anthology of works by multiple authors between 1110 and 1130,³⁷⁰ suggest that the study of such works was a feature of the curriculum at Christ Church well into Eadmer's lifetime. Although the evidence of this genre at Durham is thinner, two volumes, including a Priscian volume identified by Ker and a volume featuring various works including poetry by Fulbert of Chartres,³⁷¹ allow the suggestion that some study of poetry took place there during Symeon's period of activity. At Saint-Évrout, the book-list notes the presence of poetry by Gratian, Solinus, Marbodius, Albricus, and Priscian,³⁷² and the picture is further boosted by Orderic's note that his teacher, John of Rheims, was an accomplished composer and teacher of poetry,³⁷³ with the latter suggesting that instruction in this field was a firm feature of the monastic curriculum during Orderic's youth.

³⁶⁵ Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 2, p. 468.

³⁶⁶ Appendix B, items 87 and 92.

³⁶⁷ *A Monk's Confession: the Memoirs of Guibert of Nogent*, trans. Paul. J. Archambault (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998) p. 49. For the Latin, see: Guibert de Nogent, *De vita sua*, ed. E.R. Labande (Paris: Société d'édition les belles-lettres, 1981), I: 17; *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. Walter Frölich, 3 vols. (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1990-4), vol. 1, p. 180. For the Latin, see: *Opera omnia S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi*, ed. F.S. Schmitt, 6 vols. [vol. 1 printed at Seckau 1938; vol 2. at Rome 1940, all reset for the Nelson edn] (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1946-1961), vol. 6, pp. 180-1.

³⁶⁸ Appendix A, items 7, 18, 49, 52, 122, and 91, respectively.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, item 7.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, item 91.

³⁷¹ Appendix B, items 3 and 35.

³⁷² Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 2, pp. 468-9, items 28, 44, 66, 80, and 137.

³⁷³ *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 168-9.

Evidence suggests that established instruction in Latin poetry allowed the monks of Saint-Évroul in particular, to develop strong musical traditions. Chibnall has suggested that musical studies were given a ‘special place’ within the school during Orderic’s lifetime.³⁷⁴ Orderic’s *Historia ecclesiastica* noted the presence of one Guitmund, who, being ‘highly skilled in literary and musical composition’, had arranged several liturgical services for the monks of Saint-Évroul during the 1060s.³⁷⁵ Orderic also noted that Guitmund’s example was followed by Reginald ‘the Bald’, and Abbot Roger of Le Sap during his own lifetime.³⁷⁶ The presence on the Saint-Évroul list of a volume containing a *cantica Hugonis*, a surviving item housing three different guides to musical composition, in conjunction with Orderic’s description of how Berengar, an alumnus of Saint-Évroul, had reformed the liturgy of the Italian foundation of Venosa to reflect those present at Saint-Évroul, all suggests that the study of music was a strong element of intellectual life there.³⁷⁷ This is reinforced by Escudier’s research into Saint-Évroul manuscripts which display marks of musical notation, through which he argued that Orderic himself was an accomplished student of the genre.³⁷⁸ Although there exists no such contemporary testimony for the study of music at Christ Church or Durham, manuscript survivals including Christ Church items described by Ker and Southern respectively as ‘*Musica hogeri*’ and ‘*Musica enchiriadis*’,³⁷⁹ and a Durham manuscript featuring a number of short musical treatises,³⁸⁰ suggest that at least some studies took place there also.

Manuscripts from all three locations confirm that at least some scholars pursued the mathematical science of *computus*. This field of learning was vital in ensuring the correct delivery of the monastic liturgy and supplemented the pursuit of subjects from within the *quadrivium*. Two surviving items from Christ Church, two Durham manuscripts and a single item from Saint-Évroul confirm the collection of computistical materials at all three locations.³⁸¹ Gameson has suggested that in around 1073, Christ Church acquired an item housing an Old

³⁷⁴ Chibnall, *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 18-9. See also: Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, vol. 1, p. 251.

³⁷⁵ *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 108-9.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 108-9.

³⁷⁷ Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 2, p. 469, item 152; *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 100-3; Also noted in *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 18-9, which notes on p. 18, n. 9, the musical manuscript as Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 2.

³⁷⁸ Denis Escudier, ‘Lævre entre les lignes d’Orderic Vital’, in *Le livre au Moyen Age*, ed. Jean Glenisson (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), pp. 193-5.

³⁷⁹ Appendix A, item 16; *Medieval Libraries*, ed. Ker, p. 30; Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 243, note 1.

³⁸⁰ Appendix B, item 30; Gameson, *MENE*, p. 80.

³⁸¹ Appendix A, items 79 and 103; Appendix B, items 92, 93, 102 and 103; Appendix C, item 15.

English *computistica*, extracts from Ælfric's *De temporibus anni*, and various discussions and notes on the location of Easter and computistics based on Bede and Hrabanus Maurus.³⁸² In addition to this collection, a later example compiled around 1100 added a Calendar and Easter-tables, Helperic's *De computo*, Bede's *De temporum ratione*, and a letter on the calculation of Easter.³⁸³ Similar materials were collected at Durham via two constituent sections of what is now Durham Cathedral Library Ms Hunter 100,³⁸⁴ and the two original sections of Glasgow, University Library MS Hunter 85 (T. 4. 2).³⁸⁵ Comparable materials from Saint-Évroul can be seen in the 'Chapter-book of Saint-Évroul', which includes a necrology, a *Liber memorialis*, a calendar and excerpts from Bede's *De temporum ratione*.³⁸⁶ Since the Christ Church and Durham items collected *computus* texts alongside calendars, it is possible to argue that two now lost items recorded in the Saint-Évroul book-list as '*duo kalendaria*', may also have provided further instructional guides in this subject area.³⁸⁷

While it is certain that the sample of surviving evidence remains incomplete, the surviving manuscripts, book-lists and contemporary testimony suggests that the library collections of Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul all followed notable programmes of book-production and procurement within the lifetimes of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic, whether through re-foundation or increased cross-cultural contact. The above review has suggested many of the individual texts and general subject areas which are likely to have made up the wider curriculum of studies followed by the monastic scholars of each foundation. Although unknown numbers of manuscript losses hamper our knowledge of the exact programme of studies at each, some general observations are possible. Complete Bibles, volumes housing its constituent books, and numerous texts relating to theology and biblical exegesis suggest that the study and interpretation of the Bible was a key element. This is supported by the high number of texts relating to biblical exegesis and theological studies. Such materials provide around half of all the reading materials at each location, and suggest that private exegetical study was a key element of the curriculum at each.

³⁸² Appendix A, item 79.

³⁸³ Ibid., item 103.

³⁸⁴ Appendix B, items 92 and 93.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., items 102 and 103.

³⁸⁶ Appendix C, item 15.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., items 125 and 126; Omont, *Catalogue général*, p. 468.

Although Bible study and the delivery of the monastic liturgy were of undoubted importance in the collection patterns at Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul, acquisitions in these areas were not made in isolation. To follow either required study of the Latin language and its grammatical constructions; topics approached through the study of grammar, rhetoric and logic.³⁸⁸ Although surviving evidence for these is small, items from these fields are known at all three locations. It is likely that compendia of Latin poetry present at all three centres also assisted in this area, and allowed students to branch into the study of music and liturgical composition. Texts from all three foundations facilitated the study of mathematical, geometrical and cosmographical sciences, all of which operated under the umbrella of *computus*.

These general observations are representative of broader trends seen within existing studies of Anglo-Norman learning. Since the bulk of data within Appendices A to C is derived from existing studies by Ker, Avril, Webber and Gameson, trends seen in this band of evidence are representative of wider patterns in their introductory commentaries.³⁸⁹ This does suggest, however, that the intellectual environments of Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul were consistent with broader trends, and that Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic were all educated in, and all worked in, environments of study which were conscientiously active and progressive in their drive to expand library resources in a manner appropriate for the age.

Through a combination of manuscript survivals and entries within contemporary book-lists, the evidence within Appendices A to C suggests that Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul possessed a number of different types of texts relating to the past, as defined and described in the previous chapter. Although it is not possible to suggest that the study of the past in texts such as historical narratives, annals, and chronicles was a key or a defining element of the studies pursued at each location, Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's foundations can be shown to have invested resources in these areas during their respective periods of activity.

The surviving manuscript evidence suggests that historical texts occupied only a marginal place within the library collection at Christ Church for the duration of Eadmer's lifetime. From the total of 130 items featured in Appendix A, only sixteen contain contents which may be seen as

³⁸⁸ As described in Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp. 128-64.

³⁸⁹ Ker, *Medieval Libraries*; Avril, *Manuscripts Normands*; Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production at Christ Church'; Webber, 'Les manuscrits de Christ Church'; Gameson, *MENE*.

historical in nature; three of which are texts written by Eadmer himself.³⁹⁰ This means that a preliminary figure of just fewer than twelve per cent of the total collection featured materials relating to the past including works by Eadmer; a total which falls to just less than 9.5 per cent if Eadmer's works are discounted.

Despite the potentially marginal position of history within the Christ Church school as a proportion of the whole during Eadmer's lifetime, a number of works produced there at this time have left an important legacy for modern scholars. The types of historical texts owned include annalistic chronicles, works of hagiography, and established models of Latin narrative history. Although nothing is known of its early history, Christ Church certainly obtained the manuscript housing the redaction of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* now generally referred to as the 'A' text, at some point towards the beginning of the eleventh century, where it was maintained down to the entry for the year 1093.³⁹¹ At some point between 1100 and 1107, this was transcribed in an abridged and in some places expanded version, accompanied by a Latin translation. This redaction, now generally known as the 'F' text, or the 'Cotton bilingual', was continued in Latin, although only down to the entry for the year 1058.³⁹² Eadmer's Christ Church can be seen, therefore, as one of a few contemporary schools interested in preserving and extending this major record of national historical record. The Latin redaction in particular, suggests that at least some of Eadmer's contemporaries were interested in facilitating investigations into the English past, even among those who may not have held a particularly 'English' cultural allegiance. One further, now fragmentary, chronicle survives from Eadmer's lifetime, collecting events from English and Old Testament history, and which Gameson suggested was compiled between c.1110 and c.1130.³⁹³

These items suggest that Eadmer's community held interests in the English past, and that if compiled contemporaneously to the last recorded events, these concerns were sustained down to at least the first decades of the twelfth century. However, the cessation of the English 'A' text of the *Chronicle* after c.1093 and its bilingual successor by c.1110, might suggest a decline in

³⁹⁰ These are: Appendix A, items 21, 22, and 24.

³⁹¹ Appendix A, item 13. For discussion, see: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition*, vol. 3, 'MS A', ed. Janet Bradley (Cambridge, 1986), which considers the date and movement of the manuscript at pp. xiii-xiv, especially p. xiv, n. 7.

³⁹² Appendix A, item 83; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Collaborative Edition*, vol. 1, 'Facsimile of MS F, the Domitian Bilingual', ed. David Dumville (1995) and vol. 8, 'MS F', ed. Peter S. Baker (2000), pp. xxxix-xliv and lxxvi.

³⁹³ Appendix A, item 121; Gameson, *MENE*, p. 139.

interest by these respective dates. It is possible that both were updated only while those professing an English identity sought to maintain their links with the Anglo-Saxon past, or were alive and still able to read and understand the Anglo-Saxon language and script styles.³⁹⁴ Eadmer may have belonged to the former group and almost certainly the latter.³⁹⁵ The fragmentary nature of the third Old Testament-English chronicle prevents a detailed investigation into the extent to which this interest in chronicles may have progressed during Eadmer's later adult life.

A total of six items with hagiographical content have come down to us from this period.³⁹⁶ However, it is difficult to discern exactly how far the wider Christ Church readership was interested in their contents. Discussions within chapter five will suggest that although Eadmer's own personal interest in English saints' lives was encouraged and influenced by his close companion and fellow hagiographer, Osbern, there is evidence to suggest that their activities received little support from the wider community. The identification and preservation of English national sentiments has been argued as a key motivating factor in the study and writing of local hagiography in England, and at Christ Church in particular, during Eadmer's lifetime.³⁹⁷ Significantly, of the six surviving manuscripts, five feature contents entirely composed by either Eadmer or Osbern.³⁹⁸ Eadmer's reports of both Lanfranc and, to a lesser extent, Anselm's scepticism towards several Anglo-Saxon saints, coupled with the limited evidence of other hagiographical texts at Christ Church during this period, suggests that the pursuit of hagiography occupied a marginal position within Eadmer's intellectual environment.³⁹⁹

If Christ Church held copies of any extended narrative histories before c.1100, no evidence of these volumes survives. A small influx of historical works by leading Latin Christian authors is

³⁹⁴ On the English members of the community, see Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 252-3; Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against History'.

³⁹⁵ On Eadmer's 'Englishness' and display of Anglo-Saxon cultural identity, see Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 231-3 and 322-3; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1, pp. 129-35; and Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against History'.

³⁹⁶ Appendix A, items 20-22, 56, 76, and 93.

³⁹⁷ Southern, 'Aspects': 4: 'The Sense of the Past', pp. 246-256; Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 248-52; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1, pp. 105-107 and 127-135; Wissolik, 'The monk Eadmer as historian of the Norman succession'; Brett, 'The Use of Universal Chronicle at Worcester'; Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, pp. xiii-xvi; Rubenstein, 'Liturgy Against History'.

³⁹⁸ Appendix A, items 20-22, 76, and 93.

³⁹⁹ For discussion of Eadmer's report of Lanfranc and Anselm's scepticism, see: Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 105-7; Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against History', pp. 298-307; Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, pp. xiii-xv.

visible only from around the turn of the twelfth century, at which point the community appears to have aimed at collecting a few of the best-known Latin histories. Surviving Christ Church manuscripts suggest that these included Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*, Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*, Eutropius' *Breviarium historiae* with Paul the Deacon's continuation, and Victor of Vita's *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae*.⁴⁰⁰ These were followed by Josephus' *De antiquitate Iudaea* between c.1100 and c.1115,⁴⁰¹ and the anonymous *Historia Brittonum*, which was added between c.1110 and c.1130.⁴⁰²

There is only fragmentary evidence to suggest that Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* was housed at Christ Church during Eadmer's lifetime. Although Sally Vaughn has argued for several stylistic similarities between Eadmer's historiographical methods and those of Bede, Eadmer in fact made no mention of Bede's *Historia* in any of his own works.⁴⁰³ Moreover, the work is absent from the Christ Church book-list compiled in the 1170s.⁴⁰⁴ However, given the fact that Gameson identified it as most copied historical text in England between c.1066 and c.1125,⁴⁰⁵ it seems unlikely that Christ Church did not own a copy of Bede's *Historia*. Given the importance of Canterbury in the history of early Anglo-Saxon Christianity which it depicts, and the fact that Rochester is known to have acquired the text at the beginning of the twelfth century,⁴⁰⁶ it is likely that a potential Christ Church copy of Bede's *Historia* has either been lost, or is represented by one of four surviving manuscript copies of correct date but unknown provenance in the period.⁴⁰⁷ Even if Bede's *Historia* was omitted from the collection, the historical acquisitions during Eadmer's lifetime suggest that several important potential models and sources for historical enquiry arrived into the Christ Church library during the first quarter of the twelfth century. These are years in which Eadmer is known to have been composing his *Historia novorum* and its accompanying *Vita Anselmi*.⁴⁰⁸ However, it is not possible to know whether these long-established texts and Eadmer's own works were added because certain members of the community wished to increase provision for historical studies, or whether they

⁴⁰⁰ Appendix A, items 14, 54, 55, and 56.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., item 1.

⁴⁰² Ibid., item 91.

⁴⁰³ Sally N. Vaughn, 'Eadmer's *Historia novorum*: a Reinterpretation', *Anglo-Norman Studies* X (1987) 259-89.

⁴⁰⁴ James, 'Ancient Libraries', pp. 7-12.

⁴⁰⁵ Gameson, *MENE*, pp. 36-7.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 108.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 62, 75, 94, and 140.

⁴⁰⁸ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 298-309 and 315-320.

were added simply because such titles may have been considered as valuable additions to contemporary monastic libraries.

While the study of the past was almost certainly not a feature which defined the character of the Christ Church curriculum during Eadmer's lifetime, at least some members of the community devoted time and attention towards acquiring a number of records relating to the past. In housing the two redactions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Eadmer and his contemporaries inherited and continued (at least for a time) one of the major sources for the study of Anglo-Saxon history, both then and now. Eadmer and Osbern's hagiographical works showed that potentially interested parties were able to carry out significant research in the field of broadly historical studies, even if, as Eadmer acknowledged and noted above, he was forced to write to external libraries in order to gather his information. The procurement of several of the best-known historical narratives from the Latin Christian tradition suggests that from around 1100 onwards, Eadmer and his contemporaries had access to a growing collection of potential historical sources and historiographical exemplars. Therefore, although history occupied only the margins of the Christ Church curriculum as a whole, the character of the collection and Eadmer's successes in composing several notable works of historical interest together suggest that those with a marked interest in the discipline were able, and perhaps also encouraged, to pursue such endeavours.

A combination of surviving manuscript and book-list evidence confirms that historical texts were among some of the earliest books to arrive in Durham following the introduction of Benedictine monasticism in 1083. Eighteen of the 149 items listed in the accompanying Appendix B collected together a number of historical narratives, shorter chronicles, tabular annals and works of hagiography.⁴⁰⁹ This figure rises to twenty with the addition of the two surviving contemporary copies of Symeon's *Libellus de exordio*.⁴¹⁰ While these figures do not warrant the conclusion that the provision and study of the past was a proportionally strong element of the wider curriculum at Symeon's Durham, the study of some of these items suggests that at least some members of the scholarly community (Symeon among them) were able to conduct a small selection of relatively complex studies of the past.

⁴⁰⁹ These Are: Appendix B, items 44, 70, 77, 82, 86, 91, 93, 99, 102, 111, 112, 113, 114, 119, 121, 127, 133, and 141.

⁴¹⁰ Appendix B, items 97 and 108.

With the status of Durham's book-collection largely unknown before the Benedictine reform of 1083, it is not possible to know whether the earliest monastic community inherited any historical texts. One item which may have been present from the outset had the capacity to communicate historical knowledge and foster historical awareness. The exact provenance of the *Durham Liber Vitae* before the end of the eleventh century is unknown.⁴¹¹ It is likely to have arrived at Durham with either the Lindisfarne exiles in 995, or via the twenty-three reformist monks who, according to Symeon, came to Durham from nearby foundations at Wearmouth-Jarrow in 1083.⁴¹² The book was certainly present by the end of the eleventh century, when Symeon and his contemporaries added to its contents.⁴¹³ Although as a necrology and a confraternity book it cannot be seen to have been conceived as a historical record, the *Liber Vitae* nevertheless features several lists of historical individuals compiled in chronological order. These included records of Anglo-Saxon royal and ducal lineage, monastic and ecclesiastical officials from foundations elsewhere throughout England and Normandy, and records of members of the Durham community.⁴¹⁴ As such, the *Liber Vitae* housed a basic skeletal historical record, through which the readers of Symeon's generation may have been able to gain some knowledge of early Northumbrian events and personalities.

Symeon's book-list confirms that historical texts were among the first books given to Durham by Bishop William Carilef. Of the forty-nine items recorded on the list, three volumes housed a total of four narrative histories, of which two have come down to us. They included Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca* and Victor of Vita's *Historia persecutionis Africanae prouinciae* in a single volume, and the *Historiae* of Pompeius Trogus (the latter of which, is now unaccounted for).⁴¹⁵ The acquisition of these items allows the suggestion that Durham's early monastic scholars held at least some interest in the past. Bede's *Historia* may have offered a sense of English Christian history and identity, with the texts by Palladius and Victor of Vita perhaps offering a similar guide to earlier Christianity, and an allegorical manual for the struggles of monastic life.

⁴¹¹ Appendix B, item 106.

⁴¹² On the origins and provenance of this item, see Lynda Rollason, 'History and Codicology'. On the transfer of monks from Wearmouth-Jarrow, see: *LDE*, pp. 226-31.

⁴¹³ Lynda Rollason, 'History and Codicology', pp. 18-21, 24-6 and 35-8; Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 21 and 30; A.J. Piper, 'The Early Lists and Obits of the Durham Monks', in *Symeon: Historian*, pp. 161-201.

⁴¹⁴ *LVD*, vol. 1, pp. 91-6, 96-100, and 128, respectively.

⁴¹⁵ Appendix B, items 44, 99, and 133.

Surviving manuscript evidence suggests that Symeon's Durham gathered only a small number of historical narratives from the 1090s onwards. These provided well-known narratives by authors whose works were relatively common in monastic collections during the period. In Symeon's lifetime were added Josephus' *De antiquitate Iudaica* and *De bello Iudaico* in one volume,⁴¹⁶ William of Jumièges' *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*,⁴¹⁷ and Eutropius' *Breviarium historiae Romanae*.⁴¹⁸ Ker also suggested that a late-eleventh-century copy of Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum* can be placed at Durham around the same time.⁴¹⁹

A number of annals were copied or compiled at Durham during the first quarter of the twelfth century. Some are known from manuscript survivals, while the existence of others has been inferred from the detailed study of the existing materials. Two sets of annals were added to the margins of Easter-tables within computistical manuals.⁴²⁰ As suggested in the previous chapter, it is likely that these were compiled as aids to the study of the main contents of these *computus* volumes, rather than as sources for historical enquiry. Another manuscript survival contained a collection of annals from Metz which were then extended at Durham, suggesting some interest in compiling historical annals.⁴²¹ Gameson suggested that this item was originally produced on the Continent during the first quarter of the twelfth century, and that it arrived at Durham soon after.⁴²² Around 1125, another text comprising a short world chronicle listing events from Adam down to 1125 was compiled at Durham, and has been attributed to Symeon by both J.E. Story and Gullick.⁴²³ To these surviving items may be added the original copy of the Durham *Historia Regum*, which now survives only in a later twelfth-century copy,⁴²⁴ and two further Durham chronicles suggested by Rollason, which have since been lost.⁴²⁵

The evidence suggests that Symeon's Durham did not house a large collection of hagiographical narratives. Only five volumes with such contents have come down to us: a miscellaneous

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., item 27.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., item 112.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., item 114.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., item 86.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., items 93 and 102.

⁴²¹ Ibid., item 91.

⁴²² Gameson, *MENE*, p. 86.

⁴²³ Appendix B, item 82; Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 17-8 and 30; J.E. Story, 'Symeon as Annalist', pp. 203-7.

⁴²⁴ Story, 'Symeon as Annalist', pp. 202 and 212-3.

⁴²⁵ *LDE*, p. lxxiv.

collection of major saints' *Lives* and miracles;⁴²⁶ John the Deacon's *Vita S. Gregorii*;⁴²⁷ a *Vita Bedae*;⁴²⁸ a collection housing Bede's *Vita sancti Cuthberti*, the incomplete *Historia de sancto Cuthberto* and Lethaldus of Le Mans' *Vita S. Iuliani Cenomanensis antistitis*;⁴²⁹ and a collection of texts relating to the life and miracles of St Cuthbert, including a further copy of Bede's *Vita sancti Cuthberti*, extracts from his *Historia ecclesiastica*, and seven miracle-stories.⁴³⁰ It is likely that Durham's hagiographical manuscripts provided materials for readings on major feast days, rather than materials through which Durham's monks were able to investigate past events. Their contents outlined the lives and miracles of well-known Western Christian saints such as Augustine of Hippo, Martin of Tours, Nicholas of Myra, and Dunstan of Canterbury, as well as in Cuthbert and Bede, two leading figures in the history of Northumbrian Christianity.

Aspects of this evidence suggest that Durham's procurement of these hagiographical sources can be closely associated with Symeon's historical writing. Gullick has shown that Symeon edited the *Vita Beda* volume,⁴³¹ and that he also copied and added to two further collections of local hagiography.⁴³² All three volumes included materials relating to the history of Northumbrian Christianity, and Rollason has suggested these were used towards the writing of the *Libellus*.⁴³³ Furthermore, Gullick and Gameson have both suggested that the two collections were acquired around the turn of the twelfth century, which is almost exactly contemporaneous with Symeon's composition of the *Libellus de exordio*.⁴³⁴

Symeon's Durham acquired several established narrative histories after around 1100 and that a number of annals and chronicles were copied and in some cases continued during the first quarter of the twelfth century. At least seven of the items noted above featured annals or chronicles compiled at Durham between c.1100 and c.1130, amounting to almost half of all the evidence for historical texts. These items, along with Symeon's *Libellus*, have been used by H.S. Offler to argue for the twelfth century as representing 'the best period of historical activity in Durham', while D.N. Dumville similarly cited the existence of these texts in order to portray

⁴²⁶ Appendix B, item 77.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, item 111.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, item 113.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, item 119.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, B, item 121.

⁴³¹ Gullick, 'Hand', p. 28.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴³³ *LDE*, pp. lxxviii, lxxii-lxxiii, and lxxv-lxxvi.

⁴³⁴ Gullick, 'Hand', p. 24; Gameson, *MENE*, pp. 132 and 136.

Durham as a ‘hot-bed of historiographic activity’ at that time.⁴³⁵ Following this, Rollason cited the compilation of the above works in order to suggest that Durham was particularly noteworthy for the level of historical interest amongst its scholars.⁴³⁶

Symeon and his contemporaries certainly had ample resources through which they were able to engage with the past. However, it is notable that Symeon himself was the only author to have converted this into the composition of original narrative history during his lifetime. Although Symeon and his contemporaries appear to have acquired and updated several sets of annals and chronicles, we cannot know for certain exactly why these were acquired. The narrow focus of Symeon’s *Libellus* suggests that they were not directed towards that particular historiographical endeavour. In addition, the manuscript contexts of some of Durham’s annals suggest that at least some were directed more towards the study of *computus* than the discovery of the past for its own sake. Two sets of annals appear in the margins of Easter-tables,⁴³⁷ one is a world chronicle,⁴³⁸ while the extended annals of Metz were also kept alongside Regino of Prüm’s computistical manual, the *Libellus de temporibus dominicae incarnationis*.⁴³⁹

Although the Durham evidence might encourage the suggestion that many of Symeon’s contemporaries were able to engage with the past and that many in fact did through the study of annals and chronicles, in common with many other contemporary collections, narrative history appears to have occupied a largely peripheral place within the wider monastic curriculum. The entire range of historical texts added together accounts for only a small proportion of the surviving manuscript and book-list evidence. While the resources at Durham, like those at Christ Church, allowed certain individuals to gather significant inspiration and resources for the study of the past (in this case, Symeon) it is not possible to argue that historical studies had a defining influence on the overall development of studies during Symeon’s lifetime.

⁴³⁵ *LDE*, pp. lxxvii-xci, especially at p. lxxvii, quoting Offler, *Medieval Historians of Durham*, p. 6, and D.N. Dumville, ‘Textual archaeology and Northumbrian history subsequent to Bede’, in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria: the Tenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. D.M. Metcalf (British Archaeological Reports, British Series, no. clxxx; Oxford, 1987), pp. 43-55, at p. 45 (reprinted in D.N. Dumville, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1993), no x). For a depiction of history at Durham over the longer period, see: Piper, ‘Historical Interests’.

⁴³⁶ Rollason, ‘Introduction’ in *LDE*, pp. lxxvii-xci.

⁴³⁷ Appendix B, items 93 and 102.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, item 82.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, item 91.

A combination of manuscript and book-list evidence suggests that the Saint-Évroul collection of historical texts was similar in size and scope to those at Christ Church and Durham during the same period. Of the surviving manuscripts dateable to Orderic's lifetime, a total of ten contain various forms of historical texts, including narrative histories, annals, and hagiography;⁴⁴⁰ a figure which rises to fourteen including the four volumes of Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* (including the now lost third volume).⁴⁴¹ The contemporary book-list adds a further twenty-five known texts to this total.⁴⁴² While the greater part of these (seventeen) collected various hagiographical narratives, the monastic scholars of Saint-Évroul can nevertheless be seen to have produced or acquired copies of texts from all genres of history for the duration of the years in which Orderic Vitalis was active.

It is not possible to know exactly when the monks of Saint-Évroul first began to collect and compile works of history. The earliest surviving dated historical manuscript from Saint-Évroul is a collection of hagiographical narratives dated to the end of the eleventh century.⁴⁴³ Orderic's narration of early library growth made no suggestion that historical texts were collected before this. His greater emphasis on the provision of liturgical, biblical and exegetical resources suggests that historical items were not counted among the earliest requirements during these years. Although fewer manuscripts from Saint-Évroul are known in general than from Christ Church and Durham, the fact that the majority of surviving historical texts date from the first quarter of the twelfth century may suggest that the monks of Orderic's generation were among the first at Saint-Évroul to have begun collecting historical materials,⁴⁴⁴ and that this was implemented only after the provision of more essential materials for monastic life and studies, such as liturgical collections, books of the Bible and works of biblical exegesis.

Although in most cases the dates of procurement remain obscure, manuscript survivals and book-list evidence allow us to identify many of the historical texts to which Orderic would have had access across the entirety of his working lifetime. Priority appears to have been given over to acquiring a small collection of the best-known examples from the genre of narrative history,

⁴⁴⁰ These are: Appendix C, items 3, 5, 6, 14, 15, 19, 27, 28, 29, 30, 8-11, 13, 17, 26, and 28.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid, items 10-13.

⁴⁴² Ibid., items 35, 36, 86, 110-123, 130, 131, 133, and 137.

⁴⁴³ Appendix C, item 30.

⁴⁴⁴ See for example: Ibid., items 19, 27, and 28.

such as William of Jumièges' *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (which was copied and interpolated by Orderic, probably before 1113),⁴⁴⁵ Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*,⁴⁴⁶ the *Historia Clementis*,⁴⁴⁷ Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*, housed in the same manuscript as a *Gesta pontificum*,⁴⁴⁸ a single volume housing Josephus' *Antiquitatum* and *Bello Judaico*,⁴⁴⁹ and Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*.⁴⁵⁰

In addition to these narrative works, at least one collection of annals is visible in the surviving 'Chapter-book of Saint-Évroul'.⁴⁵¹ Chibnall argued that these were certainly being compiled by the 1090s,⁴⁵² and having been kept updated throughout the remainder of Orderic's lifetime (with Orderic himself having completed many of the entries) seem to have attached reasonable importance towards preserving these records for their successors. Three further sets of annals may be suggested. With two calendars noted on the Saint-Évroul book-list, it is possible that either may have been accompanied by the kinds of computistical commentaries and tables seen in the surviving Durham manuscripts Durham Cathedral Library MS Hunter 100 and Glasgow, University Library MS Hunter 85 (T.4.2).⁴⁵³ Either may have featured marginal annals, as seen in the two Durham items. In addition, Chibnall and J. Laporte proposed that a set of Rouen annals may have been copied at Saint-Évroul in c.1098.⁴⁵⁴

Evidence within the Saint-Évroul book-list suggests that Orderic's community held a wide collection of hagiographical texts. The surviving manuscripts attest to the acquisition of five compendiums of texts relating to multiple saints,⁴⁵⁵ and one copy of Gregory of Tours' *De gloria martyrum*: a text which may also be seen to belong to the genre of sacred biography.⁴⁵⁶ The book-list records the presence of an additional seventeen texts relating the lives, miracles or

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., item 27; *GND*.

⁴⁴⁶ Appendix C, item 28.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., item 36.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., item 155.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., item 154.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., item 86.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., item 15.

⁴⁵² *HE*, vol. 1, p. 29.

⁴⁵³ Appendix B, items 93-6 and 102-3.

⁴⁵⁴ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 60-1; *HE*, vol. 2, p. xvii, especially note 2, referencing: J. Laporte, 'Tableau des services obituaires assurés par les abbayes de Saint-Évroul et de Jumièges', *Revue Mabillon*, xlii (1956), pp. 141-5.

⁴⁵⁵ Appendix C, items 3, 6, 14, 28, and 30.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., item 29. On Gregory's text as a work of hagiography, see: Martin Heinzelmann, 'La réécriture hagiographique dans l'oeuvre de Grégoire de Tours', in *Réécriture hagiographique*, eds. Goullet and Heinzelmann, pp. 15-70.

passions of saints. These collected a wide variety of accounts, ranging from local personalities such as St Judoc and St Martin,⁴⁵⁷ to figures from the wider world such as St Columba, Gregory the Great, and St Benedict.⁴⁵⁸ The evolution of the list as outlined by Nortier, suggests that this collection was continually expanded, with later continuations recording the procurement of the *Lives* of Herluin, Abbot of Bec, and Anselm, Prior of Bec and later Archbishop of Canterbury by as late as the beginning of the 1140s.⁴⁵⁹

This evidence for the collection of hagiographical items requires careful interpretation. As seen above, near-contemporary collections at Christ Church held six known hagiographical items (three of which were by Eadmer),⁴⁶⁰ while at Durham the figure is six also.⁴⁶¹ A near-contemporary list of 176 books from Fécamp contained fewer than ten items of hagiographical interest,⁴⁶² while one from Bec recorded just five out of a total of 166.⁴⁶³ Saint-Évroul's total of twenty-two from 169 is conspicuously high. Speculation surrounding the ways in which these texts were housed sheds some light on this issue. The book-list entry recording 'The Miracles of St Agili, with other collections', suggests an inclination to highlight composite volumes where necessary.⁴⁶⁴ While this item now appears lost, four survivals from Saint-Évroul show that Orderic's foundation collected multiple hagiographical works in large compendium volumes.⁴⁶⁵ Only one of these is identifiable on the book-list, this being Rouen, 1343 (U 43), which includes a Life of St Martin and may correspond to the entry '*Vita sancti Martini*'.⁴⁶⁶ A logical conclusion is to suggest that most of Saint-Évroul's hagiographical texts were found in smaller, loose-bound pamphlets. This would explain the comparatively high number of such items within the Saint-Évroul book-list when compared to records of other contemporary collections which, if they did collect hagiographical works in this way, have left no evidence of having done so.

⁴⁵⁷ Appendix C, items 113 and 115-6.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., items 117, 119 and 122.

⁴⁵⁹ Both in *ibid.*, item 167. For an explanation of the evolution of this list, see: Nortier, *bibliothèques médiévales*, pp. 106-8; Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium', p. 24.

⁴⁶⁰ Appendix A, items 20-1, 56, 76, and 93.

⁴⁶¹ Appendix B, items 77, 111, 113, 119, 121, and 127.

⁴⁶² Featured in Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. U 45, (1417), 176 ms fol. 55v, and discussed in Nortier, *Bibliothèques médiévales*, pp. 8-13;

⁴⁶³ Featured in Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 159, fols. 1-3, and discussed in Omont, *Catalogue générale*, vol. 2, pp. 379-99 and Nortier, *Bibliothèques médiévales*, pp. 40-5.

⁴⁶⁴ Omont, *Catalogue générale*, vol.2, pp. 468-9: '*Miracula sancto Agili, cum diversis collectionibus*'.

⁴⁶⁵ Appendix C, items 2, 4, 26 and 28.

⁴⁶⁶ Omont, *Catalogue générale*, vol.2, p. 468.

Discussions in chapter seven will suggest that Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* made use of some of the best-known historical works current across other Anglo-Norman library collections in the period. His usage suggests that much of his historical knowledge was gained through the study of volumes housed in the library of Saint-Évroul, and that these studies allowed Orderic to develop a sophisticated understanding of the past and how it could be written. However, despite his clear interest in historical materials, it must be concluded nevertheless that these provided only a small proportion of the total items known to have been housed at Saint-Évroul during Orderic's lifetime. Although Chibnall suggested that Orderic's master, John, brought from Rheims the benefits of 'an exceptionally strong historical tradition', there is in fact little surviving evidence that this encouraged original historical enquiry before, during or after Orderic's lifetime, other than works carried out by Orderic and John. Citing John's additions to the Saint-Évroul annals, his short verse history of the abbey (which was in fact described by Orderic as a biography of the saint) and his involvement in 'a short chronicle up to 1112' which she noted, 'must have owed something to him' Chibnall argued that John was a notable student of history in his own right.⁴⁶⁷ However, while this may have indeed been the case, the only other known author of historical materials at Saint-Évroul was Orderic. This suggests that history occupied a smaller place within the wider programme of monastic studies. Although historical texts were almost certainly added to the collection during John's and Orderic's lifetimes, these are overshadowed by the much higher numbers of texts relating to exegesis and theology. This area, more than any other, can be seen to have defined the character of the collection in these years.

A variety of evidence from surviving manuscripts, book-lists and contemporary testimony allows several observations relating to the study of the past at Eadmer's Christ Church, Symeon's Durham and Orderic's Saint-Évroul. While the evidence is certainly incomplete, the overall proportion of historical texts (broadly defined, as outlined in chapter three) within the evidence sample suggests that historical texts had only a marginal impact on the overall character of studies. This is true of each individual centre, and of the range of evidence as a whole. Excluding the works of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic themselves, the maximum number of narrative historical texts featured across the surviving evidence presented in Appendices A to C is just nineteen out of a total of 440. Including various other subcategories such as annals, chronicles, hagiography and other records such as the Durham *Liber Vitae*, this figure rises to sixty-five.

⁴⁶⁷ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 20-1.

Twenty-four are represented by the multiple hagiographies from Saint-Évroul, and even if these are taken as individual volumes in their own right, the total aggregate proportion of items featuring historical materials is still just less than fifteen per cent across the entire sample. This makes it impossible to claim that historical texts had a significant characterising impact on any of the three main centres of study during the lifetimes of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic, and suggests that in reality, the study of the past was only a small element of the broader curriculum.

Where known, the timescale of collection suggests that the acquisition and compilation of historical texts was secondary to the most immediate requirements of library foundation and expansion. Due to the low survival rate of Saint-Évroul manuscripts, conclusions here are difficult to identify. With the surviving evidence for Christ Church and Durham much stronger, it is possible to propose some trends in the collection of historical texts. While new books began to be acquired at Christ Church around the beginning of the 1080s,⁴⁶⁸ new copies of historical texts entered into the library only from *c.*1100 at the very earliest.⁴⁶⁹ Likewise, although three historical items were at Durham before *c.*1096,⁴⁷⁰ almost all of the remaining items were added only during the first quarter of the twelfth century.⁴⁷¹ In both cases, the acquisition of texts relating to the past was only carried out after significant initial waves of collection in the areas of liturgy, books of the Bible, and (mostly patristic) biblical exegesis. In short, the evidence suggests that historical texts were luxury, or supplementary items, whose study was only desired once the contents of library collections were already well established.

Wider research carried out by Gameson allows these findings to be contextualised. The proportion of historical texts featured in Gameson's sample of over 900 surviving manuscripts from almost the same period in England, suggests that the situation at Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul mirrored trends.⁴⁷² Gameson calculated historical texts provided at most one text in every nine and at the least one in twenty-one over the duration of the period *c.*1066-*c.*1130.⁴⁷³ Attempting to explain the minor impact of historical texts on wider collection patterns, Gameson suggested that very few histories were regarded as essential items by those directing

⁴⁶⁸ Appendix A, items 31, 38, 58, 62, 69, 72, 73, 79, 122, and 124.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, items 1, 14, 54, 55, and 121.

⁴⁷⁰ Appendix B, items 44, 99 and 133.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, items 27, 70, 82, 91, 102, and 112.

⁴⁷² Gameson, *MENE*, pp. 23-5.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

book-collection at that time, noting that ‘there were very few texts apart from the “classics” by Josephus and Bede which were felt to be an essential part of any good book collection’, and that aside from these, the majority of other Anglo-Norman histories were largely compiled as local works, relating to a localised past and notable protagonists within this.⁴⁷⁴

Gameson’s observations are supported by the evidence from Christ Church, Durham, and Saint-Évroul. Through the works of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic, all three centres produced histories of distinctly local focus, while Durham in particular collected a notable selection of texts relating to Northumbrian history and its saints during the 1090s.⁴⁷⁵ Of the major narrative histories collected across the three locations, all belonged to a small group of titles which seem to have circulated in multiple copies throughout Anglo-Norman contexts. Josephus’ *De antiquitate Iudacia*, owned by all three centres, was identified by Gameson in five other Anglo-Norman copies during the same period.⁴⁷⁶ Other histories held at two centres from Christ Church, Durham, and Saint-Évroul, including William of Jumièges *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (seen at Durham and Saint-Évroul),⁴⁷⁷ and Eusebius’ *Historia ecclesiastica* (at Christ Church and Saint-Évroul),⁴⁷⁸ were identified in one and four additional copies respectively, within Gameson’s corpus.⁴⁷⁹

The overall pattern of the extent to which and the ways in which historical texts were collected by Eadmer’s Christ Church, Symeon’s Durham, and Orderic’s Saint-Évroul suggests that their acquisition and study was broadly consistent with the programmes of study and definition laid out by Augustine, Cassiodorus, and Isidore. Historical texts were of apparently lesser importance when compared with those which assisted in the reading and interpretation of the Bible. The comparatively small numbers of titles acquired, and the diversity of different sub-genres of historical items acquired, suggest that a large proportion of these texts were obtained towards many of the specific intended uses suggested in the discussions of chapter three. Significantly, their numbers are not sufficient to suggest that historical studies were given sufficient

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 24-5.

⁴⁷⁵ For these, see: Appendix B, items 113, 119, 121, and 127.

⁴⁷⁶ Appendix A, item 1; B, item 27; C, item 154; Gameson, *MENE*, p. 175.

⁴⁷⁷ Appendix B, item 112; C, item 27.

⁴⁷⁸ Appendix A, item 14; C, item 35.

⁴⁷⁹ Gameson, *MENE*, pp. 24-5, 170, and 183.

precedence so as to have allowed the study and writing of history to have provided a major and characterising thrust to the careers of contemporary authors.

Despite their smaller role, historical texts certainly were acquired in all three centres under scrutiny. In most cases, it is not possible to know exactly how they were being read and used. However, their acquisition suggests that at least some of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's contemporaries were interested in discovering the past. The compilation of other original works, such as Osbern's hagiographical texts, the known activities of John of Rheims, and the various annals and chronicles noted above at all three centres, suggests that other contemporaries were also driven to produce new records of the past and historical individuals. The three chapters which follow have been conceived in order to shed important light on this issue. They examine the extent to which Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic interacted with the wider monastic curriculum at each centre, the respective role that each author played in the community as a whole, the extent to which each author can be shown to have known and interacted with the various historical texts available at his foundation and where relevant others nearby, and lastly, they examine the ways in which he presented, defined and commented upon his own historical activities. While this analysis cannot provide a complete picture of the role and status of historical studies within the monastic environment during the Anglo-Norman period, it sheds some important new light on the ways in which the study of the past (and in particular, the history of their own communities) was perceived and conceptualised by three of the best-known authors of historical texts during these years.

Eadmer of Canterbury is best-known to modern scholars as an author of historical narrative and biography. His best-known works are a work recounting the life and miracles of Archbishop Anselm, the *Vita et conversatio Anselmi*, and an accompanying history of wider events during Anselm's archiepiscopate, the *Historia novorum in Anglia*.⁴⁸⁰ Although there is no evidence through which it is possible to know exactly when either was begun, both were completed before 1109, and then later revised before Eadmer's death in 1128. The *Vita Anselmi* survives in at least fourteen manuscripts of twelfth-century origin.⁴⁸¹ The *Historia novorum* survives in two items: London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A.ix, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 452, the latter of which is judged to contain the author's autograph.⁴⁸² In addition to these works, Eadmer also copied, revised or composed *Lives*, hymns and letters relating to the cults of several Anglo-Saxon saints, including Archbishops Dunstan and Oswald, St Edward the Martyr, and St Wilfrid of York. Almost the entirety of Eadmer's known corpus of works survives in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 371.⁴⁸³ Although the manuscript as it exists today does not feature Eadmer's *Historia novorum*, Southern argued that the removal of ten quires between Eadmer's tract on eternal life and the *Vita Anselmi* (146v-147r), matches up with a suggestion that while

⁴⁸⁰ VA; HRE.

⁴⁸¹ The surviving manuscripts are listed in VA, pp. xii-xxv, with an accompanying table at p. vii.

⁴⁸² *Eadmeri Historia*, pp. ix-xv; and Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 372.

⁴⁸³ The full list of contents is as follows: a hymn in honour of St Dunstan (fol. 2r); a hymn in honour of St Edward the martyr (fol. 3r); Nicholas of Worcester's letter on the mother of Edward the martyr (fols. 3v-4r); Nicholas of Worcester's letter on the primacy of York in Scotland (fols. 4r-5r); Eadmer's letter to the monks of Glastonbury relating to the Dunstan materials (fols. 5v-9r); a letter from the archbishop of York on the see of Durham (fols. 9v-11v); Eadmer's *Life* of St Wilfrid of York (fols. 12r-39v); Eadmer's concise *Life* of St Wilfrid (fols. 39v-44r); Eadmer's *Life* of St Oda of Canterbury (fols. 44r-51v); Eadmer's *Life* and *Miracles* of St Dunstan (fols. 51v-77v and 77v-88r, respectively); Anselm's tract on the ordination of Gregory (fols. 88v-95v); Eadmer's tract on the Virgin Mary (fols. 95v-1076v); Eadmer's *Life* and *Miracles* of St Oswald (fols. 107v-123v and 123v-130v, respectively); Anselm's tract on eternal life (fols. 130v-141r); Eadmer's *Life* of St Bergwine (fols. 141r-146v); Eadmer's *Life* and *Miracles* of St Anselm (fols. 147r-189v and 190r-197v, respectively); Eadmer's tract on the immaculate conception (fols. 198r-208r); Eadmer's *Life* of Peter, the first abbot of St Augustine's Canterbury (fols. 208r-212r); Eadmer's lections on the memory of saints (fols. 212r-212v); Eadmer's tract on the kingdom of heaven (fols. 212v-220v); Eadmer's tract on the relics of St Aldwin (fols. 220v-225v); and Eadmer's tract on the Archangel Gabriel (fols. 226r-231v). Southern has also argued on codicological grounds, that the volume probably also contained an earlier draft of Eadmer's *Historia novorum*, between the current fols. 146v and 147r. See: Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 368.

the manuscript did originally contain the original four-book version of his *Historia*, he later removed the text in order to revise and continue the narrative.⁴⁸⁴ Several sections of the manuscript are regarded as Eadmer's autograph, and it has been labelled by Southern as Eadmer's own 'personal notebook'.⁴⁸⁵

The manuscripts and texts that Eadmer left behind give ample opportunity to study the place of the past within the cultural and textual environment of Anglo-Norman England. While he was born an Anglo-Saxon, the trajectory of Eadmer's career, and in particular the companionship he seems to have lent to Archbishop Anselm through various turmoil, the readiness with which Eadmer approached the reorganisation of the Christ Church library in his earlier adult life, and the intellect which allowed him to pursue his own theological enquiries, do not suggest that Eadmer was reluctant to embrace the newly-created Anglo-Norman society, or that he was in any way blinkered in his defence of the Anglo-Saxon past.⁴⁸⁶ Considered in the round, the character of Eadmer's various scribal, administrative and intellectual activities provide valuable evidence towards assessing the ways in which and the reasons for which he studied and wrote about the past. In particular, it will be seen that Eadmer's career sheds important light on a number of key issues, which feature at regular intervals within the discussion which follows. These are: the evolution of his identity as a student and author of the past; the impact of his own personal experiences in his preservation of the past and the importance which his works placed on eyewitness testimony as a result; and the links between history and hagiography in Eadmer's works.

Despite his extensive activities and experience in the study of the past, this discussion will argue that Eadmer's aims and experiences as historian are quite divergent from what many modern scholars have taken them to be. The variety of Eadmer's surviving hagiographical and historical writing has ensured his reputation as a student of the past among modern scholarship.⁴⁸⁷ In

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 368.

⁴⁸⁵ This manuscript has been digitised in full at http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page_turner.do?ms_no=371, accessed 2 August 2013. For discussion see Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 367-74.

⁴⁸⁶ Eadmer's wider activities away from historical writing are discussed in Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 287-98; Jean Fournée, 'Du *De Conceptu virginali* de saint Anselme au *De Conceptione sanctae Mariae* de son disciple Eadmer. Ou de la *Virgo purissima* à la *Virgo immaculata*', in *Les Mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XIe-XIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1984), pp. 711-21; Southern, *Portrait*, pp. 430-6; Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles of Saints*, p. xxviii.

⁴⁸⁷ Eadmer's wider activities are discussed in Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 287-98; Fournée, 'Du *De Conceptu virginali*'; Southern, *Portrait*, pp. 430-6; Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, p. xxviii.

particular, his authorship of the *Historia novorum* has earned Eadmer a reputation as a historian, and one of the first authors to have shaped the revival of historical writing in twelfth-century England. Antonia Gransden has declared Eadmer ‘the first Anglo-Norman to write contemporary history’, and as noted above, Richard Southern has portrayed him as a long-awaited successor to Bede’s model of ‘genuine history - history with a theme of some magnitude and a certain elevation of view...’⁴⁸⁸ More recently, Chris Given-Wilson has placed the *Historia novorum* among the ‘Roots of English National Historiography’, while Elisabeth van Houts has described the same text as ‘the first attempt by a full-blooded Englishman to digest the impact of the Norman Conquest’; a sentiment also present in an earlier study by Richard Wissolik.⁴⁸⁹ However, what follows will suggest that this assessment of Eadmer’s contribution to a wider canon of English and Anglo-Norman historiography neglects to read Eadmer’s *Historia* as it really was. This will argue although Eadmer did indeed write on contemporary events with an identifiable unifying theme, his presentation of history as represented by the *Historia novorum* was less an exercise in ‘English national historiography’, and more an attempt by one particularly talented hagiographer, to provide a deeply personal account of his witness to some of the most important events and individuals of his day.

The general conditions of study within the school at Christ Church, Canterbury during Eadmer’s period of activity have been noted in the previous chapter. According to the surviving evidence, Eadmer’s community pursued a large-scale programme of book-production and acquisition from around the beginning of 1080s onwards. This was in part to make good the losses incurred through fire in 1067, but probably also in response to an increased influence from Continental schools of learning during the post-Conquest period. Although the 1067 fire may have brought about a pressing need for academic resources, evidence presented by Webber and Gullick suggests that resultant gaps in the library collection are unlikely to have been addressed until the end of the 1070s at the very earliest.⁴⁹⁰ After this date the collection increased rapidly: although not all of the items listed in Appendix A were produced at Christ Church (a number, including items 15, 17, 23, 40, 51, 81, and 116, were made on the Continent and then imported) the Christ

⁴⁸⁸ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, vol. 1, p. 138; *HRE*, p. vii.

⁴⁸⁹ Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p. 159; van Houts, ‘Historical Writing’, p. 112; Wissolik, ‘Eadmer as Historian of the Norman Succession’.

⁴⁹⁰ As argued in Webber, ‘Script and Manuscript Production’, pp. 148-153; Webber, ‘Les manuscrits de Christ Church (Cantorbéry) et de Salisbury’, p. 95; Gullick, ‘The Scribal Work of Eadmer’, p. 187.

Church scriptorium appears to have achieved enough stability to enable the export of at least three items to Durham before 1096.⁴⁹¹

If, as Southern proposed, Eadmer was born in around 1060, he was surrounded by an environment of bibliographic modernisation and expansion.⁴⁹² The evidence suggests a rapid rejuvenation of the library collection at Christ Church after c.1080. This placed heavy emphasis on the study of biblical exegesis and theological commentary by leading patristic authors such as Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, and also Bede. Over half of the total items within the surviving corpus are works of this sort, as represented by the arrival of thirteen new items by Augustine,⁴⁹³ thirteen by Jerome,⁴⁹⁴ four by Gregory,⁴⁹⁵ four by Ambrose,⁴⁹⁶ and nine by Bede,⁴⁹⁷ during Eadmer's lifetime, alongside a variety of texts by other less well-represented authors from various previous eras such as Haymo of Auxerre, Isidore of Seville, and Ivo of Chartres.⁴⁹⁸

Sixteen items featured within Appendix A contained historical texts, or texts of potential historical interest. Two redactions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, one of which represented a new edition with a Latin translation, provided a bridge to the distant and more recent events of the Anglo-Saxon past.⁴⁹⁹ The collection and revision of texts relating to numerous Anglo-Saxon saints by Eadmer himself and Osbern, his close companion, provided similar contact with earlier English historical events and individuals.⁵⁰⁰ In addition to these items, several examples of narrative historical writing were acquired at around the turn of the twelfth century. These included Josephus' *De antiquitate Iudacia*, Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*, Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*, Eutropius' *Brevarium historiae* complete with Paul the Deacon's continuation, Victor of Vita's *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae*, and the anonymous *Historia Brittonum*.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹¹ Appendix A, items 70-2.

⁴⁹² Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 231, and further supported by Biffi, in his introduction to *Historia novorum*, trans. Tombolini, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., items 3, 10, 35-9, 42, 43, 48, 96, 117, and 127.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., items 2, 26, 28, 30, 31, 37, 45-7, 69, 112, 115, and 117.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., items 9, 60, 81, 106,

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., items 10, 32, 33, and 118.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., items 5, 27, 106, 110, 112, 113, 117, 123, and 128.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., items 3, 5, 37, 44, 61, and 65.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., items 13 and 83.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., items 20, 22, and 76.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., items 1, 14, 54, 55, 56 and 91.

Although certainly incomplete, the surviving evidence from Eadmer's Christ Church suggests that he lived and worked among a community of scholars who appear anxious to expand their collection of reading materials, and that the books acquired in this programme of enlargement were consistent with the major trends of Anglo-Norman book-production around the same time (that is, with a major focus on patristic biblical exegesis and theological commentary). Later discussions within this chapter will argue that Eadmer's abilities as a scribe allowed him to play a part in this process of copying and book production. The maintenance and translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* suggests that Eadmer's contemporaries invested in the Anglo-Saxon past. Moreover, Eadmer and Osbern's revisions of Anglo-Saxon hagiography suggest that there was at the same time a desire to learn more about certain past individuals through which the English church had evolved and also the capacity to uncover enough source material so as to allow for this process to be pursued. In addition, the acquisition of a number of well-known narrative histories from around 1100 onwards provides further evidence of a desire to study the events of a wide variety of world and church history, among Eadmer and his contemporaries.

The character of this textual environment sheds important light on Eadmer's development as a student of the past. However, despite the acclaim with which modern scholars have observed his impact on the development of Anglo-Norman historiography, there is surprisingly little evidence to suggest that Eadmer studied or engaged with the collection of narrative historical works which are known to have been present at Christ Church during his lifetime. The identification of Eadmer's hand within the Canterbury collection is discussed below, but it is worth noting here that Eadmer does not appear to have contributed to the production of any Christ Church copies of pre-existing historical works, nor is it present within the continuation to either redaction of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* maintained there during his lifetime. Although this does not mean that Eadmer categorically ignored these sources, his historical writings (and in particular the *Historia novorum*) are almost completely lacking in the kinds of references to or citations from previous historiographical traditions seen in the works of Eadmer's contemporaries. Although Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* devoted little attention to the events of the ancient world, the author nevertheless sought to increase the legitimacy of his own writing by suggesting that he had read and digested the Trojan narrative of the fictitious author Dares Phrygius, and the *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus.⁵⁰² Orderic also made references to Eusebius, Orosius, Bede, and Paul the Deacon, all of which were noted in order to

⁵⁰² *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 130-1.

boost the authority of his narrative.⁵⁰³ William of Malmesbury referred to Josephus, Orosius, Eusebius, Paul the Deacon, Bede, and the *Historia Brittonum* in a similar manner.⁵⁰⁴ Henry of Huntingdon's extroverted historical prologue referenced or quoted Chrysippus, Crantor, Horace, Homer, and Bede, even though Bede was the only one of these to have had any major influence on the actual content of his *Historia Anglorum*.⁵⁰⁵

Eadmer's apparent lack of engagement with historiographical theory and previous models of historical writing in the *Historia novorum* can in part be explained by his narrow focus on events quite apart from those featured in previous histories. However, even when he did depict events from the more distant past, as for example in the opening sections in the introductory overview of the later Anglo-Saxon church seen in the opening sections of his *Historia novorum*, he made no reference to any of his sources. His narrative differs markedly in tone and content from the Christ Church redactions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, suggesting that he did not use either as a source for those events which had occurred before his lifetime.⁵⁰⁶ Despite the clear possibility that Eadmer had read the established historiographical exemplars housed within the Christ Church collection, a complete lack of references to any of these within the *Historia novorum* may suggest that he was not only not influenced by these works, but also that he did not consider his work to have belonged even to the same genre.

At least part of the reason why Eadmer included no references to previous histories can be explained by the specific nature of his subject matter. In writing the *Historia novorum*, Eadmer was his own major authoritative source. His account was built around personal recollection of, as he put it, 'the things which I have seen with my own eyes and myself heard'.⁵⁰⁷ Eadmer portrayed himself as a protagonist throughout his narrative, and his numerous references to having witnessed events confirm that he simply had no need to refer to previous accounts of the events depicted, other than his own memories.⁵⁰⁸ These were augmented by the various notes taken throughout the course of Anselm's life at least to c.1100, alongside several archiepiscopal

⁵⁰³ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 130-1.

⁵⁰⁴ William, *Gesta regum*, pp. 14-15; 20-21; 192-3; 662-3 and 740-1.

⁵⁰⁵ Henry, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 2-5.

⁵⁰⁶ HRE, pp. 1-8; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Collaborative Edition*, vol. 3, pp. 74-89; Ibid., vol. 8, pp. 82-1-127.

⁵⁰⁷ HRE, p. 1; *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 1: 'statui ea quae sub oculis vidi vel audiui'.

⁵⁰⁸ HRE, pp. 48; 41; 73; 75; 55, and 91-124.

documents and letters to which he is known to have enjoyed access as a member of Anselm's administration.⁵⁰⁹

Although it is not possible to know whether Eadmer knew Isidore's discussion of *historia*, Eadmer's status as Anselm's close companion rendered him the ultimate provider of eyewitness testimony in the *Historia novorum*. Eadmer's close proximity to Anselm ensured his presence at most of the events depicted within the *Historia novorum*, or at least that he had probably spoken to most of its protagonists regarding these events. Through this, any members of a contemporary audience familiar with the Isidorian precept that 'among the ancients no one would write a history unless he has been present and had seen what was to be written down',⁵¹⁰ knew at once that Eadmer's personal experiences limited his need to consult (and in so doing to acknowledge) the types of previous historical or biographical sources that were essential to wider histories of the distant past, such as those composed by Orderic, William and Henry.⁵¹¹

Although a lack of references to the previous historiographical canon might suggest that Eadmer did not specifically characterise himself as a student of the past, considering the place of his various historical studies and writings within the general character of his wider intellectual activities, suggests that at least his own private studies might be generally characterised by a heavy emphasis on discovering and recording the events of the past. An overview of Eadmer's wider scribal and scholarly career provides a more detailed backdrop for the interpretation of this subject.

The character of Eadmer's earliest and adult education cannot be known in detail. However, his monastic vocation, added to the high number of texts relating to the study and interpretation of the Bible and theological themes within the surviving evidence for the expansion of the Christ Church library, increases the likelihood that Eadmer spent a considerable portion of his working life engaged in these subject areas. This assumption is supported by palaeographical evidence relating to Eadmer's scribal activities, and also the character of some of his original compositions.

⁵⁰⁹ VA, pp. 150-1; examples of these documentary sources occur throughout the *Historia*. See for example, *HRE*, pp. 20-23; 38-9; 47-8; 95-7; 134-7 and: *Eadmeri Historia*, pp. 227; 228-9; 232-3; 236; 242-3; 244.

⁵¹⁰ Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, vol. 1, book 1, ch. XLI: '*nemo conscribat historiam, nisi is qui interfuisset, et ea quae conscribenda essent vidisset.*'

⁵¹¹ This aspect of Eadmer's work is also discussed in Giles E.M. Gasper, 'Envy, Jealousy and the Boundaries of Orthodoxy: Anselm, Eadmer and the Genesis of the Proslogion', *Viator* 41 (2010), pp. 45-68, at pp. 54-5.

The earliest surviving manuscripts featuring Eadmer's hand suggest that between the mid-1080s and the beginning of the 1090s, he helped to produce several volumes containing works of exegesis and theology. These included several short works by Augustine,⁵¹² Jerome's commentaries on the twelve minor prophets and on Daniel,⁵¹³ the first section of Ambrose's *Hexameron* commentary originally in two volumes,⁵¹⁴ and some of the second volume and all of the third volume of a three-volume copy of Augustine on the Psalms.⁵¹⁵ Eadmer's role in copying entire sections or large parts of patristic exegesis and theology suggests that he was one of a team of scribes who were collectively responsible for producing the first wave of the books which would rapidly repopulate and rejuvenate the Christ Church library collection to the end of the 1120s.

These experiences are likely to have given Eadmer a close working knowledge of several of the main authors of Patristic biblical exegesis. Two of his later compositions demonstrate that the study of theological doctrine continued to hold an important place within his scholarly endeavours thereafter. Their existence provides important evidence to suggest that for all his historical and hagiographical enterprises, Eadmer was not solely interested in the study of the past. Eadmer wrote the treatises *De excellentia gloriosissimae virginis matris Dei* and *De conceptione sanctae Mariae*. Southern has suggested that these were added to the Corpus Christi 371 manuscript late in Eadmer's career, after 1115 and 1125 respectively.⁵¹⁶ Although Southern identified the heavy influence of Anselm within both (despite the nature of their conclusions), these two works nevertheless prove that this subject area was a notable aspect of Eadmer's life as a monastic scholar.⁵¹⁷

Consideration of Eadmer's role in the archiepiscopal administration of Archbishop Anselm sheds further light on the multiplicity of Eadmer's numerous duties during the middle years of his life. At some point towards the middle of the 1080s, Eadmer began to become involved with the production of administrative documents on behalf of Archbishop Lanfranc. Two letters from Pope Clement to Lanfranc dated between 1086 and 1089, three profession-slips dated between 1086 and 1088, and large portions of the best-surviving copy of Lanfranc's *Decreta*, have all

⁵¹² Appendix A, item 96.

⁵¹³ Ibid., item 31.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., item 10.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., item 48.

⁵¹⁶ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 287-8 and 290-1.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 287-98.

come down to us in Eadmer's hand.⁵¹⁸ After the arrival of Anselm in 1093, Eadmer continued to work within this administrative role. In his hand exist copies of a land grant by Anselm to William Calvello made between 1093 and 1097 and two profession-slips in 1108.⁵¹⁹ Eadmer's continuing, and indeed heightened, role during Anselm's archiepiscopate is shown not only by these documents, but also in the abundance of eyewitness accounts within the *Historia novorum*.⁵²⁰ These record his presence alongside Anselm at meetings with William Rufus in 1094, 1095 and three times in 1097, a general council of secular and ecclesiastical leaders at Rockingham in 1095, and the archbishop's two lengthy exiles in 1097-100 and 1103-1106.⁵²¹ Existing letter-collections inform us that Eadmer often corresponded on Anselm's behalf and also copied several of the archbishop's works for dissemination during these two periods of exile, although no specific examples of these have survived.⁵²²

None of the official documents from the archiepiscopacy of Anselm's successor, Ralph d'Escures, feature contributions from Eadmer. Although Southern suggested that Eadmer was Ralph's 'main adviser' during the dispute with Thurstan of York, Southern also noted that Eadmer held no official office after Anselm's death, and that consequently he was free to pursue his own writings.⁵²³ However, Eadmer did accompany the new archbishop on his petition to Rome in 1116, and although illness forced him to return early in 1119, this experience suggests that Eadmer continued to work alongside the archbishop in an administrative or advisory capacity.⁵²⁴

The evidence of Eadmer's administrative role therefore reveals his role as a prominent personality within the monastic community and archiepiscopal administration, engaged in a number of official duties, and in possession of a lively and accurate mind. More importantly within this discussion, his activities further confirm the observation that Eadmer was not exclusively devoted to his various historical writings. Time spent within Anselm's closest circle appears to have both assisted and hindered these interests. Unlike Orderic Vitalis, who will be shown in chapter seven to have done so on numerous occasions, Eadmer does not note that he

⁵¹⁸ Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production at Christ Church; Gullick, 'The Scribal Work of Eadmer', pp. 180 and 183; Gullick, 'Scribes'; Piper, 'The Durham Cantor's Book'.

⁵¹⁹ On Eadmer's documents, see: Gullick, 'The Scribal Work of Eadmer', pp. 180 and 185-6.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., pp. 180 and 185-6.

⁵²¹ *HRE*, pp. 48; 41; 73; 75; 55; and 91-124, respectively.

⁵²² Gullick, 'Scribal Work of Eadmer', p. 185.

⁵²³ Southern, *Portrait*, pp. 414 and 416.

⁵²⁴ This third journey is described in *Eadmeri Historia*, pp. 239-250.

had studied historical texts on these travels.⁵²⁵ What is certain, is that the importance which Eadmer attached to having witnessed most of the seminal moments of Anselm's archiepiscopacy confirms that although his experiences in the archiepiscopal chancellery probably curtailed Eadmer's opportunities to further his historiographical and hagiographical writings in the short term, in the long term, they in fact contributed to his abilities to compose the *Vita Anselmi* and *Historia novorum*.

One further aspect of Eadmer's experiences at Christ Church is of particular relevance to his study of the past, and in particular, his conceptualisation of its relevance within monastic life. It is likely that Eadmer was appointed as cantor, or *precentor*, to the monks of Christ Church at some point during the last decade of his life. The later author of history within the same community, Gervase of Canterbury, described Eadmer as the cantor on two separate occasions, one of which is featured on the first folio of Corpus Christi College 371 (fol. 1r) in the form of his brief note that the manuscript contained '*Opuscula Eadmeri cantoris*'.⁵²⁶ Given the demanding nature of the position as suggested below, it seems likely that Eadmer took up this office following his return from St Andrews in 1121.

It is not possible to know everything that Eadmer did as Christ Church cantor, nor exactly which of his surviving manuscript activities record work carried out in the capacity of cantor.⁵²⁷ Nevertheless, Eadmer's role as main scribe for the earliest surviving manuscript redaction of Lanfranc's *Decreta*, allows a number of possible duties and activities associated with the office to be posited.⁵²⁸ According to Lanfranc's instructions, music, and in particular, provision of a chanted liturgy, was central to the cantor's role. The cantor was chiefly responsible for maintaining acceptable standards of the liturgical offices, with immediate intervention should anything go wrong. Lanfranc stipulated that:

⁵²⁵ An overview of the evidence relating to Orderic's travels is available in *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 25-7. For an outline of Eadmer's compositions and travels, see: Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, pp. xv-xxviii.

⁵²⁶ *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, vol. 1, p. 7; *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 374. For discussion, see: Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 237; Southern, *Anselm: Portrait*, pp.418-21; Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles of Saints*, p. xxvi.

⁵²⁷ The best review of the cantor's role in the Middle Ages remains Margot Fassler, 'The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: a preliminary investigation', *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music* 5 (1985), pp. 29-51.

⁵²⁸ Appendix A, item 70. For discussion, see: *Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, in which Eadmer's manuscript is discussed at p. xlv; see also: Fassler, 'The Office of the Cantor'.

It is the cantor's business to watch carefully at all times, so that no negligence occurs in any service in the monastery...the cantor should be quite ready to begin without delay what should have been begun, or to lead back into the right road one who has strayed.⁵²⁹

In order that this monastic liturgy should be delivered in the appropriate manner and in the appropriate order, it is likely that Lanfranc's cantor was expected to have some knowledge of computistics. His *Decreta* stipulated that the cantor should 'keep count of the week's and month's mind'.⁵³⁰ This maintenance of the liturgical cycle was probably also linked to Lanfranc's instruction that the cantor was to 'supervise the letters sent out to ask for prayers for the dead brethren', that is, to arrange confraternity and therefore (bearing in mind his role in supervising the liturgy) presumably also to add provision for such prayers to be delivered.⁵³¹

In addition to this liturgical role, a certain portion of the cantor's duties probably required him to be involved in supervising the scriptorium and teaching younger monks. Lanfranc ordered that the cantor was to 'read himself or to indicate to the master of the children where the child who reads is to begin'.⁵³² Almost certainly linked to this, was Lanfranc's suggestion that the cantor might serve as monastic librarian. Lanfranc wrote that cantors should have 'care of all the books of the house, and has them in his keeping' but only 'if his interest and learning are such'.⁵³³ These duties were of obvious benefit to one charged with teaching younger generations how to read and write.

If, as Gervase suggested, Eadmer was indeed cantor of Christ Church, he may be considered one of a number of near contemporary authors who held the position and also wrote about past events. Gullick and Rollason have shown that Symeon of Durham was cantor there by at least 1126,⁵³⁴ and discussions below will present evidence to suggest that Orderic Vitalis may also have been cantor of Saint-Évroul. It is also likely, following the contemporary testimony of

⁵²⁹ *Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, pp. 118-21: '*Ipsius est omni hora sollicite prouidere, ne eueniat neglegentia in quocunque obsequio quod fit in monasterio...ipse debet essa prouisus atque paratus, ut sine mora, quod incipiendum erat, incipiat, uel eum, qui fallendo deuiauerat, in uiam reducat.*'

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-3: '*cura numerandi tricenaria, et septenaria, ad eum pertinent.*'

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-3: '*Cura breuium, qui foras mitti solent pro defunctis fratribus.*'

⁵³² *Ibid.*, p. 120-1: '*ipsius est aut legere, aut magistro infantum ostendere, quo in loco infans debeat lectionem incipere.*'

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-3: '*De universis monasterii libris curam great, et eos in custodia sua habeat, si eius studii et scientie sit, ut eorum custodia ei commentaria debeat.*'

⁵³⁴ Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 20-1; *LDE*, pp. xliii-xliv.

Robert of Cricklade, that another leading twelfth-century author of history, William of Malmesbury, was also known as a cantor during his lifetime.⁵³⁵

Despite the fact that these examples show that some of the best-known authors of history of the eleventh and twelfth-centuries were also monastic cantors, possible links between historical writing and cantorship have received little previous scholarly discussion. Rollason briefly speculated on some of the possible ground shared by the roles of historian and cantor in his introduction to Symeon's *Libellus*, but only with the aim of confirming Symeon as author of the text.⁵³⁶ A more in-depth study is offered by Susan Boynton in her study of the works of Gregory of Catino, monk at the monastery of Farfa in Italy around the turn of the twelfth century.⁵³⁷ Analysing the probable liturgical contexts for which Gregory produced his institutional histories, Boynton showed a connection between Gregory's role as cantor and the musical and performance elements of Gregory's historical writings, and suggesting that 'the liturgy was an important influence on his vision of Farfa's history.'⁵³⁸

Following Boynton's example, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the extent to which Eadmer's probable duties as cantor may have influenced the nature of his historical writings, and vice versa. However, few of Eadmer's activities as cantor seem to have survived, especially when compared with the evidence left by other contemporary cantor-historians. Discussions in subsequent chapters six and seven will suggest that Symeon and Orderic added to liturgical ordinances, including notes of confraternity, obits, and collections of saints' lives: all of which might sensibly be correlated with Lanfranc's prescriptions for the ideal monastic cantor. In both cases, the surviving manuscript evidence shows each to have been actively involved in shaping the liturgical life of their respective foundations, in their probable capacities as cantor.

In Eadmer's case, the surviving manuscript evidence of his cantorship is almost entirely represented in Corpus Christi 371. One exception is provided by Southern, who noted the survival of fragmentary continuations of Eadmer's tract on the relics of St Aldwine and other Anglo-Saxon saints of Canterbury, which he judged appeared in Eadmer's hand.⁵³⁹ While the

⁵³⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud. Misc. 725, fol. 129v: '*Guillelmi Meldunensis ecclesie monachi et cantoris*'.

⁵³⁶ *LDE*, pp. xliii-xliv.

⁵³⁷ Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and history at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), especially at pp. 19-63.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁵³⁹ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 370.

location of these additions within a Christ Church lectionary may suggest that Eadmer was acting as cantor when he added to this liturgical manuscript, this cannot be proven.⁵⁴⁰

Many of the hagiographical sources contained in Corpus Christi 371 had the potential to contribute to the cantor's remit to monitor and provide for the monastic liturgy.⁵⁴¹ Although Southern described the work as Eadmer's 'personal' notebook (measuring as it does, only 226 x 155mm) several features suggest that the manuscript was not used as a repository of rough notes. Many sections feature coloured capitals throughout, with the hymn for St Dunstan on fol. 2r providing the most elaborate example. Other sections employed amplificatory display scripts, such as the hierarchy of coloured capitals, brown capitals and decorated initial employed at the beginning of the *Life* of St Wilfrid of York on fol. 12r, and the coloured chapter headings which introduce the *Vita Anselmi*, on fols. 147r-149v and which are supported by the addition of coloured capitals at the beginning of every chapter within the remainder of the ensuing text (for example, fols. 150r-155v *et cetera*). Although it cannot be argued that they were added by Eadmer or within his lifetime, the first section of the hymn for King Edward the martyr (fol. 3r) contains notes of musical notation, suggesting that this item was intended for singing rather than private reading. Eadmer left generous margins throughout the majority of the texts featured within the manuscript, and these can be shown as original features, thanks to the visibility of several heavily ruled sections (for example, fols. 53v-54r, 74v-75r, and 122v-123r, the latter of which also displays clear prick-marks on the edges of both pages). While this manuscript may well have been the place in which Eadmer stored his miscellaneous compositions for later edition and revision, he may also have placed them in this modest but well-executed volume in order that they might be used within the public, perhaps liturgical, sphere.

Despite their uses within the liturgical offices at Christ Church, it must be acknowledged that Eadmer is unlikely to have compiled any of his hagiographical texts specifically because he was the Cantor of Christ Church. Studies by Southern and Turner and Muir, have suggested that most of the items featured within were written before 1116.⁵⁴² With Eadmer unlikely to have been elected to the cantorship until the beginning of the 1120s, these writings cannot therefore be seen as direct responses to his mandate as cantor. If the argument is reversed, however, it is possible

⁵⁴⁰ Appendix A, item 64. Southern noted that these additions are printed in N.R. Ker and A. Wilmart, *Analecta Bollandiana*, li (1933), pp. 285-94, and lxiv (1946), pp. 50-3).

⁵⁴¹ Appendix A, item 22.

⁵⁴² Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 368; Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, pp. xxii-xxiv.

to suggest that Eadmer may have been elected as cantor precisely because he had significant experience in liturgical and hagiographical compositions. Aged around fifty in 1121, Eadmer is likely to have been one of the longest-serving members of his community at that time. While this seniority may have provided the foundations of his willingness and ability to follow Lanfranc's instruction to interject during mistakes in the liturgy, his position may also have reflected possible perceptions that Eadmer was the leading custodian of the cults associated with several of the saints about whom he and his contemporaries were presumably singing and hearing. By this time, he had almost certainly copied, revised or composed a wide selection of hagiographical narratives and hymns as featured in *Corpus Christi* 371, and if he did add the *numes* within the hymn in honour of King Edward the martyr, then Eadmer may have possessed at least some knowledge and interest in musical theory by the time of his election to the cantorship. It is possible to suggest therefore, that Eadmer was chosen as cantor of Christ Church because of his experience in a field of learning that would have been vital for the successful fulfilment of the role. Chief among these may have been his extensive previous activities in the field of hagiography.

A variety of evidence sheds further light on Eadmer's position as hagiographer. Study of Eadmer's scribal additions and his original writings suggests that Eadmer had little experience of studying and writing narrative history away from the *Historia novorum*. Eadmer's hand is not present in any of the historical narratives housed at Christ Church during his lifetime, nor has it been identified in either contemporary redaction of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* which were also present during the same years. The bulk of Eadmer's writings relating to the past are in fact hagiographical, rather than historiographical. As such, Eadmer's composition of the *Historia novorum in Anglia* sheds important light on the relationship between history and hagiography during the Anglo-Norman historiographical turn.

Although previous studies have perhaps over-emphasised the role played by Osbern, there is no doubt that this older colleague had a notable impact on Eadmer's hagiographical interests and works.⁵⁴³ A close companion during Eadmer's early adult life, Osbern wrote texts on the lives

⁵⁴³ For comments on Osbern's career, see Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 249-52; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1, pp. 127-9; Southern, *Anselm: Portrait*, pp. 217-9; Jay Rubenstein, 'The Life and Writings of Osbern of Canterbury' in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars*, eds. Richard Eales and Richard Sharpe (London, 1995), pp. 27-40; Giles E.M. Gasper, 'A Doctor in the House? The context for Anselm of Canterbury's interest in medicine with reference to a probable case of malaria', *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004) 245-261.

and miracles of Saints Elphege, Oda, and Dunstan, and has been seen as a key influence on Eadmer's development as a student and author of hagiography.⁵⁴⁴ Turner and Muir have suggested that Eadmer took up Osbern's mantle in something approaching a role as 'chief Christ Church hagiographer'.⁵⁴⁵ This claim deserves some attention here, in light of its relevance towards Eadmer's own self-identification as a student of the past.

There is little doubt that Eadmer and Osbern were friends. A particular illustration of this is visible in Eadmer's lively description of an episode which occurred between 1089 and 1093, during which he was led by Osbern on an apparently covert search for relics within the Christ Church buildings which Eadmer claims ended by being reprimanded by two figures who had appeared as angels.⁵⁴⁶ Southern noted that in his account of the relic-search, Eadmer referred to Osbern as 'the most famous of precentors': a description which could suggest that Eadmer may have been working under Osbern in some capacity, and possibly in preparation for his later assumption of the same role.⁵⁴⁷ Southern's portrayal of Osbern tended to exaggerate the competencies of his would-be pupil, Eadmer. He depicted Osbern as an individual 'whose talent lay in music' rather than in discovering and narrating the past, and an author whose work was 'to be much criticised for his inaccuracies', by 'better historians' (that is, Eadmer).⁵⁴⁸ The precise nature of Eadmer's relationship with Osbern remains unknown. Eadmer's reference to Osbern as cantor and his account of the relic search are his only explicit references to his would-be mentor. In his revisions of Osbern's *Life* and *Miracles* of St Dunstan, Eadmer alluded to Osbern only indirectly, as the author of 'other writings which recount these same deeds in a quite different literary style'.⁵⁴⁹ Nevertheless, using Osbern's version of the *Life* and *Miracles* of St Dunstan as his principal source, Eadmer is likely to have felt a considerable debt to Osbern, even if he sought to supersede the efforts of his former companion. Turner and Muir have observed that Eadmer's works were 'highly (but by no means totally) dependent on the basic outline and text

⁵⁴⁴ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1, pp. 127-8; Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, p. xvi.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. xxii-xxiii.

⁵⁴⁶ A. Wilmart, 'De reliquiis Sancti Audoeni et quorundam aliorum sanctorum quae Cantuariæ in ecclesia Domini Salvatoris habentur', *Revue des sciences religieuses*, xv (1935), pp. 362-70, at pp. 367-9; Discussed in Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 251-2; *Anselm: Portrait*, p. 318; Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, p. xvi.

⁵⁴⁷ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 248-52, at p. 250.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 250.

⁵⁴⁹ Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles of Saints*, pp. 44-5: 'scriptis quae in alio quodam elocutionis genere ipsa gesta commemorant sapientum considerationi relictis.'

of Osbern's narrative', and that certain sections of Eadmer's working methods involved 'little more than offering a précis of Osbern'.⁵⁵⁰

Although an absence of direct commentary hinders attempts to evaluate the exact nature of Eadmer's relationship with Osbern, it is certain that both shared similar concerns. They appear to have worked in something of a niche area of composition. As discussed above in chapter four, evidence detailing the wider manuscript tradition at Christ Church suggests that Osbern and Eadmer introduced their works into an environment that did not possess a large pre-existing collection of sacred biography. A complete lack of surviving hagiographical items from the pre-Conquest era may be at least partly put down to the 1067 fire. However, the post-1067 evidence suggests that if any texts were lost, little attempt was made to replace them by anyone other than Osbern and Eadmer.

Among the surviving post-Conquest manuscripts, only two can be shown to have featured hagiographical material written by authors other than Osbern or Eadmer. One of these housed the *Passio Sancti Quiriaci* alongside Victor of Vita's historical *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae*.⁵⁵¹ As St Quiricus was a Christian victim of early fourth-century persecution in the Near East, the narrative of his martyrdom can therefore be regarded as an accompaniment to Victor's historical narrative, and it can be suggested that Christ Church probably acquired the narrative of his martyrdom because the two were commonly located within exemplars rather than out of a particular interest in the study and veneration of St Quiricus.⁵⁵² The second item was a collection of various lives of saints, including amongst others, the *Passio Sancti Ignacii*, *Vita Sancti Brigidae*, *Vita Sancti Wingularoei*, and Bede's *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*.⁵⁵³ As such, the collection can be seen to have had the potential to influence Eadmer's understanding of the development of English Christianity and also its written culture. However, although it is plausible that both items may have guided his biographical writings, no mention is made of any of these saints, nor of their written biographies, within Eadmer's own works.

The evidence relating to surviving Christ Church manuscripts suggests that Osbern and Eadmer's apparent devotion to the study of the saints took place in an environment somewhat lacking in

⁵⁵⁰ Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles of Saints*, pp. lxix-lxx.

⁵⁵¹ Appendix A, item 56; Gameson, *MENE*, p. 75.

⁵⁵² D.H. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, fifth edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004), pp. 131-2 and 447.

⁵⁵³ Appendix A, item 87; Gameson, *MENE*, p. 101; Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, pp. 78-79; 260, and 545-6.

existing resources of this type. Three related conclusions may therefore be inferred. It may be suggested that these two authors realised the paucity of hagiographical resources at Christ Church and made every effort to correct this situation. Following this, and as argued by Southern, is the suggestion that both produced new copies of saints' lives and miracle-stories in order to foster renewed devotion to several Anglo-Saxon saints.⁵⁵⁴ Lastly, and perhaps the most important observation, is that Eadmer almost certainly would have regarded himself as something of an authority on the lives and miracles of these saints and on the study and writing of hagiography in general, especially in comparison to his contemporaries, who left no evidence of any possible interest in texts of this nature.

Although the Christ Church collection appears to have been short of sources for the study of hagiography, Eadmer nevertheless made use of whatever resources he could in order to achieve his aims and follow his interests. In the prologue to his *Vita sancti Dunstani*, for example, Eadmer suggested that his inquiries were assisted by written correspondence, noting that 'it did not trouble me to send letters for this reason everywhere throughout England where I knew that studies in these sorts of things were thriving, and I myself was not able to go'.⁵⁵⁵ In addition, Turner and Muir have shown that Eadmer's *Vita Odonis*, the *Vita* and *Miracula Dunstani*, and the *Vita* and *Miracula Oswaldi*, were all based on several notable precursors which Eadmer was able to access via Prior Nicholas of Worcester, a friend and associate who had previously studied at Canterbury during Lanfranc's archiepiscopate.⁵⁵⁶ Eadmer acknowledged this use of previous works. For example, the beginning of his *Vita Oswaldi* noted Eadmer's gratitude to the fact that the 'pens of many a different writer have indeed recounted his deeds'.⁵⁵⁷ In the preface to his *Vita Dunstani* Eadmer highlighted his ambition to revise Osbern's previous attempt, which he portrayed as representing a 'quite different literary style', stressing a need to bring the text into line with 'the history of events as it is widely known'.⁵⁵⁸ The contexts for these requests, as stated in the preface to the *Vita Dunstani*, suggests that the study of hagiography was, in

⁵⁵⁴ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 277-287; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1, pp. 105-135, who argued at p. 105 that 'the Anglo-Saxon saints and their relics were on trial' during Eadmer's lifetime. This argument was also followed by Turner and Muir in their introduction to: Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, p. xv.

⁵⁵⁵ Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, pp. 44-5: '...tando studio inuestigare sollicitus fui, ut quaque per Angliam ubi talium studia uigere sciebam et ipsemet ire non poteram pro hoc ipso me mittere non pigeret'.

⁵⁵⁶ Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles of Saints*, p. xvi, n. 17; *Ibid.*, pp. xxiii; xxxvi-xliv; lxxii; lxix-lxxvii; and cvii-cxvi. Nicholas' time at Canterbury is mentioned in William of Malmesbury, *Saints Lives: Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, eds. M Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. 132-3; Nicholas' correspondence with Eadmer is noted in Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 369.

⁵⁵⁷ Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, pp. 216-7: 'Cuius quidem gesta uario diuersorum stilo digesta quo multipliciora'.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-5: 'scriptis quae alio quodam elocutionis' and 'uulgate rerum historiae'.

Eadmer's words, 'thriving' at other centres, and that Eadmer was experienced enough to know several other individuals who were involved in such activities.⁵⁵⁹

The assistance which Eadmer appears to have given Osbern, his production and revision of at least fourteen hagiographical texts as featured in Corpus Christi 371 and his liaison with other external students of the genre combine to suggest that Eadmer had significant experience of researching and writing in this area across various points during his lifetime. As presented in the surviving contents of Corpus Christi 371, his copying and composition of hagiographical works included the following: a hymn in honour of St Dunstan; a hymn in honour of St Edward the martyr; Nicholas of Worcester's letter on the mother of Edward the martyr; a letter to the monks of Glastonbury relating to the Dunstan materials; Eadmer's *Life* of St Wilfrid of York; Eadmer's concise *Life* of St Wilfrid; Eadmer's *Life* of St Oda of Canterbury; Eadmer's *Life* and *Miracles* of St Dunstan; Eadmer's *Life* and *Miracles* of St Oswald; Eadmer's *Life* of St Bergwine; Eadmer's *Life* and *Miracles* of St Anselm; Eadmer's *Life* of Peter, the first abbot of St Augustine's Canterbury; Eadmer's lections on the memory of saints; and Eadmer's tract on the relics of St Aldwin. Eadmer's work in the area of hagiography is considerable.

An absence of any other Christ Church hagiography written by anyone other than Eadmer following the death of Osbern, Eadmer's tenure as cantor probably after 1121, and the sheer volume of hagiographical works which he copied or composed, suggests that Eadmer may have felt at least some degree of ownership or custody of hagiographical studies at Christ Church, or at the very least, that he was considered an established authority on the genre by himself and his contemporaries. His major hagiographical writings, including the *Life* of St Oda, the *Life* and the *Miracles* of St Dunstan and St Oswald of York, all began with elaborate prefaces as appropriate to the genre.⁵⁶⁰ In particular, those featured in the *Lives* of Dunstan and Oswald, display that Eadmer possessed significant knowledge of previous literary traditions surrounding these saints and their cults (that is, of pre-existing sources through which their lives might be re-examined and rewritten).⁵⁶¹ Eadmer the hagiographer then, appears as an experienced and authoritative figure within the study of past Anglo-Saxon saints in Anglo-Norman England, who appears to have been known to other individuals also involved in the same area of study, and who, in

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 44-5. '*quaque per Angliam ubi talium studia uigere sciebam*'.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 45, 44-9, 160-1, 216-9, and 290-3.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 44-9 and 216-9.

writing the *Vita Anselmi* and *Historia novorum*, wrote of the life and deeds of one of the most important saints in living memory.

The study of Eadmer's various hagiographical writings sheds important light on his composition of the *Historia novorum*, and more generally, on Eadmer's understanding of the relationship between historiography and hagiography. Although his hagiographical works show him capable in observing and narrating past events, it is possible to argue that Eadmer had little interest in the study of the past for its own sake, unless it was related to the narration of the lives and deeds of saints. In contrast to Eadmer's informed descriptions of previous exemplars within the prefaces of his hagiographical writings, the preface to the *Historia* is notable for an almost complete absence of similar references to existing historiographical traditions. Eadmer seems to have been under no motivation to locate this particular text within the established canon of the historical genre, in the same way as did his near-contemporaries Orderic, William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon. This, combined with the nature of his wider activities, makes it possible to suggest with some conviction that Eadmer would almost certainly not have described himself as a 'historian', as claimed in modern interpretations by Antonia Gransden, Richard Southern and others, notwithstanding, and to some extent because of the title of the work.

Despite his lack of association with works of the established historiographical canon within, the title which Eadmer chose for his *Historia novorum in Anglia*, suggests that his text was conceived as an exercise in historical writing. However, the precise nature of the past events narrated within, suggests that Eadmer employed a very particular vision and understanding of history. Eadmer himself stated that he wished to divide his accounts of Anselm's private and public affairs, and that he did so in one text, the *Vita*, and another, the *Historia*.⁵⁶² Several episodes are reported in both texts, and it is significant that Eadmer chose to include different information as was necessary to the general character of each. Selected examples, presented below, illustrate this point.

Eadmer's depiction of the 1098 Synod at Bari provides one of the most marked examples of the ways in which the *Vita* and *Historia* described the same events in different ways.⁵⁶³ In the *Vita*, Eadmer's report of this episode was brief, highlighting only Anselm's skill in circumventing the

⁵⁶² VA, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁶³ For further discussion of these events, see Gasper, *Anselm and his Theological Inheritance*, pp. 174-97, especially at pp. 174-9.

argument of the Greek delegation, in order to illustrate Anselm's intellect and influence.⁵⁶⁴ The *Historia* reports this episode in an entirely different manner.⁵⁶⁵ Characteristic of the longer *Historia*, Eadmer gave himself more space to explain the events, included some reported speech, and showed Anselm to have been the saviour of the apparently failing Latin cause which then went on to ensure his fame and the dissemination of his works. Interestingly, Eadmer also chose to add a further note that during the events, he had realised the cope worn by the Bishop of Benevento was in fact of early eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon origin. His lengthy account of the circumstances by which the cope resided in Benevento display Eadmer's keen awareness of and desire to report subsidiary events which were of relevance to the history and identity of the Canterbury archbishopric and its monastic community.⁵⁶⁶

A second example of Eadmer's different treatment of the same events is witnessed in the report of the general council at Rockingham, which was held to discuss Anselm's consecration by Pope Urban. Once more, the account given by the *Historia* is longer when the two are compared side-by-side, and it marked by its use lengthy reported speeches.⁵⁶⁷ While in the *Vita*, Eadmer included no such commentary, in the *Historia*, he offered a scathing evaluation of the significance of Rockingham, and did so in order to provide a fitting climax to the end of its first book, writing:

At that tempestuous time the Church of Canterbury suffered in the persons of all her men so fierce a tempest that it was the utmost universal cry that she had been better off when formerly without a pastor at all than now under a pastor in such plight.⁵⁶⁸

This report and commentary of events thus encapsulates Eadmer's differing visions of the two texts, and highlights some of the ways in which Eadmer saw history as different in form and purpose to saintly biography. He appears to have seen the *Historia* as a means to report and then persuasively expound the significance of public events, while his biographical work was primarily directed towards didactic purposes, reporting events in order to instruct and inspire the

⁵⁶⁴ VA, pp. 112-3.

⁵⁶⁵ HRE, pp. 108-11.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 111-114.

⁵⁶⁷ VA, pp. 85-87; HRE, pp. 53-69.

⁵⁶⁸ HRE, p. 69; *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 67: 'Passa est igitur ea tempestate ecclesia Cantuariensis in omnibus hominibus suis tam saevam tempestatem, ut fere universi conclamarent melius sibi absque pastori jam olim fuisse quam nunc sub hujosmodi pastore esse.'

future conduct of his readers rather than in efforts to narrate and explain the course of past events.

Closer inspection of the *Historia novorum* reveals Eadmer's desire to elucidate the theories that lay behind his composition of the *Historia novorum* as a separate, but related counterpart to the *Vita Anselmi*. Eadmer took great care to present his *Historia* in a manner which he deemed appropriate to the character of his enterprise, and commented upon its content and character on three separate occasions. These occur in an introductory preface, a brief concluding statement at the end of book four (the original end of the work) and at the beginning of book five.⁵⁶⁹ Of these, the first preface provides Eadmer's most complete commentary on the nature and purposes of the *Historia*. The short summary at the end of book four provided some concluding statements, during which some of the themes of the preface were re-visited. When Eadmer began to write his continuation, his preface at the beginning of book five again summarised the main character and purposes of the work, and also outlined his reasons for the continuations featured in books five and six.⁵⁷⁰

These discussions are of great importance to the arguments presented within this chapter. They were written by Eadmer himself, and communicate his own, original, vision for the *Historia novorum*. In addition to the light that they shed on Eadmer's thought process, the sections also add further insight on Eadmer's experiences of history at Christ Church and the ways in which these influenced his views. Eadmer's preface to the beginning of the *Historia novorum* is crucial to this analysis. As such, it is necessary to provide the entire text in full in order to facilitate the subsequent commentary and analysis. Eadmer's preface read as follows:

What an inestimable benefit have they conferred on posterity who with an eye to the good of future generations have committed to writing a record of the events of their own times. This is the conclusion which now seems to be borne in upon me when I note how men of the present day under stress of difficulties of one kind or another search laboriously into the doings of their predecessors, anxious to find there a source of comfort and strength and yet, because of the scarcity of written documents which has resulted in the events being all too quickly buried in oblivion, they cannot for all their pains succeed in doing so as they would wish. I cannot doubt that those who have composed such records, provided they

⁵⁶⁹ HRE, pp. 1-2; Ibid., pp. 229-31; *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 217.

⁵⁷⁰ HRE, pp. 229-231; *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 217.

have laboured with a good motive, will receive from God a good reward. Accordingly, having this consideration in mind I have determined, while aiming at brevity, to set down in writing the things which I have seen with my own eyes and myself heard. This I do both to comply with the wishes of my friends who strongly urge me to do so and at the same time to render some slight service to the researches of those who come after me if they should chance to find themselves involved in any crisis in which the events which I record could in any respect afford a helpful precedent. I may add that the main purpose of this work is first to describe how Anselm, Abbot of the Monastery of Bec, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and then to show how it came about that, a disagreement having arisen between him and the Kings of England, he was so often and for so long absent in exile from the country and what has been the outcome of the question in dispute between them.

Now it would seem that the question which gave rise to this dispute is a matter entirely new to this century of ours and, at any rate from the time that the Normans began to rule here, to say nothing of the time before that, no such question has ever been heard of by people in England. From the time that William, Duke of Normandy, conquered England and subdued it no one was ever made a bishop or abbot there without first being made the King's man and receiving from the King investiture by the presentation of the pastoral staff. To this rule there were only two exceptions, namely Ernest and Gundulf, who successively presided over the Church of Rochester. They, as was customary in the case of that diocese, were invested by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury of blessed memory, in the Chapter of the monks at Canterbury. Now Anselm wished to put an end to this practice of investiture by the King, as being contrary to God and the canons of the Church, and thereby to prune away the mischiefs resulting from it. It was on this account that he incurred the enmity of the Kings of England and was forced to quit the country; not that there were not also other reasons for his departure as the course of events will show.

My story will also include a number of other occurrences which took place in England before, during and after the matters already mentioned, occurrences of which we do not think it right that those who come after us should be deprived of all knowledge, so far as it

is within our power to prevent it. But in the preface this brief reference to all these matters is enough.

We come then to the plan of our narrative. We should, we think, begin by going a little further back and tracing in brief outline what was, so to speak, the actual planting of the seed from which grew the developments which we are to record. This should be our starting point.⁵⁷¹

The preface reveals several key points surrounding Eadmer's views of his *Historia novorum*. Its opening paragraph shows that Eadmer's views of some of the uses of historical writing were informed by his working knowledge of the practicalities surrounding the discovery of the past. His declaration of the 'inestimable benefit' that written records had for 'future generations', suggests first-hand awareness of the importance of historical records from previous generations. Strong language, including comments on the 'stress of difficulties' which gave rise to such researches, the note that the search was 'laborious', the notion that events were 'buried in oblivion', combine to suggest that Eadmer himself had experienced this process at first hand, and had endured significant frustrations accordingly. Furthermore, Eadmer's apparent awareness that his generation lost touch with the events of its past due to the 'scarcity of written

⁵⁷¹ Eadmer, *HRE*, pp. 1-2; *Eadmeri Historia*, pp. 1-2: *Cum praesentis aetatis viros, diversis casibus subactos, intueor acta praecedentium anxie investigare (cupientes videlicet in eis unde se consolentur et muniant invenire), nec tamen ad hoc pro voto posse pertingere, quoniam scriptorum inopia fugax ea delevit oblivio, videor mihi videre magnum quid posteris praestitisse qui suis gesta temporibus, futurorum utilitati studentes, litterarum memoriae tradidere. Quos nimirum si bono quidem zelo in huiusmodi desudarunt, bonam exinde mercedem recepturos a Deo crediderim. Hoc igitur considerato, penes me statui ea quae sub oculis vidi vel audiui, brevitati studendo, styli officio commemorare, tum ut amicorum meorum me ad id obnixae incitantium voluntati morem geram, tum ut posterorum industriae, si forte quid inter eos emergerit quod horum exemplo aliquo modo juvari queat, parum quid muneris impendam. Et ea quidem huius operis intentio praecipua est, ut designato qualiter Anselmus Beccensis coenobii abbas fuerit archiepiscopus factus, describatur quamobrem, orto inter reges Anglorum et illum discidio, toties et tam diu exsulaverit a regno et quem eventum ipsa discidii causa inter eos sortita sit. Ipsa denique causa nova res huic nostro saeculo esse videtur, et a tempore quo in Anglia Northmanni regnare coeperunt (non dico prius) Anglis inaudita. Ex eo quippe quo Willhelmus Northmanniae comes terram illam debellando sibi subegit, nemo in ea episcopus vel abbas ante Anselmum factus est qui non primo fuerit homo regis, ac de manu illius episcopatus vel abbacie investituram per dationem virgae pastoralis suscepit, exceptis duobus episcopis, Ernesto videlicet atque Gundulfo. Hi namque, unus post unum Roffensi Ecclesiae praesidentes, ex more a venerandae memoriae Lanfranco archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, in capitulo fratrum Cantuariarum, ipso episcopatu investiti fuerunt. Hunc ergo morem quasi Deo sacrisque canonibus contrarium Anselmus abolere, ac per hoc injustitias inde manantes rescare desiderans, regibus ipsis invisus effectus est, et patriam exire coactus. Fuerunt et aliae ipsius exitus causae, sicut rerum gestarum series declarabit. Describentur etiam alia nonnulla, quae et ante, et inter et post haec in Anglia provenerunt, quorum scientia illos qui nos secuturi sunt penitus defraudandos pro nostro posse rati non sumus. Sed haec in prologo paucis memorasse suffecerit. Caeterum narrandi ordinem aggredientes, paulo altius ordiendum putamus; et ab ipsa, ut ita dixerim, radice propagine de qua eorum quae dicenda sunt germen excrevit, brevi relatu progrediendum.*

documents' again suggests that he had been actively looking for any such texts which may have benefitted his writings.

Eadmer's comments on the importance of written records relating to the past shed important light on his self-identification as a student and author of the past. Previous studies of other comparable prologues to historical works by Gertrud Simon, D.W.T.C. Vessey, Antonia Gransden and Damian-Grint, have all suggested that such comments are regular features of contemporary historiographical prologues.⁵⁷² Similar statements appear in equivalent sections of contemporary histories by English-based authors William of Malmesbury and Symeon, as well as the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Norman-based Orderic Vitalis, to name but a few examples.⁵⁷³ Despite these similarities, other evidence allows the suggestion that Eadmer's views were more influenced by his own attempts at previous historical research, and that they appeared in his preface simply because they were genuine concerns. In his *Life* of St Bregwine, Eadmer commented upon the damage done by the destruction or lack of written records. Noting the loss of records in the Christ church fire of 1067, he wrote:

...the privileges of the Roman pontiffs, of the kings and rulers of this realm, carefully sealed and presented to this church for the perpetual protection of it and its property were utterly consumed. Even if copies of them have been found in various places, the bulls and seals were burned with the church in which they were preserved, and cannot be replaced.⁵⁷⁴

Eadmer's lament at the lack of previous sources with which to conduct his researches preceded a declaration that his *Historia novorum* would remedy this situation. This it would do by providing a permanent written depiction of the events featured, which, Eadmer declared, would:

⁵⁷² Gertrud Simon, 'Untersuchungen zur Topik der Widmungsbriefe mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreiber bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, iv (1958), pp. 78-81, and v-vi (1959-60), pp. 94-111; D.W.T.C. Vessey, 'William of Tyre and the Art of Historiography', *Mediaeval Studies* xxxv (1973), pp. 433-55; Antonia Gransden, 'Prologues in the Historiography of Twelfth-Century England', in her: *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London, 1992), pp. 125-151, at p. 126; Damian-Grint, *New Historians*, pp. 88-142.

⁵⁷³ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* vol. 1, pp. 14-15; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*, vol. 1, pp. 2-5; *LDE*, pp. 20-21; *HE*, vol. 2, 130-3.

⁵⁷⁴ Eadmer, *Vita Bregwini archiepiscopi Cantuareiensis: Patrologia Latina*, vol. 159, col. 758B accessed online at http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/all/fulltext?ACTION=byid&ID=Z200133272&WARN=N&TOCHITS=N&ALL=Y&FILE=../session/1351945171_26225 on 11-11-2012: : '...cum privilegia Romanorum pontificum, privilegia regum et principum regni ipsi ecclesiae studiose sigillata et collata, quibus se et sua perenni iure munire deberet atque tueri, ex integro reperta in nihilum deperierunt. Si qua autem sunt ex illis recuperata, diversis in locis, ubi contra scripta fuerunt, reperta sunt et accepta; bullis atque sigillis, quae alia fieri nequibant, cum ecclesia in qua servabantur igne consumptis'.

‘render some slight service to the researches of those who come after me if they should chance to find themselves involved in any crisis in which the events which I record could in any respect afford a helpful precedent’.⁵⁷⁵ This implies that Eadmer had encountered a similar situation himself while searching for comparable collections of sources, and suggests that through this research, Eadmer had developed a keen awareness of the resources required for successful historiographical research.

Eadmer’s professed desire to salvage the record of English history from an otherwise empty void may be used to bolster the suggestion that he had significant experience of the ways in which historical sources were to be used. Although this may or may not suggest that Eadmer’s apparent stance on this issue was insincere, his potential use of a historiographical *topos* relates to the wider issue of whether or not Eadmer was an experienced student of historiography. If he was merely reproducing the standard historical preface, this suggests that Eadmer was deploying a significant element of historiographical theory, and therefore probably derived this from one of several of the established models of the genre that were held at Christ Church at that time. On balance, however, the evidence suggests that this point should not be made with too much force. An overwhelming proportion of the evidence for Eadmer’s activities has suggested that Eadmer devoted much of his scholarly activities towards the study of hagiography, and therefore, that his complaints about a lack of written records and apparent motivation to correct this probably stem from his extensive experiences as a hagiographer, rather than his repetition and adaptation of the sentiments in older historiographical models.

Having elucidated some of the reasons why he and others might seek to uncover the past and to record the events of the present, Eadmer’s preface next commented upon the subject of his particular narrative, and in doing so noted his primary motivation in writing the *Historia novorum*. Due to the nature of its contents, Eadmer’s history cannot be seen to have represented an effort to uncover the forgotten course of Anglo-Saxon history in a manner which William of Malmesbury claimed within his own works.⁵⁷⁶ In contrast to those of William, Eadmer’s writing was almost entirely devoted to describing the life and deeds of Archbishop Anselm. As such, his stated desire to provide material for the benefit of future generations can therefore be seen as

⁵⁷⁵ HRE, p. 1; *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 1: ‘posterorum industriae, si forte quid inter eos emergerit quod horum exemplo aliquo modo juvari queat, quarum quid numeris impendam.’

⁵⁷⁶ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* vol. 1, pp. 14-15; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*, vol. 1, pp. 2-5.

a desire to further their knowledge of Anselm or, as argued by Eadmer, a particular interpretation of Anselm's responses to the situations in which he found himself.⁵⁷⁷

Anselm's influence can be seen to have saturated the pages of his *Historia novorum*. Without Anselm, the *Historia novorum* would simply never have existed. Every episode in books one to four involved, or was directly related to Anselm. Indeed, Martin Rule's edition of the *Historia*, complete with notes on the original folios, allows the observation that Anselm's name featured on virtually every single page of the original version down to the middle of the fifth book, and in some cases much more than this.⁵⁷⁸ Put simply, this work is about Anselm, and very little else.

Eadmer's preface confirmed that his major objective in writing the *Historia novorum* was to provide an account of Anselm's deeds as Archbishop of Canterbury. He communicated this as follows:

I may add that the main purpose of this work is first to describe how Anselm, Abbot of the Monastery of Bec, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and then to shew [*sic*] how it came about that, a disagreement having arisen between him and the Kings of England, he was so often and for so long absent in exile from the country and what has been the outcome of the question in dispute between them.⁵⁷⁹

This description of the *Historia novorum* was revisited in Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*. In the preface to this work, Eadmer reiterated his statement that the *Historia novorum* was: '...chiefly concerned to give an accurate description of the things which took place between the Kings of England and Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury.'⁵⁸⁰ Although any reader of the *Historia novorum* would quickly realise that Anselm was central to Eadmer's initial plans for the work, Eadmer's statements acknowledge this aspect of his history in no uncertain terms.

⁵⁷⁷ HRE, pp.1-2; VA, p. 170.

⁵⁷⁸ Eadmeri *Historia*.

⁵⁷⁹ HRE, pp. 1-2; Eadmeri *Historia*, p. 1: 'Et ea quidem hujus operis intentio praecipua est, ut designato qualiter Anselmus Beccensis coenobii abbas fuerit archiepiscopus factus, describatur quamobrem, orto inter reges Anglorum et illum discidio, toties et tam diu exsulaverit a regno et quem eventum ipsa discidii causa inter eos sortita sit.'

⁵⁸⁰ VA, p. 1: 'ipsum opus in maxime versatur, ut ea quae inter reges Anglorum et Anselmum archiepiscopum Cantuariorum facta sunt inconcusa veritate designet'.

The close working relationship between Eadmer and Anselm has been acknowledged by almost every previous study of the two. Richard Southern acknowledged that in researching Anselm, ‘the first person whom it is necessary to know is Eadmer’.⁵⁸¹ Elsewhere, Southern identified Eadmer as Anselm’s private chaplain and secretary, and claimed that Eadmer was ‘never absent from his [Anselm’s] side’.⁵⁸² Gransden has also noted that Eadmer was ‘keeper of Anselm’s chapel’, and even went as far as to suggest that Eadmer regarded Anselm as his ‘hero’, as also has Giles Gasper.⁵⁸³ Following Southern, Sally Vaughn has portrayed Eadmer as ‘Anselm’s secretary and closest companion’, while Elisabeth van Houts’ review of Anglo-Norman historiography termed him the ‘right-hand man of Archbishop Anselm’.⁵⁸⁴ Although their assessment referred mainly to Eadmer’s *Vita Anselmi*, Gasper and Logan have commented on Eadmer’s veneration of Anselm, by noting that ‘Eadmer expressed the reason for his commemoration of Anselm in distinctly personal terms: his relation with what he perceived to be the holy dominated his adult life’.⁵⁸⁵

These close professional and personal ties appear to have given Eadmer his prime motivation to compose the *Historia novorum*. In its original conclusion which, due to the subsequent expansion of the text now appears at the end of book four, Eadmer proudly acknowledged that:

...the chief reason though not the only one for my devoting myself to this present work was the sincere love which the heavenly goodness has granted me although unworthy to have for Father Anselm of blessed memory.⁵⁸⁶

Eadmer’s admiration for Anselm is explicit in this statement, and throughout the *Historia novorum* and *Vita Anselmi*. But love for his great patron alone, might not have been enough to ensure the completion of the two works. Southern offered two main theories in order to explain why Eadmer may have wanted to perpetuate the memory of his great patron. First, that Eadmer wished to further the case for Anselm’s sanctity using his extensive knowledge of the

⁵⁸¹ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 230.

⁵⁸² *HRE*, p. ix.

⁵⁸³ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, vol. 1, pp. 138-9; Gasper, ‘Jealousy, Envy’, p. 52.

⁵⁸⁴ Vaughn, ‘Eadmer’s *Historia novorum*: a Reinterpretation’, p. 259; van Houts, ‘Historical Writing’, p. 112.

⁵⁸⁵ Giles E.M. Gasper and Ian Logan, ‘Anselm: a portrait in Refraction’ in their (ed.) *Saint Anselm of Canterbury and his Legacy* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012), pp. 1-25, at p. 3.

⁵⁸⁶ *HRE*, p. 229; *Eadmeri Historia*, pp. 214-5: ‘*praesens opus cui quidem ut operam darem sincera dilectio quam erga beatae memoriae patrem Anselmum superna pietas mihi indigni concessit habere maxima inter alias causa fuit fini addicam.*’

hagiographical genre.⁵⁸⁷ Although this interpretation applies mainly to the *Vita Anselmi* (and in particular, its small collection of miracle-stories), it is supported by Eadmer's extensive experience in the study and writing of hagiographical texts. Second, Southern argued that the *Historia novorum* in particular sought to absolve Anselm from an intense wave of criticism that occurred at Christ Church following the death of the archbishop in 1109, and which escalated during the intensification of the primacy dispute between Canterbury and York in the second decade of the twelfth century.⁵⁸⁸ This argument has been developed by Gasper, who has similarly argued that the accompanying *Vita Anselmi* was written in staunch defence of Anselm's legacy, which was especially reiterated in the sections that Eadmer added between 1109 and 1125 and in the face of that which Gasper has described as 'a wider context of resistance, misunderstanding and concern about Anselm's ideas'.⁵⁸⁹ Key to this argument were two statements in which Eadmer claimed that his *Historia novorum* was begun in order 'to comply with the wishes of my friends who strongly urge me to do so',⁵⁹⁰ and similarly of the *Vita Anselmi* that, 'It therefore seemed good to some of my friends to induce me to undertake another work.'⁵⁹¹ Southern regarded these statements as evidence to support the existence of a pro-Anselm party in which Eadmer was presumably a key figure, while he and Gasper have suggested that the general pattern of Anselm's career suggests that at times his doctrine was divisive, and that his successes and failures attracted jealous critics and justifiable criticism.⁵⁹²

The arguments of Southern and Gasper, together suggest that Eadmer's composition of the *Historia novorum* was devised more as an exercise in polemic, rather than one of historiography. Further evidence from the text itself supports this interpretation. Having originally closed the *Historia* at the end of book four in around 1109, Eadmer later returned to add a further two books after an ill-fated appointment as Bishop St Andrews, from which he returned at some point soon after 1121.⁵⁹³ Having mused on his text for as much as a decade, Eadmer introduced his continuation with a short preface, in which his words show continuing conviction in the face of Anselm's detractors, who also may well have been among the first readers of the original four

⁵⁸⁷ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 317-328.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 303-309; Southern, *Anselm: Portrait*, pp. 417-8; VA, pp. xi-xiii.

⁵⁸⁹ Gasper, 'Envy, Jealousy': pp. 50 and 66.

⁵⁹⁰ HRE, p. 1; *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 1: 'cum ut amicorum meorum me ad id obnixie incitantium voluntati morem geram'.

⁵⁹¹ VA, p. 1: 'placuit quibusdam familiaribus meis me sue prece ad hoc perducere'.

⁵⁹² Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 51-2, 57, 64, 139, 180, and 306-7; Southern, *Anselm: Portrait*, pp. 119-21 and 230-5; Gasper, 'Envy, Jealousy'.

⁵⁹³ Eadmer's time in St Andrew's is described in book five of his *Historia novorum*. See: *Eadmeri historia*, pp. 279-87.

books.⁵⁹⁴ Writing in the middle of the dispute with York over the primacy of Canterbury, Eadmer's presentation of his continuation stressed continuity with the aims of books one to four. He reiterated the earlier claim of his first preface that the *Historia* was conceived out of his 'love' for Anselm (*amor ipsius*), and noted that this expanded version might 'explain more fully' (*pleniter agniturum*) the events surrounding Anselm's archiepiscopate.⁵⁹⁵

While confirming his continued devotion to Anselm, Eadmer's wording suggests that the reputation of his great mentor had deteriorated in certain quarters in the intervening years. For instance, he argued that, 'truly it is not right to detract from...the certain one [that is, Anselm] who is still the foremost of the pontiffs', and declared a hope that Anselm's would-be critics might 'see the quality' of Anselm's actions based on 'truth itself', as represented by these new additions.⁵⁹⁶ Following this, Eadmer claimed during the course of his expanded narrative that the English church had been left 'widowed by the passing of Father Anselm',⁵⁹⁷ and that many of England's monastic houses had been rendered 'destitute of pastoral care' without Anselm's continued defence against the apparent predatory actions of King Henry I.⁵⁹⁸ This apparent continuing need to rescue Anselm's reputation can also be seen in the final passages of the latest version of the *Vita Anselmi*, which were probably written at some point after 1122, and which therefore further illustrate the situation regarding Anselm's legacy at that time. Eadmer's statement that he had had 'regard to the unbelief of certain men who to this day with jaundiced minds are your detractors and assert that I have written too much', further illustrates his motivation to preserve Anselm's legacy during these years.⁵⁹⁹

Eadmer's all-out defence of Anselm can be seen in the way in which the archbishop was introduced to readers of the *Historia novorum*. Eadmer's portrayal of Anselm's career was prefaced with a brief account of the history of the Canterbury archbishopric and the wider organisation of the English church in order to offer a historical context in which Anselm's archiepiscopate might be judged.⁶⁰⁰ Eadmer noted that this was necessary so as to 'begin by

⁵⁹⁴ *Eadmeri historia*, p. 217.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 217: '*Prius tamen quam illa aggrediar, quibusdam qui adhuc praefato pontifici vere sancto detrachere non.*'

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 222: '*Et haec ita intergro quinquennio, quo a transitu patris Anselmi ecclesia ipsa viduata permansit.*'

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 224: '*cura pastoralis fuerant destituta.*'

⁵⁹⁹ *VA*, p. 170: '*Peperci enim incredulitati quorundam qui usque hodie tibi non sincero animo detrahunt, et quae scripsi nimia esse contendunt*'; on the dates of these additions, see: Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 319 and 368-9.

⁶⁰⁰ *HRE*, pp. 3-30.

going a little further back and tracing in brief outline what was, so to speak, the actual planting of the seed from which grew the developments which we are to record'.⁶⁰¹ This depicted the descent from the perfect relationship between King and Archbishop as seen under Dunstan and Edgar, down through the break between archiepiscopal and royal authority under the 'indolence' (*desidia*) of the usurping King Æthelred, and which ultimately led to the erosion of monastic and ecclesiastical life across England and the usurpation of corrupt bishops and nobles,⁶⁰² especially Earl Godwin of Wessex, who was depicted as a power-hungry 'bitter enemy of the Church of Canterbury'.⁶⁰³ Into this void stepped first King William I and then Lanfranc, who began to heal the position of the church by exposing bishops for their simony, and conducting an intensive programme of building works, administrative reforms, the recovery of ecclesiastical incomes, and the revival of Benedictine monasticism.⁶⁰⁴

With this preamble, Anselm's archiepiscopate is thus presented as what should have been the climax of the depicted struggle between secular and ecclesiastical influences, and the return to life as it was under his venerated predecessor, Dunstan. Eadmer's *Historia* first presented Anselm as 'a truly good man and an outstanding scholar' (*vir equidem bonus et scientia litterarum magnifice pollens*), a man 'wholly devoted to the life of contemplation' (*contemplativae vitae totus intendebat*), and the holder of such gravity and influence that he was able to transform King William's famously 'fierce and formidable' persona.⁶⁰⁵ Overall, Eadmer presented William I as a wholesale patron of Lanfranc and Anselm in his capacity as Abbot of Bec, and an essential nurturer and defender of monastic and ecclesiastical life. The son and successor of this dutiful king, William II, received an altogether different treatment. Eadmer suggested that not even Lanfranc was able to correct the King's overbearing and predatory approach to church governance, describing with vitriol the various attacks on church property and authority that William implemented following the death of the archbishop in 1093.⁶⁰⁶

Eadmer depicted the situation into which Anselm arrived as archbishop in 1096 as one of both short- and long-term instability and attack. Anselm is shown to have lacked the protection and

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., p. 2; *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 2: 'Caeterum narrandi ordinem aggredientes, paulo altius ordiendum putamus; et ab ipsa, ut ita dixerim, radicis propagine de qua eorum quae dicenda sunt germen excrevit, brevi relatu progrediendum.'

⁶⁰² HRE, p. 4; *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 4.

⁶⁰³ HRE, pp. 3-7, at p. 6; *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 6: 'Godwinus, utpote hostis ecclesiae Cantuariensis'.

⁶⁰⁴ HRE, pp. 10-24.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 24; *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 23: 'rex ipse, deposita feritate qua multis videbantur saevus et formidabilis, ita fiebat inclinus et affabilis, ut, ipso praesente, omnino quam esse solebat stupentibus cunctis fieret alius'.

⁶⁰⁶ HRE, pp. 26-28.

freedoms afforded by previous rulers such as Edgar and William I. This allowed him to suggest that while Anselm's archiepiscopate should have witnessed the return to the perceived equilibrium seen under Dunstan and Edgar, the tumultuous nature of Anselm's office was in fact shown as the inescapable consequence of the long-term erosion of ecclesiastical power in eleventh-century England and the particular circumstances laid upon him by England's rulers in these years.

This visible desire to shape and then to protect Anselm's legacy can be seen to have dominated Eadmer's initial conception and ongoing perception of the English past in his *Historia novorum in Anglia*. Although he can perhaps be shown to have been aware of the extent to which the study and writing of English history had been neglected for many years, Eadmer's own words confirm that his vision of the *Historia novorum* was not one rooted in any desire to correct this situation by investigating the distant past. Instead, Eadmer's history depicted only a selection of past and near-contemporary events which specifically related to Anselm. In this way, it might be better-understood as a 'story of *some* recent events relevant to the career of Anselm and the position of the Christ Church community', rather than an exercise in genuine historiographical enquiry. The overall character of the *Historia novorum*, coupled with these means by which Eadmer described it, combine to suggest that his main aim was to describe everything relating to Anselm's archiepiscopal career, and little else.

Despite this narrow scope, Eadmer was nevertheless conscious of the fact that in proceeding as he had planned, he would inevitably touch upon some of the wider events of contemporary history which did not directly contribute to his chief ambition. Towards the end of his preface, Eadmer commented upon this as follows, showing that he was aware of the ways in which this aspect of his work might benefit his future readers:

My story will also include a number of other occurrences which took place in England before, during and after the matters already mentioned, occurrences of which we do not think it right that those who come after us should be deprived of all knowledge, so far as it is within our power to prevent it.⁶⁰⁷

This short extract suggests that although Eadmer's own views of the *Historia novorum* were shaped by his respect for Anselm and desire to influence the archbishop's legacy, he

⁶⁰⁷ HRE, p. 2; *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 2: 'Describentur etiam alia nonnulla, quae et ante, et inter et post haec in Anglia provenerunt, quorum scientia illos qui nos secuturi sunt penitus defraudandos pro nostro posse rati non sumus.'

nevertheless knew that later readers might regard the text as a useful source for wider historical enquiry. As argued above, Eadmer's extensive experiences in researching the lives and deeds of a number of Anglo-Saxon saints probably influenced this understanding of the ways in which written records could benefit future readers. It follows that he advocated this use of his text thanks to his own experiences, expressing a genuine belief that he and his contemporaries did 'not think it right' that future readers might be 'deprived' of the source materials by which they might know more about the events of their time.

The principal argument featured within this chapter has been to suggest that Eadmer's own vision of what the *Historia novorum* was meant to be has been misinterpreted by modern commentators. In contrast to the prevailing approach of locating the *Historia novorum* within the wider development of Anglo-Norman historiography, it has been suggested that it should be seen on its own terms, and in its own particularity, as a work far more heavily influenced by Eadmer's experiences as a student and author of hagiography than by narrative history. Although the library at Christ Church has been shown to have possessed several well-established and leading models of historiography during Eadmer's lifetime, it is not possible to confirm that Eadmer had personally helped to produce or had read any of these sources. None of these various histories by influential authors such as Josephus, Eusebius, Orosius or Eutropius and Paul the Deacon, nor the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* redactions owned during this period, can be shown to have had a direct influence on either the form or the content of Eadmer's *Historia novorum*. Although Gransden, Southern, Given-Wilson, van Houts and Wissolik have been right to declare the work a forerunner to the twelfth-century revival of English historiography, Eadmer's own vision of the *Historia novorum* was entirely individual. The work was in no way conceived as an effort to correct an apparent lack of historical narratives in early twelfth-century England, but rather as a deeply-personal effort to shape Anselm's reputation and to guide his legacy among future generations.

Although Eadmer contributed to a wide portfolio of administrative tasks, manuscript production and private study, the autograph collection of his own original works within the Corpus Christi 371 manuscript shows him to have held a visible and sustained interest in studying and writing the lives and miracles of saints. It is likely that this experience had a prominent place in Eadmer's original vision for the *Historia novorum*. The hagiographical accounts provided the

context by which Eadmer measured and presented his developing *Historia* to its audience, from its initial conception down to its final revisions.

This conclusion is not entirely new, as previous interpretations of Eadmer's *Historia novorum* have stressed the influence of Eadmer's hagiographical knowledge. In particular, Antonia Gransden has interpreted Eadmer's hagiographical activity as part of his 'historical training' and argued that it 'equipped him as a historian'.⁶⁰⁸ However, Gransden's explanation proposes that this experience in researching the lives and deeds of the saints was seen as a kind of preparation for an assumed final aim of writing the *Historia novorum*. In fact, the reality may have been entirely the opposite. Eadmer's history can be seen more reliably, as a by-product of his hagiographical writings.

Fundamental to Eadmer's vision of the *Historia novorum* was Anselm, who provided its great protagonist, and whose long-term reputation Eadmer hoped to influence through the production of his quasi-biographical history. It was a work designed to complement the *Vita Anselmi*, and in doing so, to bolster his attempt to press the case for Anselm's sanctity. The contrast between Eadmer and other near-contemporary historical authors, such as William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, is sharper in this case than the similarities. Anselm's tumultuous archiepiscopate gave the subject matter of the *Historia*, while Eadmer's presence at each of the main events described within gave him an authority on Anselm which, based on eyewitness testimony, few, if any, could match.

⁶⁰⁸ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1. pp. 129 and 132.

Symeon of Durham is best known to modern scholars as the author and compiler of sources for the study of the history of northern England in the early medieval period. He is known to have compiled at least two sets of historical annals (one in the margins of Easter-tables), to have been involved in, and probably supervised the production of a chronicle of the kings of Anglo-Saxon England known as the *Durham Historia regum*, and to have supplied Durham's cathedral priory with copies of various local historical and hagiographical texts including verse and prose *Lives* of St Cuthbert.⁶⁰⁹

The most prominent of Symeon's various historiographical works is his *Libellus de exordio*: a four-book treatise on the history of the cult of St Cuthbert, from its foundation on Lindisfarne in the early eighth century down to the establishment of Symeon's own community of Benedictine monks charged with caring for the relics and cult of the saint at Durham from 1083 onwards. This text, which was not given an official title but is now widely known as the *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis ecclesie* following Rollason's edition (or, as Rollason translated it, the *Tract on the Origins and Progress of this, the Church of Durham*) was compiled between 1104 and 1107x15.⁶¹⁰

Complete versions of the *Libellus de exordio* survive in several medieval manuscripts. Although unlike Eadmer and Orderic's works, there is no surviving autograph copy of the whole work, two contemporary examples are both regarded as having been completed under Symeon's direction. One copy, which now appears in Durham, University Library, MS Cosin V.II.6, features later additions and revisions by Symeon. The manuscript as a whole contains Symeon's *Libellus* alongside a variety of other related materials, including: a summary of the main text on fols. 1v-4v; a specially-constructed preface, on fol. 6r; a list of Lindisfarne and Durham bishops on fols. 6r-6v; a list of Durham monks on fols. 7r-8v. Two continuation sections describe events from the

⁶⁰⁹ The best overviews of Symeon's life and works are available in Gullick, 'Hand'; and *LDE*, pp. xlii-l. Arnold offered some commentary in *Symeonis Opera*, vol. 1, pp. ix-xv, although this does not benefit from the extensive work carried out by Gullick. The *Durham Historia regum* was edited by Arnold, in *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 3-284.

⁶¹⁰ *LDE*, pp. xlii-xliv.

career of Bishops William of St Calais (fols. 88r-98r) and Ranulf Flambard (fols. 98v-113r).⁶¹¹ Rollason and Gullick noted that although Symeon was not the main scribe of the *Libellus* within the Cosin redaction, he reviewed and adjusted sections after the main bulk of the text was completed.⁶¹² Erasures, such as those on fols. 35r, 40r, 45v, 60v, 143v, 80r-v and the addition of new text over other erasures at various other points, suggest that this copy was made for Symeon's community, and that he returned to adjust the narrative as and when it became necessary.⁶¹³

The second original redaction is now held in London, British Library, MS Cotton Faustina A.v. Rollason argued convincingly, that the *Libellus* featured on fols. 25r-97r of this item was originally housed separately from the remainder of the current manuscript.⁶¹⁴ As it exists today, the Cotton Faustina version does not include either the preparatory materials included in Durham Cosin, nor does it feature any of the continuation texts. In addition, Rollason noted that the text of the *Libellus* differs on over 100 occasions across the versions housed in Durham Cosin and Cotton Faustina.⁶¹⁵ The thesis put forward by Rollason and supported by the interpretation of Aird, suggests that the Cotton Faustina version was produced as a gift for Durham's Bishop Ranulf Flambard, which would both inform him of the history and identity of the Durham community while at the same time entrenching their influence and autonomy in light of their still very recent beginnings as a monastic community.⁶¹⁶

Symeon's work appears to have had an impact in, and shortly after, his own lifetime. The Durham Cosin manuscript was given two continuations by later, unknown authors. The first, given the title *De iniusta uexacione Willelmi episcopi primi*, is a text defending the actions of bishop William of St Calais, and was added before the end of the main body of the *Libellus* on fols. 88r-98r. The second continuation details the history of Durham's monastic community and its surroundings between the appointment of William's successor Ranulf Flambard in 1099 to the

⁶¹¹ Ibid., pp. xvii-xxii; Gullick, 'The Two Earliest Manuscripts', pp. 106-8 and 112-9. Rollason included the latter in *LDE*, pp. 266-323.

⁶¹² Gullick, 'The Two Earliest Manuscripts', pp. 107 and 112-15; Rollason, 'Erasures'.

⁶¹³ For discussion, see D.W. Rollason, 'The Making of the *Libellus de exordio*: the Evidence of Erasures and Alterations in the Two Earliest Manuscripts', in Symeon: Historian, pp. 140-56.

⁶¹⁴ *LDE*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

⁶¹⁵ Rollason, 'Erasures', p. 144.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid.; Aird, 'The Political context'.

appointment of his successor William of Saint-Barbe, in 1144.⁶¹⁷ Whole copies or large sections of the *Libellus* exist in a further eight later medieval manuscripts, the majority of which appear to have been produced at Durham in promotion of the cult of St Cuthbert.⁶¹⁸ These include Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.i.27; a later twelfth-century deluxe copy, which appears complete with the prefaces and continuations of Durham Cosin and alongside a list of Durham relics and shorter texts related to Cuthbert's cult and its patrons, and London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus A.II; a much later early fourteenth-century manuscript but with similar additional contents, including Bede's prose *Life* of Cuthbert and other short texts related to his cult and miracles.

Following a considerable degree of uncertainty, Rollason, Gullick and Alan Piper confirmed during the 1990s, that Symeon was the author of the *Libellus*.⁶¹⁹ While Symeon does not name himself in the text at any point, the version contained in Cambridge Ff.i.27, produced at Durham during the third quarter of the twelfth century, appears with incipits and explicits to the preface on p. 122, which both refer to the text as '*apologia Symeonis monachi*'. Later, the main text begins on p. 131 with a similar incipit, which again attributes the text to '*Symeonis monachi sancti Cuthberti*'. This attribution was later repeated in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Holkham misc. 25; a fourteenth-century copy which begins the *Libellus* with the rubric '*Incipit liber Symeonis monachi Dunelmensis*'.⁶²⁰ Although the Durham Cosin manuscript features an eighteenth-century treatise by Thomas Rud which attributed the text to Symeon's contemporary, Prior Turgot, palaeographical research carried out by Gullick and Rollason confirmed Symeon's authorship.⁶²¹ Rollason proclaimed in the introduction to his edition of the *Libellus* that 'We have thus arrived at the confirmation that Symeon, cantor of the church of Durham, was responsible for the *Libellus de exordio*': an attribution which has been upheld ever since.⁶²²

⁶¹⁷ This second continuation was edited by Rollason in *LDE*, pp. 266-323; for discussion, see *ibid.*, pp. xix and lxvii-xviii, and Bernard Meehan 'Notes on the Preliminary Texts and Continuations to Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio*', in *Symeon: Historian*, pp. 128-39.

⁶¹⁸ *LDE*, pp. xxiv-xlii.

⁶¹⁹ For discussions of Symeon's authorship, see *Symeonis opera*, vol. 1, pp. ix and xiv-xv; Offler, *Medieval Historians of Durham*, pp. 8-9; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1, pp. 114-121, at p. 116; Piper, 'Durham Cantor's Book'; Gullick, 'Scribes'; Gullick, 'Hand'; For a discussion of the later twelfth-century rubric and its accuracy, see: *LDE*, pp. xlii-xliv.

⁶²⁰ *LDE*, p. xxx.

⁶²¹ Gullick, 'Scribes'; Gullick, 'Hand'; *LDE*, pp. xlii-l. Rud's argument features on paper pages 1-12, and was published in *Symeonis monachi Dunhelmensis, Libellus de exordio atque procursu Dunhelmensis ecclesiae*, ed. T. Bedford (London, 1732), pp. i-xxxv.

⁶²² *LDE*, pp. xlii-xliv, at xlv.

Modern scholars have almost exclusively known Symeon as a historian, ever since the issue of authorship was first raised by Thomas Arnold's two-volume compendium of historical texts attributed to Symeon and his immediate successors in the nineteenth century.⁶²³ This interpretation was supported by his role in the compilation of the Durham *Historia regum*, which, alongside Symeon's *Libellus*, stands as one of the most important texts in the study of northern English medieval history down to the middle of the twelfth century.⁶²⁴ Elisabeth van Houts has characterised Symeon's *Libellus* in a similar fashion, labelling it 'our major source for the post-Conquest history of northern England, and noted Symeon's 'historical talent',⁶²⁵ while Rollason similarly declared Symeon 'a leading figure in historical writing in northern England'.⁶²⁶

While Symeon's various historiographical activities remain his most prominent legacy within current scholarship, a fuller picture of Symeon's life and his various activities as a scribe, student and author has emerged in recent years. This is thanks in particular, to the Symeon conference held at Durham University in 1995 and organised by David Rollason, the proceedings of which were published in 1998 carrying the title *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*.⁶²⁷ However, although its contributions provide the most extensive collection of recent scholarship on Symeon and his career, contributions were very much written in the shadow of his enduring status as a historian, thanks largely to their role in providing the essential research context to Rollason's edition of the *Libellus* which was published two years later.⁶²⁸

The key aims of the discussions featured within this chapter mirror those deployed in the previous chapter. The overall intention is to provide a deeper understanding of Symeon's role in the study and writing of history at Durham during his lifetime. The key issue is to examine the extent to which Symeon's various activities in copying, compiling and composing historical sources and texts may be considered to have been a defining characteristic of his career. In

⁶²³ *Symeonis opera*.

⁶²⁴ As suggested and discussed in *Symeonis opera*, vol. 2, pp. ix-xxv; Offler, *Medieval Historians of Durham*, pp. 8-9; Blair, 'Observations on the *Historia Regum*', p. 112; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1, pp. 148-9; Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 21-2; Norton, 'History, Wisdom and Illumination', pp. 101-2; Story, 'Symeon as Annalist', pp. 212-3; *LDE*, pp. xlviii-l.

⁶²⁵ van Houts, 'Historical Writing', pp. 111-2, at p. 111.

⁶²⁶ David Rollason, 'Symeon's Contribution to Historical Writing in Northern England', in *Symeon: Historian*, pp. 1-13, at p. 1.

⁶²⁷ *Symeon: Historian*.

⁶²⁸ *LDE*.

essence, this explores some of the ways in which Symeon regarded his role in compiling the *Libellus de exordio*, and their subsequent effect on how and why it was written.

This discussion will argue that historical studies can be shown to have provided a constant theme within Symeon's portfolio of work from the time of his arrival in Durham in the 1090s to that of his death at the end of the 1120s. In addition to his authorship of the *Libellus*, this saw Symeon copying existing Latin historical narratives, sources of local history and hagiography, compiling shorter chronicles and Easter-table annals, and supervising the production of the Durham *Historia regum*. While these sources will demonstrate the breadth of his historiographical activity, it will also be acknowledged that Symeon contributed to an identifiably wide corpus of studies and held a number of key positions of responsibility within the monastic community, during the same period. This discussion will review these various activities in turn, including: Symeon's knowledge and experience in the copying and study of biblical exegesis and theology, including his composition of one original treatise in this area; his role in producing several administrative texts on behalf of the monastic community; his contributions towards the commemorative memorial culture of the community, including additions within communal repositories of memory and commemoration such as the Durham martyrology, calendars and the Durham *Liber Vitae* and his position as Durham cantor.

This analysis seeks to direct this knowledge of Symeon's wider corpus of works towards a reinterpretation of Symeon's role in compiling the *Libellus de exordio* and towards a more nuanced understanding of the exact nature of the text. In particular, discussions featured within this chapter will argue that Symeon's enduring reputation as an author of historical texts has distorted current views of how he himself perceived his *Libellus de exordio*, as well as how it was perceived by his contemporaries when it was first produced. This will suggest that Symeon's *Libellus* was conceived and composed as a statement of communal identity, and legitimacy, and a memorial to past members of the community, whose legacy had ensured the continuing existence of the cult of St Cuthbert and the community of monks with which his cult was then associated, in the form of Durham's cathedral priory.

Previous discussions featured in chapter four above, have reviewed evidence from surviving manuscripts and Symeon's pre-1096 book list in order to suggest that Durham's monastic community conducted a large-scale programme of book-collection from the time of Symeon's arrival at the beginning of the 1090s, and which was still very much in place by the time of his

death in 1129 or 1130. Over 100 Durham manuscripts survive from this period, with a further twenty-one now lost but recorded on the book-list.⁶²⁹ It has been noted in chapter four that the general character of this collection fulfilled the immediate requirements of monastic devotional life and study, including a notable drive to obtain leading works of patristic and early medieval biblical exegesis, alongside a number of additional areas of study including music, *computus*, Latin grammar, and history.

Gullick's palaeographical research has profiled Symeon's regular scholarly and scribal activities at Durham down to his death in c.1130.⁶³⁰ This, alongside further analysis by Rollason and the contributors to the volume *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, has ensured that there now exists a wealth of evidence and previous interpretation through which Symeon's activities, individual skills, and academic interests away from history, may be known and interpreted.⁶³¹

Symeon's earliest activities at Durham are represented in ten surviving manuscripts dated by Gullick to before 1096. These items suggest that between c.1090 and 1096, he was active in copying and decorating books which collected a wide variety of subject matter, with little chance to develop his own academic specialisms within Durham's programme of rapid book procurement. He wrote either the whole, or significant portions of: Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca*;⁶³² Bede's *Vita Cuthberti* and *Vitae Cuthberto*;⁶³³ various sections of texts added to the 'Durham Cantor's Book' (Durham, Dean and chapter Library, Ms B.IV.24);⁶³⁴ the whole of a large, high-quality manuscript of Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (described by Gullick as 'the largest and most handsome of all the scribe's work');⁶³⁵ Haimo's commentary on the *Apocalypse*;⁶³⁶ and he may also have written the whole of an item containing Frontinus' *Strategemata* and Eutropius' *Brevarium historiae*.⁶³⁷

⁶²⁹ On the dates of Symeon's arrival and death, see Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 18-9 and 22. For a list of items now lost, see Appendix B, items 129-49.

⁶³⁰ Gullick, 'Scribes'; Gullick, 'Hand', in which Symeon's manuscripts are listed at pp. 24-31. This section also owes a large debt to the collection of notes collected by Michael Gullick at Durham, and now kept in Durham University's Palace Green Library under the title: 'Durham Cathedral Priory Manuscripts, 1081-1200'.

⁶³¹ *LDE*; Rollason, *Symeon: Historian*.

⁶³² Gullick, 'Hand', p. 24.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶³⁴ Gullick, 'Hand', p. 25 and Gullick, 'Scribes'.

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

The wide variety of texts within this group of manuscripts suggests that during his earliest years in Durham, Symeon was not working to any specific genre of text or personal expertise, but rather, as argued by Gullick, that he was recruited as a scribe whose skills were vital in a community that was working hard to enlarge its library resources during these years.⁶³⁸ Symeon's rubrication and decoration within several of the manuscripts for which he was the main scribe (including an Augustine's *De civitate Dei* and two of the hagiographical collections),⁶³⁹ two further items mainly copied by other scribes,⁶⁴⁰ and the uniform quality of execution seen in his copy of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, are testament to the range of his responsibilities during these early years.

Symeon's role in producing several surviving Episcopal charters to the Durham monks and various other monastic administrative records sheds further light on the nature of his duties as Durham scribe.⁶⁴¹ Symeon's hand appears as author of a total of seven surviving letters, precepts, charters and muniments.⁶⁴² The majority see him creating records of lands donated to the Durham monks. For example, around 1097, Symeon recorded that King Edgar of Scotland gave various lands and churches, including St Mary's at Coldingham, the town of Swinton (near Berwick) and 'the lands between Hewerden and Knapdale' (*Horuerdene et Cnapadene*), near Coldingham, while a further similar document recorded Edgar's grants in or before 1107.⁶⁴³ Between c.1107 and 1117, Symeon likewise recorded a land grant from an early twelfth-century Scottish donor, Thor Longus, whose association with the cathedral priory is shown in the witness-list of the earliest Edgar charter, who donated the church of St Cuthbert in Ednam and its lands in exchange for prayers on behalf of the souls of his parents.⁶⁴⁴ In the 1120s, Symeon made four further records of rights given by Bishop Ranulf Flambard. These included the grant of 'Haliwerestelle' (unknown) and a further donation which is now damaged and impossible to identify.⁶⁴⁵ The most elaborate of Symeon's charters to survive are two made in c.1128, which both recorded Bishop Ranulf Flambard's return of several previously-usurped lands to the

⁶³⁸ Ibid., p. 18.

⁶³⁹ Ibid., pp. 24-5, items 2, 4, and 6.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 24, items 3, 7, and 8.

⁶⁴¹ As listed and discussed in Gullick, 'Scribes', pp. 102-3 and 104-5, and Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 26, 28 and 30. The dates of all of these noted here are taken from Gullick's estimates.

⁶⁴² Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 26, 28 and 30.

⁶⁴³ Durham Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Muniments Misc. Ch. 556; and DCDCM, Misc. Ch. 558.

⁶⁴⁴ DCDCM, Misc. Ch. 722; Piper 'Durham Cantor's Book', p. 87.

⁶⁴⁵ DCDCM, 2.1Pont.11 and 2.1.Pont.10, respectively.

Durham monks.⁶⁴⁶ Both were made on superior quality parchment with well-spaced letter-forms, and long witness-lists, indicating the sense of importance associated with the return of these properties.

The production of charters shows that Symeon was on hand to provide scribal support for the priory during the course of important business transactions, and that he did so on numerous occasions throughout his time at Durham from a comparatively early stage in *c.*1093 down to *c.*1128 or 1129.⁶⁴⁷ Unlike Eadmer, Symeon appears not to have served within the Episcopal administration, but made records only on behalf of his own community of monks belonging to the cathedral priory. The documents date from various intermittent points during Symeon's career, suggesting that he may not have held a permanent position of administrative responsibility such as that suggested for Eadmer in chapter five, but instead as one of perhaps several scribes charged with making such records as and when it was necessary to do so. Even so, these were highly specialised items, in both form and construction, and as such, illustrate the levels of responsibility given over to Symeon as administrative scribe from his earliest down to his last years in Durham.

As noted above, a large proportion of Symeon's additions within surviving manuscripts suggest that his scribal capabilities had earned him a position of responsibility and supervision of work carried out by other scribes. Gullick has argued that Symeon took a more senior role from the end of the eleventh century onwards within a scriptorium which continued to produce manuscript resources in large numbers.⁶⁴⁸ These items show Symeon reviewing, correcting, and adding rubrics as appropriate. Particular examples of these include his addition of corrections, quotation-marks, contents notes, and quire numbers to a copy of Bedan commentaries between 1115-1130,⁶⁴⁹ and his addition of corrections *incipits* and *explicits* within two items housing exegetical works by Jerome and dating from around the same period.⁶⁵⁰

As noted above, this activity brought Symeon into contact with a wide variety of disciplines within the remit of the monastic scholar. There is enough evidence within some of these additions to suggest that at least some of these duties shed important light on Symeon's own

⁶⁴⁶ DCDCM, 2.1.Pont.2 and 2.1.Pont.1.

⁶⁴⁷ Gullick, 'Scribes', p. 102; Gullick, 'Hand', p. 30.

⁶⁴⁸ Gullick, 'Hand', p. 18.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 28, item 26.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 29, items 28 and 29.

personal interests and capabilities as a scholar, and particularly so with regards to his work in manuscripts housing works of biblical exegesis and theology. This assumption is supported by his composition of one surviving short treatise in the area, on the 'Errors of Origen'.

Richard Sharpe has suggested that Symeon's interest in theology 'could no doubt have been assumed in a committed and intelligent Benedictine'.⁶⁵¹ Examination of Symeon's additions within several of the manuscripts containing theology and exegesis provides concrete illustrations of this point, and suggests that his engagement with this corpus of texts probably originated out of his own genuinely-held academic interests. Symeon's production of an entire copy of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, now Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.22, fols. 27-231 is, given its dating to before 1096, likely to have been the result of bibliographical need, rather than Symeon's own devotion to Augustinian thought. Despite this conclusion, a single citation identified within Sharpe's edition of Symeon's subsequent treatise on Origen confirms that Symeon nevertheless possessed a working knowledge of the contents of this text, and that he was able to draw on this experience in compiling his own original work.⁶⁵²

The best illustrations of Symeon's knowledge in the area of exegesis and theology are shown in his numerous marginal additions and revisions to existing blocks of text added by other Durham scribes. The majority of his notes consist of small additions containing quotation marks, paragraph marks, *nota* marks and simple directions for further reading. Gullick showed that these can be seen within four manuscripts, housing copies of Gregory's Ezekiel commentary, Bede on *Genesis* and the Tabernacle, Jerome's commentary on Isaiah, and a collection of works by Odo of Cluny, John Chrysostom and Martin of Braga.⁶⁵³ The most extensive notes are on three of Augustine's texts; *De quantitate anime*, *De praesentia Dei*, and *De paradiso*, and which are now held within the miscellany by patristic authorities in Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.12.⁶⁵⁴ These vary in their detail. Symeon often merely wrote one or two words highlighting the contents of the main text, for example, the note on fol. 169v 'on faith' (*de fide*), which can be regarded as merely directional notes to himself or subsequent readers. Elsewhere, longer notes of around one sentence in length were also used to summarise the contents of the main text. For example, on folio 164v, he informed readers that Augustine's discussion can be found expanded

⁶⁵¹ Sharpe, 'Errors of Origen', p. 285.

⁶⁵² Ibid., p. 289, note 4.

⁶⁵³ Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 24-9, items 7, 26, 29, and 31.

⁶⁵⁴ Appendix B, items 66-9.

‘in another book’ (*in alio libro*), although did not specify which one, and on 155v, where Symeon summarised Augustine’s argument by declaring that, ‘he who is carried away to heaven is carried away to paradise’.⁶⁵⁵ Easily the longest of Symeon’s additions was the note inserted on a separate slip of parchment between fols.171-2, which expanded Augustine’s comments with Symeon’s own observations regarding heaven, paradise, and the human spirit. The nature and contents of Symeon’s notes within these manuscripts show him active in contributing to the study of mostly patristic theology and exegesis at Durham. His notes referring to other authorities and notes of quotation-marks illustrate his depth of knowledge, probably derived from extensive studies in this area.

The best evidence for Symeon’s independent theological thinking is the single surviving treatise that he is known to have written in 1119 or 1120 in response to questions relating to some of the ambiguities in the writings of Origen.⁶⁵⁶ This work survives in a mid twelfth-century copy now housed on fols. 165r-171r of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 123, and was edited by Richard Sharpe in 1998.⁶⁵⁷ Sharpe suggested that Symeon compiled this text in order to reach a wider audience, and to begin making a name for himself as a theologian.⁶⁵⁸ This interpretation is supported by the fact that Symeon added his name to the beginning of this text, thereby claiming his ownership of it. It is possible to suggest that Symeon had some success, if these were his intentions. Sharpe showed that the only surviving manuscript originated from Gloucester in the mid-twelfth century, and in addition to this, that Glastonbury Abbey also held a copy by 1247.⁶⁵⁹ The evidence therefore implies that Symeon’s composition travelled beyond Durham, and this may be supplemented by suggesting that Symeon may also have sent the letter to its proposed recipient, the then Bishop of Le Mans, Hilderbert of Lavardin.

Although his treatise may have travelled widely, study of the text suggests that Symeon is unlikely to have made an influential or an innovative contribution to the study of Origen in the twelfth century through its composition. The work contains little original thought, and largely consists of the presentation of quotations and short extracts from previous patristic and medieval authorities related to his aim of identifying the perceived errors of Origen’s apparently over-

⁶⁵⁵ ‘*ea quam raptus est c[on] [section obscured] caelum raptus et in paradisus*’.

⁶⁵⁶ Sharpe, ‘Errors of Origen’, p. 288: ‘*Super his que ex omeliis Origenis uos ambigua mouerant prior domum rediens desiderio uestro satiafacere uigilanter instabat.*’

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid., with reference to the manuscript at p. 282.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 283.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 282.

lenient interpretation of sin and redemption within his *Peri archon*.⁶⁶⁰ Sharpe identified numerous references to pre-existing commentaries throughout his edition, noting extracts from works by well known authorities including Augustine, Gregory, Isidore, Jerome, and Ambrose, and in many cases, highlighting their derivation from surviving manuscripts of their works.⁶⁶¹

Despite this apparent lack of original scholarship, the treatise reveals the depth of Symeon's knowledge of the relevant texts that might be used to refute Origen (some of which have been shown to correspond with surviving Durham copies), and that he was able to compile these in a manner appropriate to the task.⁶⁶² Symeon argued the case for its composition with conviction, noting that he aimed to confront the apparently over-lenient interpretation of sin and redemption within Origen's *Peri archon*.⁶⁶³ Quotations were drawn from the highest patristic texts, including Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, Jerome's *Epistles*, Ambrose's *De paenitentia*, Gregory's *Dialogi* and his *Moralia*. Extracts were well-chosen and targeted against Origen. For example, Symeon made good use of Jerome, one of Origen's most strident critics, and cited his translation of Epiphanius Cyprius, who had described Origen as an 'eminent authority, who dares to teach the devil' (*Doctor egregius audet docere diabolum*).⁶⁶⁴ Symeon's method was therefore simple, but effective. Supported by some of the most widely-read authors in western Christendom, he argued for the re-interpretation of Origen's errors without fear of reproach. Symeon combined this citation of authority with public avowal of his own humility, referring to himself as '*servorum sancti Cuthberti minimus*',⁶⁶⁵ referring to his work as a lowly offering,⁶⁶⁶ and when adding his own reflections, simply stating that:

Because many things about Origen have been discovered by the Catholic doctors, his perniciousness has been attested, and thus a few poor words to you suffice.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 288.

⁶⁶¹ See notes and references in *ibid.*, and discussion of manuscript sources at pp. 297-300.

⁶⁶² Ibid., pp. 285-287.

⁶⁶³ Ibid., p. 288; For a German-Latin edition of the *Peri archon*, see Origen, *Vier Bücher von den Prinzipien*, eds. Herwig Görgemanns and Heinrich Karpp (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985).

⁶⁶⁴ Sharpe, 'Errors of Origen', p. 289; For further discussion on the Origenist Controversy, see: Elizabeth A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

⁶⁶⁵ Sharpe, 'Errors of Origen', p. 288.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 288: '*Quod sane negotium et si minus desiderabiliter quam debui sum exsequutus et ut iubenti exhiberem reuerentiam et ampliorem uestre dilectionis mererer assequi gratiam.*'

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 290: '*Cum itaque multa Origenis inueniantur que catholici doctores nimis perniciose detestantur, hec uobis dicta pauca sufficiant.*'

Symeon's treatise against Origen illustrates his abilities as a diligent accumulator of evidence found amongst Durham's collection of biblical exegesis and theology.⁶⁶⁸ His stated authorship of the text suggests a degree of ambition on his part, and it remains the only surviving original composition within the genres of theology and Bible study to have been written by a Durham monk in his lifetime. The treatise demonstrates that Symeon not only copied and made notes in Durham theology books, but that he also used them to form his own compilation. Indeed, Sharpe has shown that of the eleven works cited by Symeon, eight survive in contemporary Durham manuscripts, although he did suggest that the 'exact fidelity' of quotations varied in the single surviving manuscript copy of the treatise.⁶⁶⁹ Nevertheless, Symeon's authorship of this treatise, and his wider activities within Durham's manuscripts as a whole, combine to suggest that theology and Bible-study were a major part of his engagement with the textual environment at Durham.

There is little evidence to suggest that Symeon's wide experiences of biblical exegesis and theology had a direct influence on the content of his historical writing. While Chibnall was able to argue that Orderic used a variety of exegetical works in his *Historia ecclesiastica*, this was not an element of the *Libellus* highlighted by Rollason.⁶⁷⁰ While Symeon's historiography does not appear to have drawn on his experience of theology and exegesis, his *Libellus* is nevertheless full of quotations from the Bible.⁶⁷¹ Many of these were doubtless derived from Symeon's sources, most likely the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Bede. Nevertheless, they still appear in later sections which are likely to have drawn on oral tradition, and as such, are more likely to represent Symeon's own words. For example, his description of the reoccupation of St Paul's in Jarrow likened the new occupants to Abraham entering his promised land,⁶⁷² and as such shows Symeon's ability to apply simple biblical typology within his work.

One area of Symeon's wider work which certainly did impact his composition of the *Libellus de exordio*, was his experience in copying notable texts of local hagiography, not least because several of these sources were essential to its eventual composition. As noted in chapter four, the library of Durham's cathedral priory did not possess a notably large collection of hagiographical

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 285.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 285-7, and 297-300.

⁶⁷⁰ For Orderic, see *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 217-221; vol. 2, pp. 371-2; vol. 3, pp. 369-70, vol. 4, pp. 357-8; and 383-4; vol. 6, pp. 359-60.

⁶⁷¹ *LDE*, p. 337.

⁶⁷² Ibid., pp. 202-5.

texts. However, Symeon's role in producing Durham copies of notable works relating to the lives and miracles of local saints Cuthbert and Bede within three surviving manuscripts sheds important light on his possible abilities and interests as a hagiographer, and his certain role in helping to shape the identity and cultural inheritance of his community.

Gullick showed that between 1090 and c.1096, Symeon produced two notable collections of texts related to the life and miracles of St Cuthbert.⁶⁷³ In what is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 175, Symeon copied Bede's prose and verse Lives of St Cuthbert, and *Lives* of SS. Aidan and Oswald derived from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*.⁶⁷⁴ Additions now housed across fols. 175-214 of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 596, again show Symeon's work in copying Bede's prose *Vita sancti Cuthberti*, alongside extracts from his verse *Vita*.⁶⁷⁵ All of these additions were judged by Gullick to have been carried out during Symeon's earliest years in Durham. As such, they show him providing the most essential reading materials related to the cult of St Cuthbert, whose care, according to Symeon's *Libellus* (and as discussed below) gave his community its primary purpose, and with this also its legitimacy.⁶⁷⁶

The exact underlying causes of Symeon's contribution and interest towards the study and provision of sources for local hagiography at Durham are unclear. Gullick's observation that Symeon returned to add the *Historia de sancto Cuthberto* within Bodley 596 around the turn of the twelfth century, suggests that he was individually motivated to provide further readings related to the development of Cuthbert's cult when they became available at a later date.⁶⁷⁷ Symeon's long-term involvement in the production of hagiographical sources is also seen in his supervision of the *Vita Bedae*, which occurs on fols. 28-37 of London, British Library, MS Harley 526.⁶⁷⁸ However, unlike Eadmer and Orderic, Symeon's involvement in the production of hagiographical materials does not seem to have provided a constant thread of his career in the longer term. No other activity in this area can be attributed to him after the completion of the *Libellus*. Furthermore, Rollason's identification of the prose *Vita Cuthberti* and the *Historia de sancto Cuthberto* as key sources towards Symeon's *Libellus* casts further doubt on his genuine interest in hagiographical studies, possibly suggesting instead that his work in producing these

⁶⁷³ Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 24 and 28, items 2, 4, and 25.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 24, item 2.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 24, item 4.

⁶⁷⁶ *LDE*, pp. 224-31.

⁶⁷⁷ Gullick, 'Hand', p. 24, item 4.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 28, item 25.

texts may have been carried out in order to collect the requisite source materials for his later planned production of the *Libellus*.⁶⁷⁹ It is entirely possible that Symeon's two manuscripts housing works related to Cuthbert (that is, Digby 175 and Digby 596) were intended for export outside of his own community. This theory is supported by the fact that Rollason was unable to collate passages of the *Libellus* derived from the *Vita Cuthberti* with either of Symeon's manuscript versions, suggesting therefore that Symeon used another, now unidentified, manuscript of the text as his main source.⁶⁸⁰ Even if Symeon originally copied his sections of Digby 175 and 596 with export in mind, his role in their production nevertheless confirms Symeon's status as one of the most important contributors to his community in terms of scribal experience and expertise, and perhaps also with regards to hagiographical studies.

If either or both of Symeon's two manuscripts housing works related to Cuthbert were originally intended for his own community and not for export (that is, Digby 175 and Digby 596), it is highly likely that in copying them, Symeon made an important contribution to the development of Durham's monastic liturgy through this work. While this present discussion does not allow space for an extensive analysis regarding the character of the liturgical offices during Symeon's lifetime, the contents of extant volumes including fragments of a breviary and a two-volume antiphoner both imported from France,⁶⁸¹ two lectionaries,⁶⁸² and a now heavily damaged gradual,⁶⁸³ together with the record of the Breviarium, antiphoner and gradual on Symeon's book-list,⁶⁸⁴ shed some light on the provision of Durham's liturgy in the early years of the Benedictine community. It is likely that by the turn of the twelfth century, Durham's monks were observing a well-provisioned cycle of offices, and that readings related to the local saints represented in Symeon's hagiographical manuscripts provided important statements of character and identity within the Durham liturgy.

Evidence within Symeon's *Libellus* suggests that his work in copying these hagiographical materials was not only carried out for liturgical purposes. The prose *Vita Cuthberti* and the *Historia de sancto Cuthberto* provided key sources for the compilation of Symeon's *Libellus*, and the same can be said for the sections of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* which related to the

⁶⁷⁹ *LDE*, pp. lxxviii-lxix and lxxii-lxxiii.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. lxxviii-lxix.

⁶⁸¹ Appendix B, Items 49, 52, and 137.

⁶⁸² *Ibid.*, items 25 and 83.

⁶⁸³ *Ibid.*, item 98.

⁶⁸⁴ Browne, 'Bishop William's Book Donations', plate 15.

lives of Saints Aidan and Oswald, which were copied into the Digby 175 manuscript. Symeon used these hagiographical texts and materials in order to construct a vision of his community's past. For while his own words note the Benedictine community to which Symeon belonged had only existed since 1083 and had come into being through the expulsion of almost every member of the previous community of secular canons save for one pious individual, Symeon nevertheless claimed that his monastic house was the legitimate heir of the previous incumbent.⁶⁸⁵ The relics and cults of saints provided the ultimate link between the time of SS Oswald, Aidan and Cuthbert. In the opening to his first book, Symeon made this point clear from the outset of his narrative, arguing that:

Although for various reasons this church no longer stands in the place where Oswald founded it, nevertheless by virtue of the consistency of its faith,⁶⁸⁶ the dignity and authority of its Episcopal throne, and the status of the dwelling-place of monks established there by himself and Bishop Aidan, it is still very much the same church founded by God's command.⁶⁸⁷

In depicting the lives and deeds of Oswald, Aidan and Cuthbert within the earliest sections of his *Libellus* and thereafter narrating an unbroken chain of inheritance down to his own day, Symeon's version of history cemented the position, purpose and identity of his monastic community in the same way as might be derived from hearing or reading accounts of these saints and their lives in other public or private devotional contexts.

In addition to his production of the hagiographical materials noted above, Symeon can be shown to have made important further contributions to public ceremony at Durham, through his role as monastic cantor; a role which has been confirmed by Piper, Gullick and Rollason.⁶⁸⁸ The rubric within one copy of the *Libellus* which dates to the later twelfth century named Symeon as *precentor*.⁶⁸⁹ In addition to this, further evidence is provided by a surviving record of a young boy's vision of heaven and hell, which was dated to 1126 and sent to Durham and which

⁶⁸⁵ *LDE*, pp. 224-31.

⁶⁸⁶ That is, the devout monastic living of Symeon and his contemporaries.

⁶⁸⁷ *LDE*, pp. 16-7: '*Licet enim causis existentibus alibi quam ab ipso sit locata, nichilominus tamen stabilitate fidei, dignitate quoque et auctoritate cathedre pontificalis, statu etiam monachice habitationis que ab ipso rege et Aidano pontifice ibidem instituta est, ipsa eadem ecclesia Deo auctore fundata permanet.*'

⁶⁸⁸ Piper, 'The Durham Cantor's Book', especially at pp. 84-5; Gullick, 'Scribes', pp. 108-9; Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 20-1; *LDE*, pp. xlii-xliv.

⁶⁸⁹ *LDE*, pp. xlii-xliii; Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 20-1.

addressed Symeon as ‘Symeon cantor’ (*precentori*).⁶⁹⁰ As in the case of Eadmer, the exact start-date of Symeon’s cantorship remains unknown. Gullick has argued that Symeon’s predecessor in the office can be identified as a Norman monk named William, who arrived in Durham at around the same time as Symeon, in or just after 1091. Arguing that Symeon was probably not cantor in 1004 at the opening of Cuthbert’s tomb due to the absence of such a title in the later account by Reginald of Durham, Gullick concluded that Symeon was appointed as cantor ‘some years after the completion of the *Libellus de exordio*’; this giving a date range of between 1107 and 1126.

While it is difficult to know when Symeon was cantor, the duties which he carried out in the role are much easier to speculate. Since Eadmer’s copy of Lanfranc’s *Decreta* was sent to Durham before 1096,⁶⁹¹ it may be assumed that like Eadmer, Symeon also followed Lanfranc’s precepts, therefore involving his supervision of the choir, monitoring the progression of the calendar and progress of the liturgy, supervision of confraternity arrangements, and the management of the Durham library.⁶⁹² Firm evidence of Symeon’s involvement in some of these tasks is present within surviving manuscript evidence. Discussions above have already observed Symeon’s work in supervising and correcting the work of other scribes. His list of Bishop William’s book donations offers further evidence of his activity in monitoring Durham’s library collection.⁶⁹³ Although the list is not dated, it provides possible proof that Symeon was working towards the remit of the cantor before his likely appointment sometime after 1107, perhaps in lending assistance to William.

Other examples of Symeon’s work, particularly in his additions to the resurrected Durham *Liber Vitae* and the Martyrology contained within Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.24, are consistent with Lanfranc’s prescription of the cantor’s duties in monitoring the monastic liturgy and public memorial of both monastic and lay confraternity.⁶⁹⁴ These were made from at least c.1093 onwards, when he added a note of confraternity within the *Liber Vitae* on behalf of King Malcolm and Queen Margaret of Scotland, who both died in that year.⁶⁹⁵ These two collections represented Durham’s two major repositories of ceremonial lists and liturgical aids,

⁶⁹⁰ *LDE*, p. xliii; D. H. Farmer, ‘The Vision of Orm’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxxv (1957), pp. 72-82.

⁶⁹¹ Appendix B, item 75.

⁶⁹² *Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, pp. 118-123; *LDE*, p. xliii.

⁶⁹³ Browne, ‘William of St Carilef’s Book Donations’; Gullick, ‘Hand’, p. 25.

⁶⁹⁴ Appendix B, items 77 and 99. On these two items, see: essays in *LVD*, vol. 1; essays in *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context*, ed. David Rollason et al. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004); Piper, ‘The Durham Cantor’s Book’; Gullick, ‘Scribes’, pp. 93, 104, 106, 107, and 108-9, especially notes on p. 107.

⁶⁹⁵ Gullick, ‘Scribes’, p. 102.

and Symeon's additions within them suggest an individual following Lanfranc's prescription for the role of cantor. He added names to necrology, obituary and martyrology tables, including individuals belonging to his own community, such as 'David the monk, sub-deacon of our congregation' (fol.18v) and of those from without, including 'King Alexander of Scotland and his sister Matilda, Queen of England' (fol. 21r), Pope Calixtus, and 'Nicholas, monk of Saint-Stephen's, Caen' (fol. 38v).

All of these additions appear to tie in closely with Lanfranc's prescription that the monastic cantor should 'supervise the letters sent out to ask for prayers for the dead brethren'.⁶⁹⁶ This probably also explains Symeon's activity in producing longer, formulaic records of properties donated in return for confraternity of the donors, their communities, and their families. These appear in both B.IV.24 and the Durham *Liber Vitae*.⁶⁹⁷ A typical example of these, present in the *Liber Vitae* on fol. 36v, recorded an agreement of confraternity with Durham and Saint-Paul's in London, which reads:

Here is the agreement between the monastery of Durham and Wilfraenum, Canon of the Church of St Paul in London. For each dead monk of the Durham church, Wilfraenum will say thirty masses, and upon his death, each monk will say thirty masses.⁶⁹⁸

Similar records elsewhere in the *Liber Vitae* and B.IV.24 show that Symeon recorded agreements with individuals and communities from across England including Christ Church, Canterbury, Westminster, York, Glastonbury, and Whitby, but also across the Channel, such as Saint-Stephen's at Caen, Chartres, and the monastery of Saint-Carilef. He also recorded an agreement for prayer on behalf of the family of one layman, Hubert de Lacey.⁶⁹⁹ The discussion above has already noted that Symeon made several administrative records of donations to the Durham monks. Some of these were recorded as having been made for the benefit of the donor's soul or those of his family members, and as such can be related to Symeon's likely duties as cantor. Examples include Edgar's two grants, which were made one on behalf of his soul and

⁶⁹⁶ *Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, p. 122-3: 'Cura breuium, qui foras mitti solent pro defunctis fratribus'.

⁶⁹⁷ As listed in Gullick, 'Scribes', pp. 101-4.

⁶⁹⁸ LVD, fol. 36v: '*Hec est conuentio inter Dunelmensem conuentum et Wilfraenum canonicum ecclesiae Sancti Pauli Lundonie, ut pro singulis monachis defunctis Dunelmensis ecclesiae dicat .xxx. missas, et pro eo defuncto singuli monachi dicant .xxx. missas*'. On the attribution of this addition to Symeon, see Gullick, 'Scribes', p. 106, note 53.

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid., fol. 52v.

those of his father and mother, and the other for his soul and those of his siblings, and the above-mentioned grant from Thor Longus made for the souls of Thor's parents.⁷⁰⁰

Another smaller area of Symeon's activity which may be associated with his tenure as cantor features in a body of evidence which, although small, certainly demonstrates that he knew and used the theories of computistics. Symeon is known to have added to two manuscripts which together provided Durham's two main repositories of *computus* materials during his lifetime. In Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS Hunter 100, he copied sections of a *computus* guide by Robert of Lodingia, appearing on fol. 19v, lines 11-26.⁷⁰¹ While this provides only a small hint of Symeon's possible knowledge of computistics, his additions within Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunterian 85 (T.4.2) are much more substantial. These include annotations and rubrication of the bulk of the manuscript, and his addition of annals within the Easter-tables of fols. 18-24v.⁷⁰² The compilation of these annals in particular, provides firm evidence that Symeon understood the machinations of tables whose use required significant levels of specialist knowledge and interpretation. As such, Symeon's additions within these two Durham *computus* manuals suggest that he was acquainted with the calculation of time and calculations used in order to monitor the correct organisation of the liturgical cycle, as required by his role as Durham cantor.

So far, this discussion has considered a wide variety of surviving manuscript evidence in order to re-create the wider picture of Symeon's various experiences, skills and interests as a monastic scholar, in order that his experience of historical studies may be more easily located in relation to his broader responsibilities and interests. This has shown that Symeon's duties as scribe brought him into contact with almost the entire spectrum of learning at Durham during his lifetime. He appears to have been particularly responsible for supervising the production of new manuscripts and editing imported books, and made a number of official records and documents on behalf of his community (many of them related to the development of confraternity networks and public celebration of benefactors) which may reflect his experience of a supervisory role. Symeon's additions within the surviving manuscripts suggest that he held particular interest in the study of biblical exegesis and theology, and collected extracts from the Fathers in order to compose at

⁷⁰⁰ DCDCM, Misc. Ch. 556; Ibid., Misc. Ch. 722.

⁷⁰¹ Gullick, 'Hand', p. 27.

⁷⁰² Ibid., p. 29.

least one original, if not very innovative, tract. Symeon also appears to have held a key responsibility in the production of manuscripts containing local hagiography.

The identification of Symeon's involvement in all of these various fields of learning, administration and monastic devotional life, provides a developed picture of his status as a distinctly monastic scholar. The diversity of these activities as noted above, suggests that Symeon's prevailing reputation as historian incorrectly overshadows the wealth of his knowledge and scholarly interests. This may be especially true of his study and composition of theology and exegesis. In particular, Symeon appears to have been so confident in his skills as a student of theology that he confidently stated his ownership of the tract against Origen.

Knowledge of Symeon the all-round scholar provides the ideal background through which it is possible to examine his status as historian, and through which it is possible to further examine the evolving character of his historical writing. This section of discussion will consider in turn the following themes: Symeon's additions within the wider collection of historical texts at Durham during his lifetime; the extent to which he applied these experiences within the composition of his own original historical texts and sources; his presentation of the historical texts for which he was responsible; and finally, the resulting character of his historiography in relation to other near-contemporary works. Conclusions will argue that although the study, copying and compilation of historical texts occupied a significant place in his known studies at Durham (especially so when compared to the work of other scribes) Symeon himself nevertheless regarded historical studies as merely one aspect of a much wider career as a monastic scribe and scholar.

Although historical texts provided just eighteen of the 149 items known to have been held at Durham during Symeon's lifetime, together, they collected a wide variety of historiographical sources, models and exemplars. As noted in chapter four, Bishop William's donations before 1096 included Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, the *Historiae* of Pompeius Trogus, and a single volume containing Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca* alongside Victor of Vita's *Historia persecutionis Africanae prouinciae*.⁷⁰³ Later additions known from surviving manuscripts added copies of Josephus' *De antiquitate Iudaica* and *De bello Iudaico*, William of Jumièges' *Gesta*

⁷⁰³ Browne, 'Bishop William's Book Donations', plate 15.

Normannorum Ducum, and Eutropius' *Brevarium historiae romanae*, between c.1100 and c.1130.⁷⁰⁴

Although the exact nature of his additions varies, Gullick noted the presence of Symeon's hand in all of the surviving manuscripts bar one; this being the copy of Josephus' *De antiquitate Iudaica* and *De bello Iudaico*.⁷⁰⁵ Even in the cases of items towards which Symeon made only minor additions, his knowledge of the texts within can be shown. For example, Symeon's only addition to the Durham copy of Bede's *Historia*, now Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.35, is his note on fol. 39v regarding the metropolitan bishops to which the Episcopal sees of 'Belgica prima' and 'Belgica secunda' were responsible.⁷⁰⁶ Despite his tiny involvement, Rollason showed that Bede's *Historia* provided the essential foundation for Symeon's *Libellus*: a fact which Symeon himself acknowledged on several occasions.⁷⁰⁷ Symeon can also be shown to have known William's *Gesta Normannorum*, with Gullick identifying his role in correcting the whole of the manuscript, now London, British Library, MS Harley 491.⁷⁰⁸ Gullick has also noted that Symeon made minor scribal and editorial additions to the surviving Durham copies of Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca* (now Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 18.4.3) and Eutropius' *Brevarium historiae* (now London, British Library, MS Harley 2729).⁷⁰⁹ Symeon's involvement in the production of all bar one of the surviving manuscripts containing narrative history suggests that Symeon may have had a specific responsibility or a keen personal interest in the provision of historiographical resources at Durham.

The evidence of Durham's historical texts makes it possible to speculate on the ways in which Symeon engaged with the past. There is much evidence which can be interpreted in a positive light. All of the narratives noted above, including works by Bede, Pompeius Trogus, Palladius, Victor of Vita, Josephus and William of Jumièges, and possibly also works by Suetonius and Eutropius, were being collected at around the same time as Symeon was researching and writing his *Libellus*, thereby raising the possibility that his writing may have been carried out as part of a conscious programme of historical reading and research during these years. However, similar caveats must be raised as applied at Christ Church, Canterbury: speculation as to how the

⁷⁰⁴ Now Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.II.1; London British Library, MS Harley 491, fols. 3-46; and London British Library, Harley 2729, respectively.

⁷⁰⁵ Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 24, 27 and 31.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid., notes this erroneously as fol. 38v, at p. 31.

⁷⁰⁷ *LDE*, p. lxxviii, 18-9, 22-3, 24-5, 40-1, 62-71, 200-1, 212-3, 226-7, 258-9 and 260-3.

⁷⁰⁸ Gullick, 'Hand', p. 27, item 18.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 24, item 1 and 31, item 43.

histories were intended to be used is not the same as demonstration. The histories of Josephus were useful for biblical exegesis as much as historical research, and the classical Latin histories by Pompeius Trogus, Palladius, Suetonius, and Eutropius might have been added as guides to the teaching of Latin as much as historiographical theory.

Dating of Symeon's additions to other historical manuscripts by Gullick, Rollason and Story, suggests that Symeon carried out extensive work in the study and compilation of history in annalistic form, following the completion of his *Libellus de exordio*.⁷¹⁰ Although this activity cannot be shown to have impacted upon the compilation of the *Libellus*, Symeon's continued study of the past in these items sheds important further light on the nature and extent of his skills and interests in the pursuit of history. Probably the earliest of these historical annals appears as a series of marginal notations within the Easter-tables in Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian 85 (T.4.2), which were judged by Gullick to have been made between 1115-1130 and have been labelled by Wilhelm Levison as the *Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses*.⁷¹¹ A second set, dating from around 1125 onwards, appear across six sides of Durham Cathedral Library B.IV.22, and offer a detailed series of records of English and Continental events displayed in two columns.⁷¹²

A further collection, better-known as the Durham *Historia regum*, is widely thought to have been produced under Symeon's supervision, and deserves to be considered among his portfolio of historiography. It consists of a lengthy chronicle of Anglo-Saxon history from the death of King Ethelbert of Kent, comprising some noted events from wider early medieval European history such as the life and successors of Charlemagne, and runs to completion in 1129. Although the original manuscript is now lost, the *Historia regum* has been persistently attributed to Symeon thanks to the incipit and explicit on fols. 51v and 129v of the only surviving copy of the text, now, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 139.⁷¹³ Based on his suggestion that the majority of its contents were in fact heavily derived from other existing sources, including the chronicle of Byrhtferth of Ramsey, William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum*, John of Worcester's chronicle, and other recent annals, Rollason judged Symeon's actual role in the production of the *Historia*

⁷¹⁰ Gullick, 'Hand', p. 29; *LDE*, pp. xlvi-xlvii; Story, 'Annalist', pp. 207-208.

⁷¹¹ Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 29-30; *LDE*, pp. xlvi-xlvii; Story, 'Annalist', pp. 207-208. For an edition and commentary, see: Wilhelm Levison and Hans Eberhard Meyer, 'Die *Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses*: kritisch untersucht und neu herausgegeben', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 17 (1961), pp. 447-506.

⁷¹² Gullick, 'Hand', p. 30; Story, 'Annalist', p. 203-5.

⁷¹³ *LDE*, p. xlvi. For discussion of his role, see Blair, 'Some Observations on the *Historia Regum*', and Story, 'Symeon as Annalist'.

regum as ‘relatively limited’.⁷¹⁴ Rollason concluded that Symeon was ‘probably the author only of the last section and the northern material in the penultimate section’.⁷¹⁵ Like Rollason, Story has also suggested that Symeon had only a marginal role to play in the compilation of the *Historia regum*, suggesting that he was only ‘one of several editors who had worked on its components’, rather than the overall author of the entire text.⁷¹⁶

Other evidence allows this claim to be countered. Given its date of production towards the middle of the 1120s, Symeon’s earlier experience in compiling the annals noted above and the *Libellus de exordio*, and his various experiences as supervisor within Durham’s community of scribes and scholars would imply that Symeon was well-placed to assist in the production of the *Historia regum*, or to lead it. The original end of the text provides further evidence for Symeon’s involvement. Finishing incomplete, with a description of events from 1129, work on the *Historia regum* appears to have ceased almost exactly contemporaneously with the assumed date of Symeon’s death.⁷¹⁷ Given the likelihood that Symeon in fact was involved in the production of the *Historia regum*, it is important to consider the extent to which his possible role in helping to produce the text contributes to a picture of Symeon the historian.

Rollason’s suggestion that Symeon had simply copied earlier materials into his new text should not obscure the identification of genuine enquiry into the past. If Symeon did compile the whole of the text or even sections, Symeon still had to know where to find these earlier sources and how to use them within his new composition. Even if he produced it by collating earlier sources, this basic method was not dissimilar from the manner in which Symeon wrote his treatise on Origen, nor the earlier sections of his *Libellus de exordio* which made extensive use of earlier sources such as Bede’s *Historia*, as observed by Rollason.⁷¹⁸ The *Historia regum* also illustrates the extent to which Symeon may have been more interested in recording and studying wider historical events. As argued below, the parameters of the *Libellus* are narrowly defined by an aim to record the development of one community of St Cuthbert, and little else. By contrast, the *Historia regum* is more closely related to other Durham works and chronicles noted above. If Symeon were responsible for the creative direction of the text, it could suggest that he was more broadly interested in recording the wider events of Anglo-Saxon and contemporary Continental

⁷¹⁴ *LDE*, p. xlix.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xlix.

⁷¹⁶ Story, ‘Symeon as Annalist’, p. 212.

⁷¹⁷ Gullick, ‘Hand’, p. 22.

⁷¹⁸ *LDE*, pp. lxviii-lxxxvi.

history during the mid-1120s, and therefore more concerned to explore the broader patterns, events and sources of historical enquiry.

Due to their nature as simple lists of events arranged in chronological order, the historical contents of the annals produced at Durham and the lengthier *Historia regum* cannot be questioned. Rollason and Story have interpreted these collections as firm evidence for understanding Symeon's skills and interests in conducting historical research and have used them towards the construction of his identity as historian. Story in particular has offered a detailed outline of the organisational techniques that Symeon employed in his annalistic compilations, and suggested that this activity 'casts light on his keen and sophisticated knowledge of chronology and history, especially of the Anglo-Saxon past.'⁷¹⁹

The evidence surveyed in this discussion so far, suggests that although the pattern of his wider career should not be seen to have been exclusively defined by his copying and composition of historical texts alone, Symeon was nevertheless certainly involved in the study and production of numerous types of historical texts, including narrative histories, historical annals and hagiographical texts. Although other Durham students were certainly involved in their study and production, the presence of Symeon's hand in almost every Durham historical manuscript dating from his lifetime, his apparent commission to produce the *Libellus de exordio* (as discussed below), and his noted involvement in the compilation of the Durham *Historia regum*, strongly suggests that Symeon played a leading role in the study of the past at Durham during his lifetime.

This conclusion is further supported by the suggestion that knowledge of Symeon's research may have travelled outside of Durham during his lifetime. Two pieces of evidence suggest as much. The first is a letter to Hugh, Dean of York Cathedral, which survives in two later twelfth-century copies, and which listed historical precedents relating to the archbishops of York from the time of Bishops Paulinus and Aidan down to the lifetime of Bede.⁷²⁰ There is no obvious reason to doubt the attribution of this letter to Symeon, which appears in the rubric of the earliest surviving copy from the late twelfth century, and which Sharpe noted as having a Durham provenance.⁷²¹ This letter may have been requested of Symeon based on knowledge of his work in compiling

⁷¹⁹ Story, 'Symeon as Annalist', especially at p. 202 and 213; *LDE*, pp. xlvi-l.

⁷²⁰ Printed in *Symeonis Opera*, vol. 1, pp. 222-8. For discussion, see: *LDE*, p. xlvii; Richard Sharpe, 'Symeon as Pamphleteer', in *Symeon: Historian*, pp. 214-29, at 218-9, especially p. 218, note 15.

⁷²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

the *Libellus*, or more simply, because Hugh did not have access to a copy of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, from which the contents are mainly drawn.

The second source for Symeon's possible reputation as historian among contemporaries is a longer treatise in defence of Durham's rights over the church of Carlisle, which has been dated by Richard Sharpe as having been composed between 1107x15 and 1122.⁷²² This too survives in two later copies, although the earliest is from the fourteenth century, and therefore much later than the tract on the archbishops of York.⁷²³ Despite the later date, Sharpe identified several key sources of this text, including Bede's *Historia*, his *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* and Symeon's *Libellus*, and, citing parallels between the text of the letter and later revised drafts of the *Libellus*, cautiously attributed the text to Symeon.⁷²⁴ Like Symeon's letter to Hugh, Dean of York, this second tract provides further evidence of Symeon's contemporary reputation as historian. It seems likely that the ecclesiastical authorities of his time had knowledge of Symeon's work on the history of the Northumbrian church, and were keen to consult him, as a recognised authority on past precedents relating to the position of the Bishop of Carlisle. It is not unreasonable, given Sharpe's depiction of events in early twelfth-century Carlisle and Durham's defence of their authority, that this may have been Bishop Ranulf Flambard.⁷²⁵

These two short tracts provide the best contemporary evidence through which it is possible to judge Symeon's reputation as a student of the past among his contemporaries. Dean Hugh's letter and the tract on Carlisle both appear to have been produced following requests by their respective recipients. Given their respective subject matter, it is likely that such requests were made after the completion of Symeon's *Libellus*. Both dealt with themes covered at length in Symeon's narration of the history of the Northumbria church, and both have been shown to have derived from the same source materials as the bulk of Symeon's *Libellus*. It would seem therefore, that his work in composing this text was as important towards judgements of his reputation as historian among contemporaries as it has been in the modern era.

The *Libellus* is by far the longest of Symeon's surviving works, and is the only surviving original narrative history to have been produced in Durham during his lifetime. As such, it is central to any evaluation of Symeon's status as an author of history and examination of the precise

⁷²² Ibid., 'Symeon as Pamphleteer', pp. 214-229. An edition of this text appears at pp. 221-9.

⁷²³ Ibid., pp. 214-5.

⁷²⁴ Ibid., pp. 218-9.

⁷²⁵ Ibid., pp. 216-7.

character of history which he chose to write in it. This analysis considers Symeon's use of existing historical sources and models in its compilation, and subsequent location of the text within the established historiographical canon, alongside his presentation of the text and his understanding of his role as its author, particularly in relation to his depiction and apparent understanding of the text as a written testimony of community and identity.

Discussions above have suggested that by the time he began to write the *Libellus de exordio* in the middle of the first decade of the twelfth century, Symeon had gained considerable experience in the study of the past. By this point, it is likely that he had made various additions to the *Historia Lausiaca* and Eutropius, *Brevarium historiae*, and he may also have edited William's *Gesta Normannorum*. He had almost certainly read Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and copied various hagiographical sources relating to local saints Cuthbert, Oswald, Aidan and Bede, as represented in the surviving Bodleian manuscripts Digby 175 and Bodley 596.

As noted above, Symeon's *Libellus de exordio* may be defined by its deliberately narrow focus on narrating the history of the community of St Cuthbert, and little else. Like Eadmer with regards to his *Historia novorum*, Symeon chose (or was ordered) to narrate a series of events from the past in order to argue and press a specific and narrowly-defined cause. In his case, this was to argue that the Durham monks who had replaced the community of secular canons in 1083 were the rightful spiritual, cultural and financial heirs to the community of monks which had been founded by SS. Oswald and Aidan on the island of Lindisfarne in 635, had achieved new heights of spirituality through the life and posthumous miracles of St Cuthbert, and which, following their abandonment of the island community in 875, had been destined to settle in Durham in 995. Symeon's version of history as seen in his *Libellus* then, is defined by his narration of the historical development of his community, and little else. As such, he did not depict developments in the wider social and political history of the region, and did so only when it was necessary to do so. As has been argued by Piper: 'Symeon's immediate audience was his community',⁷²⁶ and so too, it can be argued, was his immediate subject.

Since his focus and probable intended audience was so narrow, it is not surprising that Symeon couched his *Libellus* in similar terms. Despite his not insignificant previous experience in the

⁷²⁶ A.J. Piper, 'The First Generations of Durham Monks and the Cult of St Cuthbert', in *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community*, eds. Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Claire Stancliffe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), pp. 437-446, at p. 438.

study and production of texts from the wider historiographical canon, Symeon made explicit mention of just a single pre-existing historical source or model across the whole of the completed text: Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. Its influence is highlighted at the beginning of book one, when Symeon outlined his desire to assemble and arrange '...everything concerning the origin and progress of this church of Durham which could be found in Bede's *History* and other little works...' ⁷²⁷ Following this, Rollason has identified Bede's text as Symeon's single most cited source, acknowledged the probability that Symeon worked from the Durham copy, and summarised his dependence on Bede's text by noting that throughout his work, Symeon's method showed him 'often extracting whole passages verbatim, and sometimes acknowledging it by name.' ⁷²⁸ Bede's *Historia* was of immediate relevance to Symeon's aim to narrate the history of the Northumbrian church and the community of St Cuthbert. Not only was it the most detailed narrative source, but Symeon's *Libellus* also noted Durham's possession of Bede's body, which was kept inside the shrine of St Cuthbert. ⁷²⁹ Symeon's numerous references to Bede's *Historia* then, gave his narrative a further local connection and a cultural inheritance to the works of one of the most widely-read authors from the early medieval period, as demonstrated by the collection of his works across the libraries of Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul, and beyond, during this period. ⁷³⁰

Symeon noted that in addition to Bede, he had used several 'other little works' (*aliis opusculis*) in the compilation of his narrative. Rollason's identification of some of these texts provides further evidence that the text was aimed at a narrow, localised audience. Rollason proposed that the texts in question include many of the local historical texts which Symeon helped to produce, including Bede's prose *Vita sancti Cuthberti*, ⁷³¹ annal-collections related to the Durham *Historia regum* and the *Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses*, ⁷³² and the *Historia de sancto Cuthberto*. ⁷³³ It is possible to suggest that Symeon did not acknowledge such materials by name because, as local sources, they were probably already well known among Symeon's intended local audience.

⁷²⁷ LDE, pp. 18-9: 'Porro hic nos id studium occupat ut ex huius sancte hoc est ecclesie Dunhelmensis exordio, procursu, queque in prefata histoia aliis quoque opusculis inueneri poterant'.

⁷²⁸ Ibid., p. lxvii; Ibid., pp. 337-8.

⁷²⁹ Ibid., pp. 164-7.

⁷³⁰ Appendix A, items 5, 27, 79, 103, 106, 110, 112, 113, 117, 123 and 128; Appendix B, items 2, 4, 5, 44, 77, 94, 102, 103, 115, 116, 119, 120, 121, 126, 127, 132 and 144; Appendix C, items 8, 15, 28, 88, 104, 105, 140 and 141. For the collection of Bede's works elsewhere in this period, see: Gameson, *MENE*, pp. 32-3 and 165.

⁷³¹ LDE, pp. lxviii-lxix.

⁷³² Ibid., p. lxxi.

⁷³³ Ibid., pp. lxxii-lxxiii and lxxv-lxxvi.

In light of the fact that Durham's library contained several well-known Latin historical narratives during the period in which he wrote, Symeon's lack of references to these wider sources and models of historiography is a key point in analysing his status as historian. Like Eadmer, Symeon chose not to associate his own text with these potential models. But his aim to narrate the history of his own community did not necessarily inhibit his use, or at least some citation, of these sources. As will be shown in chapter seven, below, Orderic Vitalis was given a similar initial brief to narrate the history of his community at Saint-Évroul, but had widened his scope significantly by the time of its completion in order to encompass networks of benefaction and confraternity. By the end of his work, Orderic was able to return to add an elaborate preface which associated his work, ostensibly a house history, with the works of such luminaries as Moses, Daniel, Dares Phrygius, Pompeius Trogus, Eusebius, Orosius, Bede and Paul the Deacon.⁷³⁴ Symeon's decision not to expand his narrative, and to reference only Bede, would suggest that he saw his role as very different from these well-known historiographers. How he conceptualised his role as author of the *Libellus de exordio* therefore provides an intriguing question.

Symeon provided direct commentary on the nature and intended purposes of this work on only two separate occasions, both situated at the beginning of the *Libellus*. The first took the form of a carefully constructed preface, placed at the very beginning of the work, prior to the start of book one.⁷³⁵ The second was inserted at the beginning of this first book, and offered a review of Symeon's aims and methods, following a passage in which he had set the scene of his narrative by describing the foundation of Northumbrian Christianity under King Oswald in the seventh-century.⁷³⁶ These provide the only sections which directly discussed the nature and intended purposes of the *Libellus de exordio*, and which give evidence towards the assessment of his role as its author. The work as a whole included none of the types of authorial asides that can be seen as regular features within the work of Orderic Vitalis,⁷³⁷ and although expanded and summarised by later continuators, the original end of the *Libellus* was entirely lacking in any kind of epilogue or conclusion.⁷³⁸ As a result of their status as the only examples of direct commentary from

⁷³⁴ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 130-1.

⁷³⁵ *LDE*, pp. 2-15.

⁷³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-21.

⁷³⁷ For some examples, see *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 130-3; vol. 2, pp. 240-7 and 292-3; vol. 3, pp. 122-3 and 246-7; vol. 4, pp. 72-5, 106-9, and 228-9; vol. 5, pp. 4-7, 188-91, 380-1; vol. 6, pp. 8-13, and 550-7.

⁷³⁸ *LDE*, pp. 256-7.

Symeon's own pen, these brief introductory discussions are particularly important for the present discussion.

In its original form, the *Libellus* is an entirely anonymous work.⁷³⁹ Unlike his treatise on Origen, Symeon made no attempt to state that he had written the text of the *Libellus*, or that he might in any way be considered the author. Aside from the two prefaces, it features neither direct authorial voice, nor the types of autobiographical information that might be compared with those featured regularly in the works of contemporary authors such as Eadmer, Orderic, Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury.⁷⁴⁰ In fact, Symeon hardly ever even used the first person. While his prefaces can be seen as exceptional in their use of phrases such as 'I was commanded' ('*iussus*'), 'I was conscious' ('*concius*'), 'Our present purpose' ('*nos id studium*') and 'We also believe' ('*Nonnulla etiam...credimus*'), this was not accompanied by any indication of who exactly these people were.⁷⁴¹ Similar to this is Symeon's request for prayers on behalf of 'both him who ordered this work to be composed and for those who in obedience to him laboured and studied to bring it to completion', but which appears without any mention of the identities or names of who these prayers were to be offered for.⁷⁴² Although plausible identities of these unnamed beneficiaries may be suggested from among the monastic hierarchy of the time, it nevertheless seems surprising that Symeon did not include the actual names of those for whom his readers were urged to pray; still more so when the names of these men (including that of Symeon himself, on line 18 of fol. 7r) were almost certainly featured in the list of Durham monks which immediately followed this request.⁷⁴³

Unlike Orderic, Symeon appears to have held no desire for recognition or fame as author of the *Libellus de exordio*. Unlike Eadmer, he did not seek to be acknowledged as a protagonist. As stated above, the work is only attributable to him thanks to two rubrics which name him as author in later copies.⁷⁴⁴ The reasons for the general absence of authorial voice or attribution within Symeon's *Libellus* provide occasion to assess his views of the work, and especially the status of the *Libellus* as the result of a communal, rather than a personal enterprise. As argued

⁷³⁹ Ibid., pp. xliii-xliv.

⁷⁴⁰ *HRE*, pp. 48; 41; 73; 75; 55, and 91-124; *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 6-7; Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 552-553; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 340-1; 496-501; 588-593; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum*, vol. 1, pp. 44-5; 150-1; 540-543.

⁷⁴¹ *LDE*, pp. 2-3 and 18-21.

⁷⁴² Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁷⁴³ Ibid., pp. 8-9, n. 27.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. xlii-xliv; Rollason, 'Erasures', pp. 140-1.

above, it is likely that Symeon wrote for a small and localised audience. As such, his immediate readership is likely to have known him personally, and his subsequent readers in later generations may have known him indirectly via oral or liturgical tradition. A plausible suggestion can be made therefore, that Symeon did not need to state his identity explicitly, nor did he need to acknowledge the names of those who had requested the work.

The sense of community within the *Libellus* can be explored further. Within his first preface, Symeon asked that his list of Durham monks be continually expanded by later audiences as they saw fit, writing: ‘those more skilled than I may, if what I have done does not please them, find in my work the materials with which to create a work more suitable to their expertise’.⁷⁴⁵ In doing so, Symeon can be seen to have been suggesting that his compilation of the *Libellus* represented an ongoing communal exercise; one which passed down a narrative of the Durham church ‘in order to preserve its memory for posterity’ (*ad memoriam posterorum*), and one which could be later revised or expanded, as was indeed the case when it was continued in the 1160s.⁷⁴⁶

This communal aspect of Symeon’s writing can be shown to have extended to the actual process by which the text was compiled. Symeon emphasised the fact that even in its earliest form, the *Libellus* was not all his own work. Rollason used this acknowledgement to ‘him who ordered this work to be composed and for those who in obedience to him laboured and studied to bring it to completion’ in order to suggest that although Symeon probably directed the research, composition and production of the work at all stages of its production, the enterprise was in fact, in the words of Rollason, the result of a ‘team effort’.⁷⁴⁷ This has been supported by Gullick’s observation that while Symeon’s hand is visible as editor and corrector of one of two contemporary *Libellus* manuscripts, the bulk of their contents were in fact copied out by two other scribes and one decorator, but whose roles may be interpreted as secretarial rather than authorial.⁷⁴⁸ Rollason concluded that ‘one man commissioned the work...and others, no doubt led by Symeon, compiled it. In short, it was a team effort, probably involving scribes copying

⁷⁴⁵ LDE, pp. 2-3: ‘*Ea scilicet que sparsim in scedulis inuenire potui, ordinatim collecta digessi, ut eo facilius peritiores si mea non placent, unde sue peritie opus conueniens conficiant, in promptu inueniant.*’

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. lxvi-lxviii and 258-323; Gullick, ‘Two earliest manuscripts’, pp. 115-118.

⁷⁴⁷ LDE, pp. 4-5: ‘*pro illo qui hoc opus fieri iusserat, quam pro illis qui obdeiendo iussis id studio et labore perfecerunt*’; Ibid., p. xlv; Rollason, ‘Erasures’, pp. 140-1.

⁷⁴⁸ Gullick, ‘Scribes’, pp. 108-9; Gullick, ‘Hand’, pp. 14-31; Gullick, ‘Two Earliest Manuscripts’, pp. 107-115; Rollason, ‘Erasures’, pp. 140-1.

sources, as Symeon had done early in his career, and others seeking to make sense of annalistic and other materials, as we seem to be able to see Symeon himself doing'.⁷⁴⁹

Fundamental to these arguments are Symeon's note that work on the *Libellus* began because he had been 'commanded by the authority of my elders' (*maiorum auctoritate iussus*), and as noted above, his attribution of the text to 'him who ordered this work to be composed and for those who...laboured and studied to bring it to completion'.⁷⁵⁰ In addition, Symeon's use of communal language such as 'We believe that' (*credimus*), and 'to have come to our notice' (*ad nostram notitiam peruenerunt*), implies that Symeon viewed the *Libellus* as a group project.⁷⁵¹ This explanation of the methods by which the *Libellus* came into being therefore suggests that Symeon did not claim authorship of the work because he was neither solely responsible for the initial vision of the project, nor its execution. In fact, it is possible to suggest that although Symeon's earlier career saw him engaged in the production of other historical and hagiographical texts (and in some cases, those which were utilised within the *Libellus*), this entire aspect of his career can be interpreted as nothing more than the fulfilment of his duties as a Durham scribe, perhaps specially mandated because of his scribal and supervisory experiences. Although this cannot be proven beyond doubt, this interpretation would suggest that Symeon viewed his *Libellus* as simply another of the various research projects with which he was to be involved across a variety of monastic disciplines.

Having explained its existence as the result of an official request from the Durham hierarchy, Symeon devoted a considerable portion of his introductory prefaces to the explanation of the exact nature and intended purposes of the work to follow. Symeon's preface introduced this theme as follows:

I have gathered together and set out in order those things which I have been able to find scattered through the documents, in such a way that those more skilled than I may, if what I have done does not please them, find in my work the materials with which to create a work more suitable to their expertise.⁷⁵²

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 140-1.

⁷⁵⁰ *LDE*, pp. 2-5.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 2-3.

⁷⁵² Ibid., pp. 2-3: 'Exordium huius hoc est Dunelmensis ecclesie describere maiorum auctoritate iussus...Ea scilicet que sparsim in scedulis inuenire potui, ordinatim collecta digessi, ut eo facilius peritiores si mea non placent, unde sue peritie opus conueniens conficiant, in promptu inueniant.'

In his second preface at the beginning of book one, Symeon revisited this theme in more detail, with a similar description:

Our present purpose is that everything concerning the origin and progress of this church of Durham which could be found in Bede's *History* and in other little works should, in order to preserve its memory for posterity, be assembled and arranged to form the substance of this tract. We also believe it proper to add to the information collected from the writings of others a number of facts which have not been handed down in written form because of a lack of writers to record them, but which have either come to our notice through the truthful accounts of our elders, who had seen the events themselves or had often heard them related by their own elders who were religious and most trustworthy men and who had been present at them, or which we have witnessed ourselves.⁷⁵³

Both of these two extracts show that Symeon was given an official remit to compose a narrative that had a narrow focus on the history of the 'church of Durham'.⁷⁵⁴ Whether this was intended or not, Symeon's use of 'those things which I have been able to find scattered through the documents' and various 'other little works', ensured that the *Libellus* included numerous sections pertaining to the rights and incomes of the Durham community; some of which were copied verbatim from, or appear heavily influenced by, administrative records.⁷⁵⁵ As noted above, this activity has been interpreted by many as an effort to fortify Durham's inheritance of the financial and cultural heritage of Anglo-Saxon Northumbrian Christianity.⁷⁵⁶ While it seems likely that this was welcomed, it also contributed to another key aim, which involved the development of Durham's communal identity, through an increased awareness of the historical foundations and development of the church.

Symeon's description of his methods also contained an expressed desire that his work would benefit the future researches of his successors. His wish to record 'a number of facts which have not been handed down in written form because of a lack of writers to record them' can be seen in

⁷⁵³ Ibid., pp. 18-21: '*Porro his nos id studium occupat ut ex huius sancte hoc est ecclesie Dunhelmensis exordio, procursu, queque in prefata historia aliis quoque opusculis inueniri poterant, ad memoriam posterorum in unum ex ordine compacta, quoddam libelli corpusculum perficiant. Nonnulla etiam, que defectu scriptorum litteris non fuerant tradita, seniorum autem ueracium relatione qui ea uel uiderant, uel a partibus suis uiris religiosi fideque dignissimis qui interfuere sepius audierant, ad nostram peruenerunt, uel que et nos ipsi uidimus, his que ex aliorum scriptis collecta sunt adiungenda credimus.*'

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 2-3 and 18-19.

⁷⁵⁵ For examples, see: *LDE*, pp. 124-7; 154-5; 238-41.

⁷⁵⁶ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1, pp. 115-7; Gullick, 'Two Earliest Manuscripts', p. 118; Aird, 'Political Context'; van Houts, 'Historical Writing', pp. 111-2.

a similar light to Eadmer's expressed ambition to 'render some slight service to the researches of those who come after me' because he did 'not think it right that those who come after us should be deprived of all knowledge', and thus shows that like those of Eadmer, Symeon's researches in preparing the *Libellus* convinced him of the need to provide a cumulative historical record of his community and its evolution.⁷⁵⁷ In addition, Symeon shared with Eadmer an awareness that his text might not be unanimously accepted by later readers, admitting, as noted above, that 'those more skilled than I may, if what I have done does not please them, find in my work the materials with which to create a work more suitable to their expertise.'⁷⁵⁸

Symeon continued his interaction with his future audience with an aspect of his writing which is almost unique within contemporary texts belonging to the genre of history. Gransden has noted that dedication to the memory of a patron can be seen as a common feature of many near-contemporary historical prologues.⁷⁵⁹ Symeon took this concept one step further, and dedicated his *Libellus* to the entire community of Durham monks and Bishops of Lindisfarne-Durham. The oldest surviving copy of the text included two sections which present the names of all the Bishops of first Lindisfarne and later Durham down to Ranulf Flambard (d.1128) on fols. 6r-v, and of all the Durham monks from the time of their foundation in 1083 onwards on fols. 7r-8v.⁷⁶⁰ Symeon explained the presence of these lists in the following manner:

...we urge that those who come after us may have the conscientiousness to remember to add to this list the names of those who, Christ willing, will have made profession in the same place in the future. Moreover, we beg the reader that he should deign to offer prayers to Our Lord Jesus Christ both for him who ordered this work to be composed and for those who in obedience to him laboured and studied to bring it to completion. May he also remember to invoke the abundance of God's mercy for all those names he will see here, asking for the living that they may adhere more fully to their holy profession...and for the dead that they may receive forgiveness for their sins and be found worthy 'to see the good things of the Lord in the land of the living'.⁷⁶¹

⁷⁵⁷ *LDE*, pp. 20-21; *HRE*, p. 1-2.

⁷⁵⁸ *LDE*, pp 2-3.

⁷⁵⁹ Gransden, 'Prologues', pp. 125 and 132-3.

⁷⁶⁰ *LDE*, pp. 4-15; Rollason, 'Earliest manuscripts', pp. Piper, 'Lists', p. 161.

⁷⁶¹ *LDE*, pp. 4-7: '*...quorum nominibus prescriptis etiam illorum nomina qui futuris temporibus annuente Christo ibidem professionem facturi fuerint, ut scribendo adiungat, posterorum quesumus sollertia semper meminisse studeat. Pretera lectorem petimus, ut tam pro illo qui hoc opus fieri iusserat, quam pro illis qui obediendo iussis id*

The addition of these two lists at the beginning of Symeon's *Libellus* provided a visible reminder of the community whose story was depicted within the main narrative and whose souls were to be prayed for by future readers. Piper showed that the contents of these lists are almost identical to those found in the Durham *Liber Vitae*.⁷⁶² At first glance, this may seem out of place at the beginning of a historical narrative. However, as noted in chapter three with regards to the numerous genres and sub-genres of historical texts, the boundaries between narrative historical and listed memorial texts were not quite so concrete. The tenth and eleventh-century necrology from New Minster and Hyde Abbey featured a lengthy chronicle of local events,⁷⁶³ and as such, provides important proof of the centrality of the past within liturgical contexts, and likewise, that liturgical collections in some way used or had need of information from the past.

Symeon's lists confirm that this opening section of his *Libellus* was intended for prayer (either public or private) on behalf of those named, and can be used to suggest that other sections of the *Libellus* may have been utilised in a liturgical context. Unlike the Durham *Liber Vitae*, which is known to have been held within the cathedral church at the time of the dissolution, exactly how and where Symeon's *Libellus* was used cannot be known.⁷⁶⁴ It is possible that the Cosin manuscript was used in a similar context. It was written in a large, neat hand, with large coloured capitals introducing subdivisions within the text.⁷⁶⁵ Both factors made it possible to read aloud in public contexts. The lists themselves take on the appearance of other contemporary liturgical manuscripts produced at Durham, especially the calendars added to the computus guide featured in Dean and Chapter Library, MS Hunter 100. The original sections of both lists were added in large, bold letters with coloured capitals at the beginning of each name, and with the names of SS. Aidan on fol. 6r, Cuthbert, on fol. 6v, added entirely in capitals of alternating colours. Space was left at the bottom of the list of bishops on fol. 6v (which was later continued down to William Talbot, who was appointed in 1722) and by leaving five blank pages across fols. 8r-10v, which, following an initial continuation on fols. 7v-8v, have been mostly left blank. Almost all of the individuals named in the lists featured within the Cosin manuscript were also

studio et labora perfecerunt, Domino Iuesu Christo preces fundere digentur. Sed et pro omnibus quorum hic nomina uiderit, diuine pietatis abundantiam inuocare meminerit, uiuis quidem postulans sancte professionis augmentum et bone perseuerantie in futuro premium, et defunctis, ut precepta uenia peccatorum mereantur uidere bona Domini in terra uiuentium.

⁷⁶² For discussion and an edition of the two lists, see: Piper, 'Lists'.

⁷⁶³ *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester: British Library Stowe 944, together with leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A.VIII and British Library Cotton Titus D.XXVII*, ed. Simon Keynes (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996).

⁷⁶⁴ *The Rites of Durham*, ed. J.T. Fowler, (Durham: Surtees Society, 1903), p. 16.

⁷⁶⁵ Examples of these are numerous, such as those on fols. 12r-13r, 14v, 15r, *et cetera*.

commemorated in Durham's *Liber Vitae*, including founding-fathers like Bishop Aidan and King Oswald, patron saint Cuthbert, past bishops and monks of the community, and secular associates. It is therefore possible that the text itself could have been used to supplement the performance of remembrance, providing historical narrative which highlighted the importance of these personalities in the history of the community and gave thanks for their role in shaping its development. While Symeon's preoccupation in recording Durham's rites and properties has been interpreted as cementing its economic and political stability and legitimising Benedictine monasticism after 1083, it can also be argued that the inclusion of such material enabled Symeon's audiences to witness the historical circumstances through which its benefactors and associate communities entered the Durham liturgy, which was itself the main forum in which Durham's monks came into contact with these personalities.⁷⁶⁶

If Durham's monks wished to supplement their liturgical cycle with relevant historical narrative, there was no better text from which to do so than Symeon's house history. Lynda Rollason has observed that the upkeep of Durham's *Liber Vitae* was sporadic, and marked by its resurrection during Symeon's lifetime.⁷⁶⁷ She proposed that this renewed interest may have accompanied an increase in memorial tradition at that time, a desire to stress the inheritance of the community of St Cuthbert, and a desire to record endowments for future record.⁷⁶⁸ All of these are preoccupations shared with Symeon's *Libellus*, offering further evidence that Symeon's work as a historian complemented his personal and corporate motivations in maintaining Durham's liturgy and its sense of communal identity through continued upkeep of collections such as the Durham *Liber Vitae*.

Symeon's aim was to present the history of the Durham church in order to communicate its communal inheritance and identity. The list of Durham bishops thus appears as a link between past and present, while the list of Durham monks shows the new identity and prosperity of the distinctly monastic community, whose devotional existence gave it legitimacy as the heirs to Cuthbert's legacy. In light of the apparent anonymity of the *Libellus*, this second list in fact suggests that the work and the story told within belonged to all of Durham's monks: not just those at the beginning of the list who lived in Symeon's age, but also to those who would read

⁷⁶⁶ Aid, 'The Political Context', *LDE*, pp. lxxxi-xci.

⁷⁶⁷ Lynda Rollason, 'The Durham *Liber Vitae*: History and Codicology', in *LVD*, vol. 1, pp. 30-1.

⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 35.

the text in later years and who Symeon encouraged to cement their joint ownership by adding their names to the list and praying for his generation.

Discussions featured in this chapter have shown that Symeon's scribal and scholarly activities were much more wide ranging than has hitherto been acknowledged by Symeon's enduring reputation as an author of historical works. From his earliest manuscripts produced before 1096 down to his final contributions at the end of the 1120s, the books which Symeon helped produce and the additions that he made within them show Symeon as a talented scribe and a competent scholar, with interests across a range of topics including, in addition to history, biblical exegesis and theology, hagiography, and computistics. His charters and records within larger collections of contractual and commemorative materials detail Symeon's role in ensuring Durham's continued prosperity and in the evolving pattern of the Durham liturgical cycle. Altogether, this evidence shows that Symeon contributed to almost every possible aspect of a scribe's life while at Durham. This was most notably acknowledged by Gullick who, in referring to Symeon as the 'martyrology scribe', proposed that 'no other contemporary scribe can be compared to the martyrology scribe in the range and extent of his work' at Durham during his lifetime.⁷⁶⁹

Symeon did participate in the production and compilation of numerous types of historical texts. Several potential historiographical exemplars were added to the Durham collection during Symeon's lifetime, with all but one of these featuring his hand in some capacity, either as main scribe or later editor. However, as shown in chapter four, above, these historical texts were very much in the minority among the broad range of titles that were collected by the Durham monks in these years, and since most of the historical texts were relatively common among Anglo-Norman contexts of learning (including amongst others, examples by Josephus, Bede, and William of Jumièges), the entry of these into the Durham library cannot be seen to have been in any way reflective of a unique environment of historiographical studies. Furthermore, since Symeon used only a small collection of heavily-localised historical and hagiographical sources to write the *Libellus*, his historical methods do not appear to have been influenced by these wider models. Like Eadmer at Canterbury, Symeon may not even have considered his version of historical writing to be comparable to established Latin historical narratives.

As an experienced scribe and scholar, Symeon's understanding of his role as author of the *Libellus* was guided by a sense of duty to the community in which he lived and worked. All of

⁷⁶⁹ Gullick, 'Scribes', p. 108.

the above-mentioned activities, including provision of reading materials, recording of benefaction and endowments and serving as monastic cantor, can be understood through the concept of the monastic community and its needs; so too Symeon's *Libellus de exordio*. This was a text written in response to an official command, which collected together historical information scattered among various pre-existing texts, which were themselves transferred to Durham in new volumes by a team of copyists led by Symeon. Compiling the *Libellus* in this way, Symeon did not attach a sense of ownership to the completed text. Instead, he requested credit on behalf of all of his scribal team and the Durham hierarchy through which the text was commanded, and suggested that the textual legacy of this collaborative enterprise should be inherited, and continued by members of the same community for which it was produced, long after his death.

Orderic Vitalis is known to the majority of modern scholars through his authorship of historical narrative. As will be shown in this chapter, Orderic was involved in copying, interpolating and composing texts from across the entire spectrum of historical texts, as outlined in chapter three, including annals, works of hagiography, and extended narrative histories. In particular, Orderic is best known for two historiographical projects. Between the last decade of the 1090s and 1109-13, Orderic copied the whole of William of Jumièges' *Gesta Normannorum ducum* into the back of a volume housing Anguelomus' commentary on the book of *Kings*, now Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1174 (Y14), fols. 120r-139v (now incomplete).⁷⁷⁰ While transferring the existing text, Orderic made extensive additions to William's narrative, adding information to books 1-5, before making substantial additions and revisions from book 6 onwards.⁷⁷¹

Although the point at which Orderic began work on his *Historia ecclesiastica* is unknown, evidence points towards a date around 1113. In the preface to his fifth book, Orderic claimed that there had existed a general desire for an official house history of Saint-Évroul before he took up the challenge ('which our predecessors urged each other to undertake but each for his part shrank from undertaking').⁷⁷² In the eleventh book of the *Historia*, Orderic noted that the court of Henry I visited Saint-Évroul in order to confirm the rights and privileges of the community in 1113.⁷⁷³ Chibnall and van Houts observe that this event would have required extensive researches into the past benefactions of Saint-Évroul. Both concluded that such materials provided exactly the same materials as those featured within the first books of Orderic's *Historia*, and that the researches surrounding Henry's visit, added to his experience in revising William's

⁷⁷⁰ *GND*. For an overview of Orderic's work in this project, see: *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. lxvi-lxxvii, and Lair, 'Matériaux', pp. 10-2.

⁷⁷¹ *GND*, vol. 1, pp. lxxix-lxxxv.

⁷⁷² *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 6-7: '*quod priores nostril sese multo exhortati sunt facere, sed nullus eorum uoluit hoc incipere.*'

⁷⁷³ *HE*, vol. 6, pp. 174-7; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, vol. 1, p. 305.

Gesta Normannorum, prompted either Orderic's decision to begin work on his *Historia ecclesiastica*, or Abbot Roger's decision to commission it, in around the year 1113.⁷⁷⁴

This starting date means that Orderic is likely to have been just under thirty years of age when he began writing. The eventual length of the *Historia ecclesiastica* suggests that its composition consumed a considerable proportion of the remainder of Orderic's adult working life. Chibnall analysed the rate at which Orderic worked during these years, suggesting that he wrote book three comparatively slowly from c.1113 to 1123x4, and then completed the remainder much more quickly, with the remaining ten books compiled between 1124 and 1141x2.⁷⁷⁵ The final version of the *Historia ecclesiastica* survives in a near-complete autograph copy, now categorised in three volumes as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MSS Latin 5506 vols. I and II, and MS Latin 10913.⁷⁷⁶ Although Orderic's original copy of books seven and eight is now lost, an entry within the Saint-Évroul book-list which reads '*Quattuor volumina Vitalis*' confirms that the text was originally held in four constituent parts.⁷⁷⁷ The majority of the missing books VII and VIII are preserved in Rome, MS Vatican Reginensis Latina 703B (formerly 703A); a mid-twelfth century item which Chibnall showed as having been put together at St Stephen's, Caen.⁷⁷⁸

Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* appears to have made little immediate influence. While the Caen manuscript shows one particular community's interest in copying relevant sections, the absence of any other twelfth-century copies of the work suggests that Orderic's influence on the wider canon of Norman historiography was limited. Chibnall certainly suggested this, arguing that Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* was too big to be copied in its entirety, suggesting that 'for some three and a half centuries, interest in the work was apparently confined only to the monks of Saint-Évroul', and declaring that 'Orderic's work was too varied, too individual, and at the same time too much of its own age, to arouse great interest outside the community for which it was written until the end of the Middle Ages.'⁷⁷⁹ Chibnall is not the only scholar to have commented on the lack of popularity of the *Historia*. In the nineteenth century, Delisle had claimed that

⁷⁷⁴ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 31-2; *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. xv-xvi; *GND*, pp. lxxviii-lxix. For Roger's commission, see: *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 130-1 and *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 6-7.

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 31-3 and 45-8.

⁷⁷⁶ For a detailed description of these manuscripts, see *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 118-21 and also Lair, 'Matériaux', pp. 7-9.

⁷⁷⁷ Omont, *Catalogue générale*, vol. 2, p. 469, item 149.

⁷⁷⁸ *HE*, vol. 1, p. 121. Chibnall also noted that the item was published in facsimile, in *Orderici Vitalis historiae ecclesiasticae libri VII at VIII e codice vaticano reg. 703 A* (Paris, 1902). See also: Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 218-9.

⁷⁷⁹ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 113-5, at 113 and 115; Chibnall, *World*, pp. 218-20, at 219.

Orderic presented his information in ‘disorder’, and surmised that ‘Occupied only by [a desire] to increase the mass of his inquiries, Orderic did not have the time to co-ordinate them into a regular and methodical plan.’⁷⁸⁰ More recently, Shopkow has suggested similarly that Orderic’s *Historia* ‘by its nature would have been of limited interest outside his monastery and its community’, and proposed that Orderic’s ‘lack of popularity’ might be put down to the absence of secular patronage, combined with the fact that ultimately, ‘The book was enormously long’.⁷⁸¹ Hingst noted the same, suggesting that ‘The *Historia*, both in size and content, was apparently too weighty to circulate widely’, and described the wide-ranging nature of the text as ‘chaotic’.⁷⁸²

Although it appears to have made little immediate impact among medieval audiences, the *Historia* is well-known to modern scholars of the Anglo-Norman world. In fact, Orderic’s reputation amongst modern scholars is almost entirely dominated by his authorship of the *Historia ecclesiastica*. Its sheer length ensures a huge quantity of contemporary fact and opinion, which has ensured that Orderic continues to be best known for this activity above all others. The *Historia* has held a consistent and well-acknowledged place in the study of the Anglo-Norman past and its historiographical legacy. Léopold Delisle commented in 1855 that the work was one of the very first texts to be published by the *Société de l’Histoire de France* due to its absolute importance as both a source and a landmark in the development of historical writing in French regions.⁷⁸³ Over a century later, Chibnall described Orderic as ‘one of the most remarkable of Anglo-Norman historians’ and declared that ‘As a social history of the eleventh century it is unparalleled.’⁷⁸⁴ Similarly, Gransden praised Orderic for his ‘concept of history, a breadth of vision and a narrative power’.⁷⁸⁵ Both Chibnall and Gransden declared the *Historia* to be the chief legacy of Orderic’s ‘life’s work’, and van Houts has similarly described the work as Orderic’s ‘*magnum opus*’.⁷⁸⁶

The discussions featured within this chapter will acknowledge that the past is firmly present within the manuscript record of Orderic’s activities as scribe, scholar and author. Discussions will also demonstrate that significant elements of Orderic’s surviving work show him active

⁷⁸⁰ Delisle, ‘Notice’, p. xlv: ‘Uniquement occupé d’augmenter la masse de ses renseignements, Orderic n’a point eu le loisir de les coordonner entre eux et de les disposer d’après un plan régulier et méthodique’.

⁷⁸¹ Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 231.

⁷⁸² Amanda Jane Hingst, *The Written World: Past and Place in the Works of Orderic Vitalis* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), pp. 135 and xviii, respectively.

⁷⁸³ Delisle, ‘Notice’, p. i.

⁷⁸⁴ *HE*, vol. 2, pp. xiii and xxix.

⁷⁸⁵ Gransden, *Historia Writing*, vol. 1, p. 165.

⁷⁸⁶ *HE*, vol. 1, p. 31; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1, p. 152; van Houts ‘Historical Writing’, p. 118.

away from the study and composition of narrative history; namely, in the compilation of annals, the copying of a multitude of hagiographical sources, and the copying of several works of biblical exegesis and theology. While these activities have been variously identified in previous studies of Orderic's life and career, in particular by Lair, Wolter, Chibnall, and Escudier,⁷⁸⁷ little has been done in order to relate these activities to Orderic's composition of the *Historia ecclesiastica*.

This chapter aims to provide a detailed examination of the place of the past within Orderic's life and wider works as monastic scribe, scholar and author, and to analyse the ways in which Orderic's wider experiences as a scholar influenced his historical writing. This will consider in turn, the following key subjects: the nature of Orderic's experiences and knowledge away from narrative history, including his study of biblical exegesis and theology, Latin poetry and music; his experiences and interest in the study and circulation of hagiographical texts; his likely role as lead scribe and possibly also cantor within the community of Saint-Évroul; his experiences and interest in the study, copying and compilation of historical narratives and possible training in this area. This analysis of Orderic's wider career will consider the influence of each field of learning within Orderic's historical writing, as represented in relevant sections of his *Historia ecclesiastica* and his interpolations within the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* of William of Jumièges.

Orderic noted in his *Historia ecclesiastica*, that he gained his first education between the ages of five and ten by a priest named Siward in Shrewsbury, near to his family home at Atcham.⁷⁸⁸ In book five, Orderic noted that he had 'studied the first rudiments of learning' during these lessons.⁷⁸⁹ This brief reference was slightly expanded in book thirteen through Orderic's commentary that he had 'performed my first clerical duties' (*seruita clericatus*), had been 'taught my letters' (*litteras docuit me*) and had been taught 'psalms, hymns, and other necessary knowledge' (*ac psalmis et hymnis, aliisque necessariis instructionibus mancipavit me*) during these years.⁷⁹⁰ These notices, brief as they are, suggest that by the time he travelled to Saint-Évroul in 1085, Orderic is likely to have possessed the ability to read and write and known at

⁷⁸⁷ Lair, 'Matériaux', pp. 5-26; Wolter, *Ordericus; ein Beitrag*, pp. 57-71; *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 23-9; Monique-Cécile Garand, 'Auteurs latins et autographes des XIe-XIIe siècles', *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 5 (1981), pp. 77-104, pp. 86-8; Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium'.

⁷⁸⁸ *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 6-9; 6, pp. 552-3.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 6-9.

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 6-9; *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 552-3.

least some sections of the Bible. Orderic's ensuing description of how he had crossed the Channel to become an oblate at Saint-Évroul and later graduated to various levels of priesthood thereafter, adds no further details on the nature of his subsequent education. The only other clue is Orderic's later description of himself as 'pupil' (*discipulus*) of John of Rheims.⁷⁹¹ Although this is not followed by any discussion of exactly what he had learned from John, Orderic noted elsewhere that John was a skilled poet and tutor of biblical exegesis.⁷⁹² From this it may be reasoned that John's lessons to Orderic and his contemporaries were characterised by instruction in these disciplines.

As established in chapter four, the library collection at Saint-Évroul developed soon after the re-foundation of 1050. Following an influx of the essential liturgical resources between 1050 and c.1100, the most immediate priority of book collection before and during Orderic's lifetime was seen in the collection of theology and works of biblical exegesis. Quoted in chapter four, Orderic's declaration that Thierry's abbacy saw the acquisition of 'all of the books of the Old and New Testaments and the complete works of Pope Gregory the Great...the treatises of Jerome and Augustine, Ambrose and Isidore, Eusebius and Orosius, and other fathers',⁷⁹³ suggests that a considerable corpus of exegetical commentary was available to him upon arrival in 1085. Evidence from the Saint-Évroul book-list supports Orderic's claim, in particular a number of items grouped by their status as patristic exegesis by Gregory the Great,⁷⁹⁴ St Augustine,⁷⁹⁵ Jerome,⁷⁹⁶ Ambrose,⁷⁹⁷ Isidore,⁷⁹⁸ and Bede.⁷⁹⁹ Works of this type feature in around two thirds of the evidence compiled in Appendix C, with almost all of the major patristic works by Augustine,⁸⁰⁰ Ambrose,⁸⁰¹ Origen,⁸⁰² Jerome,⁸⁰³ Gregory,⁸⁰⁴ and Isidore,⁸⁰⁵ featuring alongside

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 168-9.

⁷⁹² Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 170-1.

⁷⁹³ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 48-51: '*omnes libros Veteris et Noui Testamenti, omnesque libros facundissimi papae Gregorii Vticensium biblitecae procuravit...tractatibus Augustini et Ieromini, Ambrosii et Isidori, Eusebii et Orosii aliorumque doctorum biblitecam sancti Ebrulfi repleuerunt*'.

⁷⁹⁴ Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 2, p. 468, items 33-6 and 39-41.

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 468, items 46-58.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 468, items 68-70.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 468, items 71-4.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 468, items 76-7.

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 468, items 81-2.

⁸⁰⁰ Appendix C, items 21, 22, 24, 25, 72-82, and 164.

⁸⁰¹ Ibid., items 5, 94-7, and 147.

⁸⁰² Ibid., items 57, 71 and 162.

⁸⁰³ Ibid., items 2, 91-3, 138, 152 and 165.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid., items 59-61 and 65-8.

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid., items 98-100.

numerous later commentaries and treatises by Bede,⁸⁰⁶ Hrabanus Maurus,⁸⁰⁷ and Haimo of Auxerre.⁸⁰⁸ The importance of these areas of learning is highlighted in a small but important collection of theological and exegetical study guides known to have been compiled by members of the community.⁸⁰⁹

A small proportion of Orderic's manuscripts prompt the suggestion that, like Eadmer and Symeon, Orderic engaged with some of these texts on a scribal level. For example, he made several additions to a copy of Angelelmus' commentary on the *Book of Kings*, which now appears in Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1174 (Y 14), on fols. 1r-100v.⁸¹⁰ Orderic completed several sub-sections, for example on fol. 8r, 8v and 9r, added *incipits* and *explicits* throughout, such as those on fol. 16v, and corrected the whole of the text using symbols to indicate insertions or corrections with corresponding additions in the margins, several of which can be seen across fols. 37r, 38v, 40r, 41r, 49r, 51r, 55v, among others. Orderic's role in the production of this book is similar to that also seen in Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 26, which contains a miscellany of biblical commentaries.⁸¹¹ Orderic added sections of Bede's commentary on the Book of *Ezra* and made marginal notes on fols. 49r-50r, 55v, 62r, 65v, and 68v-70r, 74r and 88r. Within the same volume, he also made marginal notes and corrections to two exegetical tracts by Anselm of Laon, as seen on fols. 91r, 99v-101r, 102r, 108r, and completed the end of the second text from fol. 133r-190r.

While these activities clearly show that Orderic made considerable engagement with at least some works of theology and exegesis, the nature of these additions alone does not suggest that he was inherently interested in their contents. His hand in these manuscripts, and in particular his correction and addition of *incipits* and *explicits*, may equally suggest that Orderic added to these manuscripts in a supervisory capacity, rather than as a student of exegesis. However, Richard Sharpe's proposal that Symeon of Durham's interest in biblical and theological interpretation might be assumed of 'a committed and intelligent Benedictine' is relevant with regards to Orderic also.⁸¹² Chibnall has proposed that the study of the Bible and its exegesis provided an

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid., items 8, 88, 104-5, and 140-1.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid., item 56.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid., items 142 and 159.

⁸⁰⁹ As noted in : *HE*, vol. 1, p. 22

⁸¹⁰ For discussion, see Lair, 'Matériaux', pp. 10-2; Avril, *Manuscrits Normands*, p. 71; *HE*, vol. 1, p. 202; *GND*, vol. 1, pp. ciii-civ; Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium', pp. 21 and 25.

⁸¹¹ For discussions, see Lair, 'Matériaux', pp. 23-4; *HE*, vol. 1, p. 202.

⁸¹² Sharpe, 'Errors of Origen', p. 285.

essential component in Orderic's early education, in part by the simple observation that such work 'had always played an important part in the daily life of Benedictine monks.'⁸¹³

Such conclusions shed light on the general presence of Bible-studies within Orderic's monastic vocation. His exact interests, however, are more difficult to identify. Unlike Symeon and Eadmer, Orderic is not known to have written or compiled any original works of theology and exegesis. Nevertheless, quotations and allusions throughout his *Historia ecclesiastica* suggest that he did possess a detailed knowledge of the Bible and a number of other works relating to its interpretation. According to Chibnall's reading, the *Historia* deployed over 450 quotations and allusions derived from the various books of the Bible, and numerous others referring to works by Augustine, Bede, Gregory, Isidore, Jerome and Hrabanus Maurus.⁸¹⁴ Chibnall has suggested that within this first book, Orderic cited several expositions of the Gospels, including St. Augustine's *De consensu evangelistarum*, Bede's commentaries on the Gospel of Luke and Mark, and commentaries on Matthew's Gospel by Jerome and Rabanus Maurus.⁸¹⁵ Commenting on Orderic's use of biblical typology and allusion within his *Historia*, Elisabeth Mégier has read Orderic's final book I as a Gospel harmony, and suggested that his advanced deployment of biblical metaphor and allegory could only have been gained through long periods of reading and meditation of Scripture.⁸¹⁶ Chibnall similarly cited Orderic's first book of the *Historia* as evidence for his own particular use of the Bible, suggesting that the *Life of Christ* contained within provides an example of the way in which Orderic directed his 'prayerful study and meditation' towards the composition of a historical narrative.⁸¹⁷

Although accounting for only a small proportion of the surviving evidence depicting his career as a whole, Orderic's activities in the field of biblical exegesis and theology shed important light on his wider skills and interests as a scholar, and the position of historical writing within these. His additions in surviving manuscripts and apparent use of a range of biblical and exegetical sources within his *Historia ecclesiastica* illustrate some of the breadth of Orderic's knowledge, even if it is impossible to know how far the surviving evidence is wholly representative. In addition to their role in simply highlighting the scope of Orderic's portfolio of work, some of his work in

⁸¹³ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 24-5; Chibnall, *World*, p. 90.

⁸¹⁴ For Chibnall's identification of these references, see *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 217-221; vol. 2, pp. 371-2; vol. 3, pp. 369-70, vol. 4, pp. 357-8; and 383-4; vol. 6, pp. 359-60.

⁸¹⁵ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 217-221.

⁸¹⁶ Elisabeth Mégier, 'Divina pagina and the Narration of History in Orderic Vitalis' *Historia ecclesiastica*, *Revue bénédictine* 110:1-2 (2000), pp. 106-123, especially at p. 107.

⁸¹⁷ Chibnall, *World*, pp. 97-8.

surviving manuscripts of exegesis and theology shed additional light on his historical writing. Orderic's interpolations in William's *Gesta Normannorum ducum* have been interpreted by both Chibnall and van Houts as having provided some form of training for his later, and it is assumed planned, *Historia ecclesiastica*. While this argument is built on firm foundations, the current location of Orderic's *Gesta Normannorum* redaction may suggest other motivations for writing. As noted above, the autograph manuscript of this text, Rouen, MS 1174 (Y14), holds three main works: Angelomus' commentary on the *Book of Kings* (fols. 1r-100v); a commentary on matrimony (fols. 101r-119v) and Orderic's *Gesta Normannorum* (fols. 120v-139v, now incomplete). This present location may suggest that the texts are related, and that Orderic's decision to copy and interpolate William's narrative surrounding the deeds of Norman Dukes may in some way be related to the study of the Old Testament kings featured in the commentary of Angelomus. Mégier has cited several examples to suggest that Orderic saw parallels between biblical and (for him) more recent events in the writing of his *Historia*, and although she suggested that Orderic did not embark on a full-scale interpretation of their significances, the possibility that he may originally have held an intention to do so deserves to be highlighted here.

A combination of original manuscript evidence and Orderic's own personal testimony within the *Historia ecclesiastica*, shows that Orderic possessed considerable interest and skill in the reading and composition of Latin poetry and, related to this, also knowledge and interest in the composition and performance of music. Discussions within chapter four, noted that according to the Saint-Évroul book-list, Orderic's foundation held collections of verse by Gratian, Solinus, Marbodius, Albricus, and Priscian,⁸¹⁸ and it was suggested that this field of learning was presided over by Orderic's tutor, John of Rheims.⁸¹⁹ Sections of the *Historia* were also used to suggest that several of Orderic's predecessors and contemporaries were particularly noted for their musical compositions, including Guitmund, who was 'highly skilled in literary and musical composition',⁸²⁰ Reginald 'the Bald', and Abbot Roger of Le Sap.⁸²¹ Orderic's claims were at least partly confirmed by the presence of a *cantica Hugonis* within the Saint-Évroul book-list.⁸²² Orderic's knowledge of poetry and music is attested by three bodies of evidence: his instruction by John of Rheims, a noted student and author of poetry; one surviving manuscript witness to

⁸¹⁸ Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 2, pp. 468-9, items 28, 44, 66, 80, and 137.

⁸¹⁹ *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 168-9.

⁸²⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 108-9.

⁸²¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 108-9.

⁸²² Omont, *Catalogue générale*, vol. 2, p. 469, item 152.

Orderic's work; and numerous sections of his *Historia ecclesiastica* in which Orderic confirmed his composition of passages presented in Latin verse.

Within his verse epitaph depicting the life and works of John of Rheims, Orderic described himself as John's 'pupil' (*discipulus*).⁸²³ In the same section, Orderic noted that one of the subjects for which John was a noted instructor was the study of Latin poetry.⁸²⁴ Dom Julian Bellaïse's 1682 catalogue of the Saint-Évroul library,⁸²⁵ Orderic's obituary of John,⁸²⁶ and one epitaph included in Orderic's *Historia* which was noted as John's work,⁸²⁷ together suggest that John transcribed and composed a number of poetic works of varying subjects and numerous forms while at Saint-Évroul. These included: verse devoted to the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ; verse *Lives* of Christ, St Valentine, and St Évroul; a short verse account of the foundation and development of the early history and abbots of Saint-Évroul; a compendium of extracts from famous Latin poets and patristic authors; and a work on the allegorical meanings associated with certain animals.⁸²⁸

Commenting on John's influence over the young Orderic and on his development as a poet, Chibnall observed that 'Any pupil of John of Rheims might have tried his hand at verse'.⁸²⁹ Orderic provided confirmation that he had indeed done so, by noting that 'Vitalis the Englishman, his pupil, wrote verses for him [John]'.⁸³⁰ One surviving manuscript provides proof of this, while others show Orderic's interest in copying existing hymns and poetry. Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 1 contains a book of Old Testament prophecies, with a prologue by St Jerome, and an opening *incipit* on fol. 2r reading: '*Libri sexdecim prophetarum cum prologis Sancti Hieronimi*'. Although there is a clear break at the end of the satirical piece on fol. 31r, the contrition and the litany occupy fols. 31r-32r with no obvious division. Both Chibnall and Escudier attributed the first poem to Orderic as an original composition, and both Delisle and Chibnall have suggested that sections of the second and third texts were also composed by Orderic.⁸³¹ Delisle showed that in addition to these three works, Orderic also copied several

⁸²³ *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 168-9.

⁸²⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 168-71.

⁸²⁵ Cited and partly reproduced in *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 20-1, n. 7.

⁸²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 168-71.

⁸²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 178-9.

⁸²⁸ These works are noted and briefly discussed in *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 20-1.

⁸²⁹ Leopold Delisle, 'Vers et ecriture d'Orderic Vital', *Journal des Savants*, LXIV (1903), pp. 428-36; Chibnall, *World*, p. 34.

⁸³⁰ *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 168-9: '*Vitalis angligena discipulus eius super illo uersificauit*'.

⁸³¹ Delisle, 'Vers et ecriture', p. 429; Chibnall, *World*, p. 34; Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium', p. 27.

hymns into two miscellaneous collections of hagiographical texts: Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale MSS 1318 (U107) and Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 14.⁸³²

Sections of Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* confirm that his additions within these manuscripts reflect Orderic's considerable level of interest and skill in the composition of Latin poetry, and that these interests were sustained throughout the duration of his career. Several sections of Orderic's *Historia* used language and passages borrowed from well-known Latin poets, including Virgil, Lucan and Ovid.⁸³³ Although none seem to have been derived from the volumes of poetry by Gratian, Solinus, Marbodius, Albricus, and Priscian, featured on the Saint-Évroul book-list,⁸³⁴ they may hint to Orderic's use of other volumes otherwise unrecorded, or may equally have been derived from his use of the '*Versus plures Virgilii et aliorum poetarum*', which Julian Bellaise included in his description of John of Rheims' compendium of poetic works.⁸³⁵

Numerous extracts from Orderic's historical writings further reveal his skill in original poetic composition. In reviewing his additions to the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, van Houts has noted that Orderic regularly altered the existing words laid down by William of Jumièges, in order to fit into a higher framework of Latin language and metre.⁸³⁶ In a similar manner, Chibnall observed Orderic's use of 'rhymed, rhythmic prose', and commended his ability to add variation, rhythm and colour to the language of his *Historia ecclesiastica*, through rhyme, vocabulary and punctuation.⁸³⁷ During his earlier historical project of copying and interpolating the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, Orderic added two poems. The first is represented by five short lines on the temporality of earthly glory, and appears in Book VII.⁸³⁸ Although Orderic noted that the lines were composed by an 'eminent poet' ('*quidam egregious in poemate*') the author remains unknown.⁸³⁹ The second of Orderic's poetic insertions occurs towards the end of Book VII, where Orderic transcribed a verse epitaph on the death of William the Conqueror.⁸⁴⁰

Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* contains many more examples of his use of poetry, perhaps as a reflection of his role as its sole author. At certain junctures, Orderic added lengthy poetic

⁸³² Delisle, 'Vers et ecriture', pp. 429-36.

⁸³³ For examples, see: Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 268-9; vol. 4, pp. 228-9; vol. 3, pp. 146-7; vol. 5, pp. 312-3; further examples may be seen in Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 4-5; 94-5; and vol. 5, pp. 308-9.

⁸³⁴ Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 2, pp. 468-9, items 28, 44, 66, 80, and 137.

⁸³⁵ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 20-1, n. 7.

⁸³⁶ *GND*, vol. 1, pp. lxxv-lxxvii.

⁸³⁷ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 107-10.

⁸³⁸ *GND*, vol. 1, pp. 116-7.

⁸³⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 116-7, and p. 116, n. 4.

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 190-1.

interludes in order to heighten the impact or to decorate his narrative. In book thirteen, he included a powerful forty-four-line lament at the chaotic aftermath of King Henry's death in 1135.⁸⁴¹ Similarly, Orderic began his eleventh book with a lengthy verse prayer on the faults of the world and the impending apocalypse.⁸⁴² These longer poems are comparatively rare, however. More common are shorter numerous verse epitaphs and obituaries, added at regular intervals within the majority of the *Historia*. Orderic's motivation to include such passages was linked to his desire to narrate the deeds of the many individuals whose lives touched upon the community at Saint-Évroul many of whom were benefactors of the community and eventually buried within its walls.⁸⁴³ At least nineteen sections show Orderic adding verse epitaphs to his *Historia*.⁸⁴⁴ Many of these were composed by other authors and gathered from existing texts such as the two Saint-Évroul copies of the *Liber pontificalis*, or copied from carved inscriptions at ecclesiastical sites which Orderic seems to have read *in situ*.⁸⁴⁵ Orderic claimed authorship of several further examples included in the *Historia*. These included that of Earl Waltheof at Thorney, which Orderic noted was subsequently erected above his grave;⁸⁴⁶ and at Saint-Évroul, those commemorating John of Rheims; Avice, wife of Walter of Auffay; Robert of Rhuddlan; Hugh of Grandmesnil; and abbots Osbern and Warin of Les Essarts.⁸⁴⁷

The evidence for Orderic's knowledge of and interest in poetry is substantial. It is likely that he learned the discipline from John, an accomplished student and author in his own right, and that as John's pupil during his youth, Orderic gained valuable experience in this area from an early age. Following John's example, Orderic displayed a familiarity with the Latin classics, and an authority which guaranteed his role in composing the official commemorative verses of some of the most important figures of his home foundation. Chibnall has argued that if Orderic wrote Hugh of Grandmesnil's epitaph immediately after Hugh's death in 1098, his status as a poet was officially recognised by the age of twenty-three.⁸⁴⁸ Certainly, Orderic maintained his interest in

⁸⁴¹ *HE*, vol. 6, pp. 450-3.

⁸⁴² *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 8-13.

⁸⁴³ Hingst, *The Written World*, pp. 102-5.

⁸⁴⁴ For examples see *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 198-9; vol. 3, pp. 50-95; 136-9; 178-9; 198-9; vol. 4, pp. 44-7; 112-3; 164-5; 180-1; 304-5; 308-11; vol. 5, pp. 193-5; vol. 6, pp. 38-9; 138-41; 146-7; 152-3; 172-3; 378-9 and 312-3.

⁸⁴⁵ On Orderic's use of the *Liber pontificalis* and its successors, see *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 59-60 and *HE*, vol. 3, pp. xxv-xxviii and 50-95. For some examples of carved epitaphs which Orderic may have read in person while away from Saint-Évroul, see: *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 198-9; vol. 3, pp. 136-9; 198-9; vol. 4, pp. 44-7; 164-5; 180-1; 304-5; vol. 6, pp. 38-9; 138-9; 152-3 and 172-3. For discussions surrounding the significance of these inscriptions, see Hingst, *Written World*, pp. 102-6.

⁸⁴⁶ *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 350-1.

⁸⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 168-71; 256-9; vol. 4, pp. 144-7; 336-9; vol. 6, pp. 326-9 and 488-91.

⁸⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 28.

the discipline for the remainder of his life by inserting verses into his *Historia* at will, and continuing to compose official epitaphs until at least 1137, when he wrote that of Abbot Warin.⁸⁴⁹

Orderic's activities in copying and composing works of Latin poetry, and a particular emphasis on composing and preserving poetic epitaphs, reveal much of his own identity and interests as a scholar. The responsibility of composing verse commemorating the lives of two abbots of Saint-Évroul, two major patrons, and another noted patron of Thorney, suggests that Orderic was recognised as a leading exponent of the art both at home and further afield.⁸⁵⁰ Hingst adds to this observation in her suggestion that the presence of Orderic's epitaphs in the cloister and chapter-house ensured that his commemorative verses furnished highly visible public monuments.⁸⁵¹ The fact that Orderic highlighted his role in devising several of these epitaphs which he then presented within his *Historia*, suggests a certain awareness of his role as a poet: perhaps that he felt a sense of ownership towards these works, that he self-identified as an author of poetry, and that he may have regarded himself or may have been appointed as a successor to his own tutor, John of Rheims. Most importantly of all, Orderic's insertion of verse within the *Historia ecclesiastica* and earlier within the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, suggests that Orderic knew its natural place within the process of historical writing. For him, the compilation of historical narrative was a holistic reflection of his own personal interests, the tastes, and the concerns among his intended readership to commemorate and preserve the memory of their patrons and predecessors.⁸⁵²

Additional manuscript evidence within several of Orderic's poems enabled Delisle and Escudier to propose that this knowledge of poetry was also linked to Orderic's possible study of musical theory. Orderic's role in copying several hymns relating to saints has been noted above. However, the majority of these hymns contain little evidence to distinguish these texts as song, rather than verse. Escudier identified six manuscripts in which Orderic's relationship with music can be more closely studied through the presence of musical notation-marks in sections copied or

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 488-90.

⁸⁵⁰ On Orderic's reputation as an author of poetry, see ibid., vol. 1, pp. 28-9.

⁸⁵¹ Hingst, *The Written World*, pp. 102-5.

⁸⁵² The exact nature of Orderic's intended readership is unknown. Chibnall and Shopkow both suggested that Orderic's *HE* may have had lay readers, while Roger Ray and Chibnall also presented equally convincing evidence to suggest that Orderic's readers were largely monks. For these discussions, see: Ray, *Monastic Historiography of Ordericus Vitalis*; *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 36-9 and 101; Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 231-2.

composed by Orderic.⁸⁵³ These include a sacramentary, one volume of a tropary, two miscellaneous collections of *Lives* and *Passions* of saints, the first of his poems on fol. 30v of Alençon, MS 1, and also one volume of Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica*.⁸⁵⁴ It is impossible to tell whether Orderic was responsible for the presence of these musical notes. Escudier argued that Orderic's role in copying the main text in each was sufficient proof of attribution, even suggesting that they confirm Orderic's status as a musician.⁸⁵⁵ Despite these links, Orderic's status as a student and practitioner of musical theory cannot be judged on this evidence alone.

Sections of the *Historia ecclesiastica* shed some light on this issue. As noted in chapter four and earlier in this section, extracts from the *Historia* suggest that Saint-Évroul housed noted scholars of music, especially the monk Guitmund who, having arrived in the 1060s, is likely to have been known to Orderic during early adulthood.⁸⁵⁶ Orderic's depiction of Guitmund's body of work suggests that Orderic may also have been particularly knowledgeable in the study of music. Orderic noted that Guitmund had arranged several liturgical services for the monks of Saint-Évroul, with a hint of personal interest suggested in his suggestion that Guitmund's work had provided 'some of the sweetest melodies in our troper and antiphony'.⁸⁵⁷ Orderic demonstrated a deep knowledge of Guitmund's additions to the musical liturgy of Saint-Evroul, writing that:

He [Guitmund] gave the final form to the office of our holy father, St Evroul, by adding nine antiphons and responsories.⁸⁵⁸ He composed four antiphons for the psalms at Vespers and added the last three antiphons for the second nocturn at Matins, as well as the fourth, eighth, and twelfth responsories and the antiphon for the canticles; he also composed the most beautiful antiphon for the magnificat at second Vespers.⁸⁵⁹

The detail offered by this extract, and in particular Orderic's demonstrable knowledge of the holy offices, is perhaps not surprising given his status as a long-standing monk of Saint-Évroul. Again Sharpe's suggestion that any committed Benedictine of the period would possess knowledge and interest in biblical exegesis might also here be applied towards the likelihood that Symeon,

⁸⁵³ Escudier, 'L'œuvre entre les lignes'.

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid; for these items, see Appendix C, items 1, 10, 12, 15, 24 and 26.

⁸⁵⁵ Escudier, 'L'œuvre entre les lignes', p. 195; Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium', p. 27.

⁸⁵⁶ *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 108-9.

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 108-9.

⁸⁵⁸ Orderic refers to this text as the *historia*, translated by Chibnall as 'office'.

⁸⁵⁹ *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 108-9: '*Hic hystoriam sancti patris Ebrulfi additis ix antiphonis et tribus responsoriis perfecit. Nam ad uesperas super psalmos quatuor antiphonas condidit, et in secundo nocturno tres ultimas adiecit; quartum etiam responsorium et octauum et duodecimum et antiphonam ad cantica et ad secundas uesperas ad canticum de Euangelio pulcherrimam antiphonam edidit.*'

Orderic and Eadmer would have thorough and long-standing knowledge of their own offices.⁸⁶⁰ However, the extract from Orderic's *Historia* indicates that he had a particularly deep knowledge of Guitmund's additions to the corpus of Saint-Évroul's musical liturgy. It is possible therefore, to suggest that Orderic worked closely alongside Guitmund, either as his possible pupil or, as will be discussed below, in a more official liturgical function.

This discussion has already noted that Orderic's activities as poet and possibly also musician saw him make significant contributions to Saint-Évroul's collection of hagiographical texts. Sections within Chapter four suggested that Orderic's foundation housed a large collection of texts relating to the lives, passions and miracles of a diverse range of saints. Although the bulk of the evidence for this is now found only within the Saint-Évroul book-list, five surviving miscellanies of various hagiographical texts which are dateable to Orderic's lifetime illustrate the collection of multiple examples from the genre.⁸⁶¹ A combination of surviving manuscript evidence and sections of Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* show Orderic to have been involved in the copying and compilation of various hagiographical texts. Taken together, this broad spectrum of material suggests that Orderic was an avid student of such works, and that he was particularly motivated to unearth, copy and circulate texts of this kind.

Six surviving manuscripts show Orderic adding to books housing hagiographical texts.⁸⁶² The exact nature of his input varies across all six items and in some cases across each manuscript. In several cases, Orderic copied whole texts. These may be seen in the following examples: the whole of the Passion of SS Donatianus and Rogatianus, now housed in Paris, MS 6503, fols. 59r-60r; the whole of the prose narrative *Life* of St Launomar across fols. 134r-140v in Alençon, MS 6; the whole of a *Life* of St Willibrord on fols. 12r-19r of Alençon, MS 14, a sermon and a verse *Life* of Willibrord by Alcuin on fols. 19r-20r and 20r-23r and a hymn on St Swithun on fols. 37r-37v of the same item; the whole of the *Life* of St Nicholas, across fols. 12v-20r of Rouen, MS 1389 (U35); and the whole of a *Life* of St Martin in Rouen, MS 1343 (U43).⁸⁶³ Orderic also

⁸⁶⁰ Sharpe, 'Errors of Origen', p. 285.

⁸⁶¹ Appendix C, items 3, 6, 14, 28 and 30.

⁸⁶² These are: Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale MSS 6 and 14; Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MSS 1343 (U43) and 1389 (U35), and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 6503.

⁸⁶³ Although these additions are not discussed in detail, they are highlighted in Lair, 'Matériaux', pp. 5-26; *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 202-3; Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium', pp. 24-7;

copied into Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 1376 the whole of Gregory of Tours' *De gloria martyrum*.⁸⁶⁴

In addition to copying whole texts, Orderic also supervised the copying of works added by other scribes. In Alençon, MS 6 for example, he copied sections of the *Passion* of SS Nereus and Achilles, beginning the text, including title *incipit* and the first page, on fol. 150r, before handing over the other scribes, adding only rubrics such as those on fols. 152v-53r, and the *explicit* on fol. 155r. Orderic also worked in a similar role within Alençon, MS 14, where he rubricated a Life of St Germain on fols. 116r-131r.

Orderic's role in the production of these hagiographical materials may be understood in two ways: either in fulfilling part of his duties as scribe and perhaps also supervisor of other scribes, or as a reflection of his own personal interest in the study of the saints and the accounts of their lives. His rubrication and addition of *incipits* and *explicit*s certainly suggests that Orderic was working in a supervisory capacity, perhaps in a similar manner to that held by Symeon, as discussed in the previous chapter. However, additional evidence from within the *Historia ecclesiastica* suggests that Orderic was in fact personally interested in copying, preserving and circulating hagiographical texts, and that his experiences and interests of the subject allowed him to compile new texts on behalf of other monastic communities.

Comments within the *Historia ecclesiastica* suggest that Orderic was concerned to collect works of hagiography as and when they were available. Orderic introduced his abbreviated *Life* of Saint William of Gellone, added to the *Historia* in the middle of book six, by noting that he had hurriedly copied this text from a manuscript carried by Anthony, a visiting monk from Winchester.⁸⁶⁵ In a similar manner, Orderic inserted his *Life* of Guthlac into the *Historia* by declaring his wish that it might reach a wider audience, and stated that 'I believe that, little as these things are known amongst our own countrymen, they must prove all the more pleasing and full of grace'.⁸⁶⁶ Orderic informed his readers that he himself had compiled this new *Life* of Guthlac during his visit to Crowland Abbey, and on the request of Abbot Geoffrey.⁸⁶⁷ His role in this process provides important evidence towards assessing Orderic's status as a hagiographer, and suggests that he not only copied existing works, but also devised new ones. This is also seen

⁸⁶⁴ Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium', p. 23.

⁸⁶⁵ *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 218-9.

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 324-5: '.

⁸⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 322-5 and 338-9.

in Orderic's work in compiling a new version of the *Life* of St Évrout, which he also transferred into the *Historia ecclesiastica*.⁸⁶⁸ While Chibnall suggested that Orderic's account was informed by the verse *Life* composed by John of Rheims (as suggested by Orderic's note that he had 'received it from earlier writers') its transfer into prose within the *Historia* again shows Orderic composing new hagiographical narrative of considerable length and ambition.⁸⁶⁹

Orderic's various roles in copying, circulating and compiling works related to the saints, provides ample evidence of his status as a hagiographer. Like Eadmer, Orderic appears to have been individually motivated to collect and revise works of sacred biography. As seen in the case of Eadmer's revision of Osbern's *Vita* and *Miracula Sancti Dunstani*, the *Vita Odonis*, and the *Vita* and *Miracula Oswaldi*, Orderic also produced new versions of saints' *Lives* based on pre-existing sources and models, in his case a *Vita Guthlaci* and a *Vita Sancti Ebrulfi*. Both provided accounts of the patrons of two monastic communities, and as such may be regarded as prestige commissions, thereby further illuminating Orderic's possible self-identity as hagiographer.

Orderic's work in this field also sheds important light on his historical writing. Since his interpolations within the *Gesta Normannorum* deal primarily with secular affairs, Orderic's redaction of this text gave him few opportunities to include additional material derived from hagiographical sources. The *Historia ecclesiastica*, however, gave Orderic a much freer rein to pursue those subjects which he felt were relevant to the development of his home foundation of Saint-Évrout. Insertion of a number of other saints' lives and miracle stories into the *Historia* is significant towards our understanding of the text as a record of community. Biography provided a consistent thread to Orderic's *Historia*. His stated desire to provide 'a narrative of the restoration of the abbey of Saint-Évrout',⁸⁷⁰ could not be achieved without recounting the lives and deeds of the patrons, monastic brethren, secular rulers and ecclesiastical figureheads who had shaped this story. Biographies of saints and descriptions of their subsequent miracles furnished Orderic's account of the numerous churches and dependent communities with which the monks of Saint-Évrout had become associated, and informed his readers of the various relics and saints' cults held within. For example, Orderic expanded his account of how Saint-Évrout had acquired the church of St Martin at Parnes with an abbreviated account of the *Life* of St Judoc, whose

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 270-303.

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 302-3: 'eamque sicut a prioribus edita est'. On Orderic's compilation of the *Life* of St Évrout, see: Chibnall, *World*, pp. 101-7.

⁸⁷⁰ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 130-1: 'In relatione quam de restauratione Vticensis coenobii'.

relics were kept there.⁸⁷¹ Expanding this, Orderic later included a *Life* of St Nicholas of Myra. The link here was that the same church at Parnes held one of Nicholas' teeth, which was given in a ceremony witnessed by Roger le Sap, Abbot of St Evroul.⁸⁷² Other relics of Nicholas were held at Venosa, where Berengar, an alumnus of Saint-Évroul, served as abbot, and where, Orderic noted, 'the liturgy of Saint-Évroul is chanted.'⁸⁷³ In this way, Orderic extended his historical narrative through the inclusion of hagiographical materials in order to explain exactly who the monks of Saint-Évroul were connected with, and exactly what these communities were in possession of. Reviewing this aspect of Orderic's *Historia*, Shopkow has suggested that Orderic was so successful in amassing materials related to the history of his community, that it left his work essentially unreadable for any wider potential Anglo-Norman audiences.⁸⁷⁴

Closely linked to his historical writing, and indeed at times forming part of it, Orderic's hagiographical activities occupied several sections of his *Historia ecclesiastica*. Commenting on this aspect of his work, Chibnall boldly declared of Orderic that 'At any appropriate moment in the more general history he might introduce an abbreviation of a saint's life'.⁸⁷⁵ In all, the text featured abbreviated versions of the *Lives* and miracle stories of SS. Martial, Judoc, Guthlac, Taurin, William, Évroul and Nicholas.⁸⁷⁶ In addition, Chibnall has listed a number of further saints whose actions or cults were referred to by Orderic in less detail.⁸⁷⁷ These additions were reflective of his personal interest in discovering and transmitting information relating to the lives and miracles of saints. Orderic saw therefore, that these hagiographical texts provided essential background knowledge to the story of his community. While the extent to which he saw a division between the two disciplines of history and hagiography is unclear, he certainly saw that hagiography held a deserved place within his historical composition.

Several of the manuscripts noted in this discussion so far show Orderic active in supervising the work of other scribes. In particular, his correction of the commentaries featured in Alençon, MS 26, and his role in rubricating, adding *incipits* and *explicitis* and copying the beginning and end of

⁸⁷¹ Ibid., vol. 2, 156-167.

⁸⁷² Ibid., vol. 3, 154-159.

⁸⁷³ Ibid., vol. 2, 100-1: 'In his itaque tribus monasteriis Italiae Uticensis cantus canitur, et monasticus ordo usque hodie.' Orderic's attitude to St Nicholas is contrasted with that of Nicholas, Bishop of Myra, in Marjorie Chibnall, 'The Translation of the Relics of St Nicholas in the Norman Historical Tradition', in *Piety, Power and History in Medieval England*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 33-41.

⁸⁷⁴ Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 231-4.

⁸⁷⁵ *HE*, vol. 1, p. 61.

⁸⁷⁶ For a list of these and their locations, see Ibid., pp. 61-2.

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 61-2.

several texts in Alençon, MSS 6 and 14, suggest that Orderic held a position of some authority within the production of Saint-Évroul books. An established consensus among Chibnall, Geneviève Nortier, van Houts and Escudier, argues that Orderic acted as librarian of Saint-Evroul from the second decade of the twelfth century onwards.⁸⁷⁸ The suggestion is well-supported by Orderic's role in compiling the first and largest section of the twelfth-century Saint-Evroul book-list.⁸⁷⁹ While a possible appointment as librarian explains Orderic's position as lead-scribe and his compilation of the book-list, there exists significant evidence to suggest that he carried out these activities and a number of other duties in a more official capacity, as cantor to the monks of Saint-Évroul.

Discussions within chapters five and six have already considered Eadmer and Symeon's status as cantors. As such, no review of the role is required here. The attribution of this role to Orderic also, is not simply based on the fact that all three wrote history, and that Oderic probably supervised the library and scriptorium at Saint-Evroul. In fact, a variety of evidence supports the theory. This includes: the familiarity with which Orderic described the role within his *Historia ecclesiastica*; Orderic's clearly suggested interest in music (as noted above) and his clearly identifiable interest in the nature and development of Saint-Evroul's liturgical cycle; his addition of confraternity agreements within Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS Latin 10062; and his additions to resources used to in the pursuit of computistics. These will be discussed here in turn.

Evidence within Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* suggests a ready acquaintance with the role of cantor. In total, he named eight cantors in the *Historia*: seven were described as *cantor*, and one as *precentor*.⁸⁸⁰ Two of these were noted by Orderic as cantors of Saint-Evroul. He wrote that on re-foundation in 1050, Abbot Thierry brought with him from Jumièges certain individuals who together, 'established regular life' and 'well-ordered liturgy'.⁸⁸¹ Among these was a '*Hugonem cantorem*', who, Orderic later added, was responsible for copying several volumes for the first library of Saint-Evroul, one of which featured in his book-list as '*cantica Hugonis*'.⁸⁸² From this

⁸⁷⁸ *HE*, vol. 1, p. 24; Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 108; *GND*, vol. 1, p. lxxvii; Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium', p. 24.

⁸⁷⁹ Orderic's role in its compilation is noted in *HE*, vol. 1, p. 201; Nortier, *Les bibliothèques Normands*, pp. 106-8; Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium', pp. 19 and 24.

⁸⁸⁰ These can be found in *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 18-9, 86-9, 96-7, 108-9, and 292-5; *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 20-1 and 22-5, and *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 70-1.

⁸⁸¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 18-9.

⁸⁸² *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 48-9; Omont, *Catalogue générale*, vol. 2, p. 469.

brief description, it seems likely that Hugh was the first cantor of Saint-Evroul. Hugh's successor in the role is likely to have been an individual named by Orderic as William Gregory. Orderic wrote that William arrived as a child oblate aged nine, and that he was still alive whilst Orderic was writing what was then the first book of his *Historia ecclesiastica* (book three in the final version).⁸⁸³ Chibnall has dated this passage to not later than 1114 or 15, thereby reckoning that William was one of the first oblates of the newly-founded community in 1050.⁸⁸⁴ Although Chibnall's translation did not suggest that William was *the* cantor, but *a* cantor, (that is, a singer) this may be disputed. Orderic's description of William's talents noted that he had produced 'works executed by his own hands for reading and singing' (*ad legendum et canendum*), and Orderic subsequently noted that William was '*peritus lector et cantor*' ('a skilled/experienced reader and singer').⁸⁸⁵ Given Orderic's description of William's interest in texts used for public performance, added to the fact that having been nine years old in around 1050 and therefore at least a generation younger than the first cantor Hugh, it is likely that William Gregory was the second cantor of Saint-Evroul, and that he was in office until at least 1114 or 1115.

With William aged sixty-three or sixty-four at this point, he is unlikely to have lived much later than the mid-1120s, although Orderic does not note when he died. At this point, Orderic would have been in his early to mid-thirties, and may possibly have assumed the role of cantor at this point. There is no evidence to suggest that John of Rheims or the musician Guitmund, were ever cantors. The obituary of John in the fifth book of the *Historia* noted that, 'For a long time he filled the office of sub-prior', and although Orderic acknowledged John's skills in composing works of verse that may have been composed for public readings, at no point did he note that John had served as cantor as he had done for Hugh and William Gregory.⁸⁸⁶ The same can be said for Guitmund who, although according to Orderic was skilled in the various musical compositions noted above, was never described as cantor in the *Historia*.

Aged around thirty years old when William is likely to have died and probably already recognised as a leading and perhaps supervisory scribe by the same time, Orderic may be seen to have held an appropriate level of experience, expertise and authority as required by the role at the moment of William's death. A range of supplementary evidence also shows that Orderic fulfilled

⁸⁸³ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 86-7.

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 86-7. William's possible arrival is discussed on p. 87, n. 2.

⁸⁸⁵ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 86-7.

⁸⁸⁶ Orderic's obituary features in *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 168-71, and mentions John's skills in poetry twice.

almost all of the expected duties of a contemporary monastic cantor. Although it is not certain whether Saint-Evroul owned a copy of Lanfranc's *Decreta*, it represents the best near-contemporary guide to the likely duties of a cantor in the Anglo-Norman context. As such, it will again be used as a guide to Orderic's possible cantorship, and each aspect of this will be noted here in turn.

With his likely knowledge of music and apparent interest in the field alongside at least twenty years of experience of Saint-Evroul's liturgy by the time of his possible candidacy, Orderic is not likely to have struggled with monitoring the expected level of standards during the regular daily and any special offices. His activities in producing various hagiographical sources, especially those featuring obvious ceremonial readings such as hymns and prayers as noted above, can be seen in an additional light with regards to his cantorship. As well as showing Orderic's interest in the study of historical biography as already acknowledged, these texts also suggest that Orderic may have been collecting liturgical readings, as part of his role as Saint-Evroul's cantor.

Orderic also added to other types of liturgical collections, with one particular manuscript showing his addition to the *Liber memorialis* contained within Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Latin 10062.⁸⁸⁷ This manuscript, which now also contains three separate calendars from various periods in the existence of the community, a martyrology, a miscellany of computistical materials and tables, a *Rule of St Benedict*, and a set of Easter-tables with marginal annals, may be directly compared with the Durham 'Cantor's book' discussed in Chapter six, now Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.24. As such, Orderic's activities within might be taken to show some of his possible activities as cantor, in the same way that Symeon's role in B.IV.24 has been used by Rollason to confirm his cantorship.⁸⁸⁸ On fol. 81v, Orderic added to a list of confraternity agreements, completing the whole of the example featured on line 20. While this single line represents Orderic's only addition to the *Liber memorialis* section of this manuscript, it nevertheless shows that he made some contribution to the pattern of communal remembrance at his home foundation. Perhaps more importantly here, Orderic's addition might

⁸⁸⁷ This item has been discussed in Delisle, 'Notice sur Orderic Vital', pp. iv-xviii, and *HE*, vol. 1, p. 201. The original manuscript has been fully digitised and is available online at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8539717m/f1.image.r=10062.langFR> (accessed 16 September 2013).

⁸⁸⁸ *LDE*, pp. xliii-xliv.

be taken as evidence that he fulfilled the expectation outlined by Lanfranc, stating that the cantor should ‘supervise the letters sent out to ask for prayers for the dead brethren’.⁸⁸⁹

Orderic’s additions elsewhere within the Saint-Evroul chapter-book show that he developed significant knowledge in the field of computistics. As suggested in chapter five, Lanfranc’s prescriptions that the cantor was to ‘keep count of the week’s and month’s mind’,⁸⁹⁰ suggest that cantors during this period might be expected to have been adept computists, not least because they were responsible for providing the an accurate liturgy on any given day. Fols. 130r-160r of the Saint-Evroul chapter-book house a variety of treatises, extracts and diagrams directed towards the study and teaching of *computus*. It is significant that Orderic was the main scribe for almost all of these, copying the opening tract on fols. 130r-132r, and sections from Bede’s *De temporum ratione* on fol. 131r.⁸⁹¹ Several of the accompanying diagrams and tables on fols. 132r-137v bear close similarities with Orderic’s hand, including a circular chart and several roundels for calculating the length of the day and the human shadow on fol. 133v and the bulk of the tables on fols. 132r-133r, 134v-135r, and 136r-137r. Orderic’s possible execution of these additions strongly suggests that he possessed an advanced understanding of computistical studies. Further proof of this is seen in Orderic’s additions within a set of annals which appear in the margins of the Easter-tables on fols. 138r-160r of the same manuscript. While later discussions in this chapter will examine their significance towards our understanding of Orderic the historian, their compilation provides further proof of his capabilities as a computist. It would have been almost impossible for Orderic to have inserted such a high proportion of the annals between fols. 151r and 155r without detailed knowledge of *computus*.⁸⁹²

Orderic’s possible cantorship holds increased significance when seen alongside sections of the *Historia ecclesiastica* which reflect the author’s interest in describing the liturgy at Saint-Évroul and its development. The past had an important role within the liturgical rhythms of monastic life, and especially so in services of commemoration. This is illustrated by Orderic’s account of a ceremony introduced by Abbot Osbern, which reads as follows:

⁸⁸⁹ *Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, p. 122-3: ‘Cura breuium, qui foras mitti solent pro defunctis fratribus’.

⁸⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-3: ‘cura numerandi tricenaria, et septenaria, ad eum pertinent.’

⁸⁹¹ On the identification of this text, see *HE*, vol. 1, p. 201; Escudier, ‘Orderic et le scriptorium’, p. 24.

⁸⁹² On Orderic’s work within these annals, see *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 29 and 201 and Lair, ‘Matériaux’, p. 13.

He [Osbern] established a general anniversary, to be held every year on 26 June for the mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters of all the monks of Saint-Évroul. There is a very long roll on which the names of all the brethren are inscribed, when called by God they take the habit, followed by the names of their fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters....Both evening and morning all the bells are rung for some time for the office of the dead; the roll of the dead is untied and laid out on the altar, and prayers are offered to God first for the dead, then for the living parents and benefactors and all the faithful.⁸⁹³

Like Symeon's *Libellus*, Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica*, with its array of details surrounding the families who supplied not only land, but also protection and even family members to the community of Saint-Évroul, provided a store-house of materials relating to the historical aspects of the monastic liturgy.⁸⁹⁴ Orderic himself acknowledged this aspect of his work in the middle of his fifth book, observing that his narrative would:

...give a brief account of the properties of the church of Saint-Évroul, so that alms given in faith may be brought to the knowledge of the novices, and when they make use of them they may know when and by whom they were given, or sold at a price.⁸⁹⁵

Returning to this theme in the middle of the sixth book, Orderic later wrote:

I commemorate our benefactors. For I wish to commit to writing an account of our founders and those who so generously helped them, for the lasting remembrance of future generations, so that the sons of the church may commemorate in the presence of God and his angels those by whose gifts they are supported in this mortal life and enabled to serve the maker of all things.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹³ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 114-5: '*Hic constituit generale anniversarium fieri singulis annis vi kal. iulii pro patribus et matribus, pro fratribus et sororibus omnium monachorum vticensis coenobii. In rotulo quidem longissimo omnium fratrum, dum vocante Deo ad ordinem ueniunt, nomina scribuntur; deinde patrum et matrum eorum, fratrumque ac sororum uocabula subscribuntur*'. For discussion of this and other objects of memory at Saint-Évroul, see: Daniel Roach, 'The Material and the Visual: objects and memories in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Orderic Vitalis' *Haskins Society Journal* 24 (2012: forthcoming).

⁸⁹⁴ On this latter point, see: Daniel Roach 'The Material and the Visual: objects and memories in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Orderic Vitalis' *Haskins Society Journal* 24 (2012: forthcoming); Hingst, *The Written World*, pp. 102-9.

⁸⁹⁵ *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 122-3: '*Possessiones vticensis ecclesiae uolo hic breviter adnotare. ut eleemosinae fideliter datae pateant novitiorum notitiae, ut utentes eis sciant a quibus vel quo tempore datae sint uel pretio comparatae.*'

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 260-1: '*Huc usque de rebus S. Ebrulfi diutius locutus sum, quae nostrum magna ex parte implent libellum. Inde mihi quaeso non indignentur lectores, si, beneficii accepti memor, recolo nostros benefactores. Opto equidem fundatores et benevolos cooperatores eorum scripto commendare tenaci memoriae posterorum, ut filii*

Through these extracts, it is possible to argue that like Symeon, Orderic understood the place of the past within the monastic liturgy of his home foundation. If, as suggested, Orderic was indeed cantor to the monks of Saint-Évroul, these sections of his *Historia ecclesiastica* provide further evidence of the extent to which these experiences left their mark on Orderic's historical writing.

So far, this discussion has considered a variety of evidence relating to Orderic's life and works away from the compilation of history. Attention has been paid to his likely knowledge and study of biblical exegesis and theology, his study and composition of poetry, and with this also a probable experience of musical theory and composition, and his work in copying, collecting and compiling a number of texts relating to the lives and miracles of saints. A considerable portion of this evidence has been used to review the assumption that Orderic was in some way responsible for the production and care of books and, taking this further, to propose that Orderic may have carried out these duties as cantor of Saint-Evroul from around the middle of the second decade of the twelfth century. In almost all cases, these various activities away from historical writing were woven into Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica*. As such, his use of biblical exegesis in the compilation of his eventual first and second books, insertion of poetic epitaphs, and his interest in highlighting the development of the liturgical memorial culture of Saint-Evroul can all be interpreted as reflections of his numerous personal interests and expertise within a text which should be seen as equally personal to Orderic's own personal experiences and concerns.

Orderic's *Historia* provides valuable evidence with which to assess the distance between these multiple areas of learning and the writing of history. As noted in Chapter three, distinctions of genre in medieval monastic thought were far from concrete, especially so within a programme of learning which was, following Augustine, ultimately directed towards a single common purpose of achieving a heightened understanding of Sacred Scripture and through this, a greater perception and conceptualisation of God.⁸⁹⁷ In copying Angelomus on the book of *Kings* and Bede on *Ezra*, Orderic would have seen previous exegetes interpreting and commenting on past events, especially in the case of Angelomus, whose subject matter is essentially a historical narrative through the Old Testament. In compiling hagiographical sources, Orderic showed himself to be individually motivated and sufficiently skilled in providing his foundation with texts which recounted the miraculous deeds of past individuals and in the compilation of

ecclesiae coram Deo in conspectu angelorum memores sint eorum, quorum beneficiis in hac mortali vita sustentantur, ad peragendam servitutem Conditoris universorum.'

⁸⁹⁷ Augustine, *Opera*, vol. 6, pp. 63-5.

narrative surrounding past events. In a similar vein, his poetry recorded the lives of those closest to him in time, and in the case of his satire in Alençon, MS 1, also allowed Orderic to reflect on the nature of the world and on the temporality of human life, perhaps with a view to the legacy of previous generations past. With all of these experiences in some way related to the past, it is no surprise then, to suggest that Orderic was probably cantor of Saint-Evroul, and through this, responsible for overseeing the provision of its memorial culture, which was again intimately linked to past members and guardians of the community.

In order to further explore Orderic's numerous experiences as student of the past and his self-identity as historian, it is necessary to review further evidence. The following section will consider, in turn: Orderic's likely interaction with the historiographical resources available to him at Saint-Évroul; his possible experiences of studying historical texts away from Saint-Évroul; and his own personal commentary on his study and collection of historical materials. This evidence will suggest that Orderic had a much greater level of experience in studying the past than did Eadmer and Symeon, and with this, that he had developed a heightened understanding of past historiography as well as the nature and purposes of his own work in revising William's *Gesta Normannorum* and compiling his own *Historia ecclesiastica*.

As noted in chapter four, the library at Saint-Évroul housed a number of prominent historiographical sources and models during Orderic's lifetime. Some of these are seen in surviving manuscripts, including Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*,⁸⁹⁸ the *Historia Clementis*,⁸⁹⁹ and Orderic's interpolated copy of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*.⁹⁰⁰ Others are known from the Saint-Évroul book-list, such as Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* alongside a *Gesta pontificum* in a single volume,⁹⁰¹ another single volume housing Josephus' *Antiquitatum* and *Bello Judaico*,⁹⁰² and possibly also Orosius' *Historiae contra paganos*, which is referred to in the list as simply 'Orosius'.⁹⁰³ In addition to these narrative works, Orderic also had access to and contributed to the wide variety of hagiographical sources noted above, as well

⁸⁹⁸ Appendix C, item 28.

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid., item 36.

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid., item 27.

⁹⁰¹ Ibid., item 155.

⁹⁰² Ibid., item 154.

⁹⁰³ Omont, *Catalogue général*, vol. 2, p. 468, number 63.

as the Easter-table annals referenced above, which occur across fols. 138r-160r of the Saint-Évroul chapter-book.⁹⁰⁴

Orderic's use of these potential sources and models is shown in two types of evidence: those featured in surviving manuscripts which show evidence of his hand, and those whose use is suggested by several references within Orderic's own historical writing. The texts which bear the strongest witness to Orderic's use belong to the former category. Surviving copies of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, Orderic's interpolated redaction of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, and one surviving version of the *Liber pontificalis* show evidence of Orderic's hand.⁹⁰⁵ Chibnall showed that Orderic copied almost the whole of the Saint-Évroul volume of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, which is now housed in Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1343 (U. 43) alongside several hagiographical texts, with Orderic editing the first thirty-three folios and transcribing the whole of the remainder.⁹⁰⁶ This work has been dated by Chibnall to the first quarter of the twelfth century, and therefore either precedes or is contemporary to Orderic's composition of the eventual third book of his *Historia ecclesiastica*.⁹⁰⁷ Chibnall, Gransden, Shopkow and van Houts, all argued that Bede's *Historia* was a leading influence within Orderic's historical narrative.⁹⁰⁸ Chibnall suggested that 'Bede was the historian most frequently in Orderic's mind as he wrote', that he 'pointed the way and constantly provided a model for the form and content'.⁹⁰⁹ This argument is supported by Orderic's own testimony. His opening preface to the first book of the *Historia ecclesiastica* recorded 'Bede the Englishman' (*Anglicoque Beda*) amongst the most famous historical writers known in his day, with Orderic stressing his enjoyment of having read Bede's *Historia* and desire that men of his own day would 'imitate their remarkable erudition'.⁹¹⁰

Although these activities and quotations illustrate Orderic's more general desire to follow Bede's lead in composing narrative history, another extract from his *Historia* suggests that the addition of one of its most important component parts was also influenced by Bede's model of history. During Orderic's narration of early eighth-century Frankish history, he included a short

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid., item 13.

⁹⁰⁵ Appendix C, items 28, 27, and 19, respectively.

⁹⁰⁶ Appendix C, item 28; *HE*, vol. 1, p. 203.

⁹⁰⁷ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 203.

⁹⁰⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 56-7; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1, pp. 153-4; Shopkow, *History and community*, pp. 160-2; van Houts, 'Historical Writing', p. 118.

⁹⁰⁹ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 56-7.

⁹¹⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 130-1: 'eorum notabile sedimen sequi'.

biography of Bede. This was a direct abridgement of the autobiographical epilogue featured within Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and Orderic twice notes this as its main source.⁹¹¹ As such, it may be argued that in addition to his stated desire to emulate Bede's model of extended narrative historiography, Orderic's own autobiographical epilogue was probably also derived from his reading and digestion of the historiographical model and authorial voice present within Bede's own *Historia ecclesiastica*, as has been suggested by Chibnall and Hingst.⁹¹²

While Bede's general model of history influenced Orderic's passion for the genre, William of Jumièges' *Gesta Normannorum ducum* may be seen to have had even greater influence. Elisabeth van Houts has noted that Orderic's work in copying William's history, and his expansion of sections in order to include a variety of information relating to the history of Saint-Évroul and its patrons, provided a considerable degree of his early training in the theory and practice of historiography.⁹¹³ Arguing that this work probably took place between c.1095 and c.1113, van Houts suggested that this enterprise provided Orderic with an essential framework on which he was able to build his own historical compositions, and suggested that by doing so, 'he mastered the art of writing history.'⁹¹⁴

Orderic's additions within his redaction of William's base text certainly support van Houts' suggestion that Orderic used the *Gesta Normannorum* as a framework for the addition of materials relating to his own experiences and interests.⁹¹⁵ As noted by van Houts, many of Orderic's factual additions show him adding information relating to the community and patrons of Saint-Évroul.⁹¹⁶ Her suggestion that this work may have influenced the decision to expand this narrative into what would eventually become Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* is in this sense, well-founded.⁹¹⁷ If this activity gave Orderic the experience and desire to compile his own, much more detailed house history, then his work in copying and expanding William's texts must be counted among the most formative influences on Orderic's development as a student and author of history.

⁹¹¹ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 66-9; For Bede's autobiography, see: *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 566-71.

⁹¹² Orderic's autobiographical epilogue is located in *HE*, vol. 6, pp. 550-7. See: *HE*, vol. 1, p. 56; Hingst, *The Written World*, p. 120.

⁹¹³ *GND*, vol. 1, pp. lxxviii-lxxix.

⁹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. lxxviii-lxxix.

⁹¹⁵ Orderic's additions in this and those of Robert of Toringi are highlighted throughout *GND*, and discussed in vol. 1, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii.

⁹¹⁶ Ibid., vol. 1, p. lxxi.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid., vol. 1, p. lxxvii-lxxix.

Orderic's own words show that his compilation of the *Historia ecclesiastica* was greatly influenced by William's text, both as a source and as an exemplar for the composition of narrative history. Alongside the *Gesta Guillelmi ducis* of William of Poitiers, William's *Gesta Normannorum* provided the bulk of Orderic's information relating to the history of Anglo-Norman events during the second half of the eleventh century, and Orderic twice directed his readers towards these two texts for further information.⁹¹⁸ Other sections of the *Historia* suggest that Orderic's widening scope and ambitions for the text encouraged him to consider its place within the canon of existing works that chronicled the history of the Norman duchy, including of course, William's *Gesta Normannorum*. By the time he reached his sixth book, Orderic had developed a pattern of expanding and inter-collating his account of the donations to and monks of Saint-Évroul with accounts of the wider history of the Anglo-Norman kingdom. Reflecting on this, he observed that William of Jumièges had built upon the foundations begun by Dudo of Saint-Quentin, and wrote that 'I, following the example of others from high places who have published accounts of important matters for great people and chosen to sing the praises of famous deeds, undertake a similar task.'⁹¹⁹ Here it is possible to see Orderic clearly referring to himself among some of the best-known narrators of Norman history. This passage suggests that his work in copying and continuing William's account within his interpolated *Gesta Normannorum* and his own *Historia ecclesiastica*, enabled Orderic to judge his own position as a student and author of history. As such, this provides an important element of this current analysis of Orderic's self-identity as historian.

Orderic was not only influenced by Saint-Évroul's collection of narrative histories. His knowledge and use of biographical materials is shown by his engagement with copies of the *Liber pontificalis*. Two surviving redactions of this text have come down to us from Orderic's Saint-Évroul.⁹²⁰ Chibnall showed that Orderic assisted in compiling the example now found in Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 31, and argued that his work in revising and abridging this copy may be seen as compiling an 'intermediate stage between the original *Liber pontificalis* and one section of the *Ecclesiastical History*'.⁹²¹ Orderic's involvement in this enterprise allowed

⁹¹⁸ *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 2-3; 78-9. For further information on Orderic's use of William of Jumièges, see: *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 406-7; vol. 3, pp. 406-7; vol. 4, pp. 392-3.

⁹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 304-7: '*Ego autem, sicut alii de sublimibus locis ad sublimes personas sublimia ediderunt et res magnas magnifice gratis extulerunt, eorum exemplo provocatus, ad simile studium assurgo, et plurima jamdudum dictavi de monasterio in Uticensi saltu, tempore Guillelmi ducis, postea regis, honorifice restaurato*'.

⁹²⁰ Appendix C, items 17 and 21; for discussion of these items, see: *HE*, vol. 1, p. 59.

⁹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

Chibnall to chart the influence of the *Liber pontificalis* within his *Historia*, both as a source for historical information and, she argued, as a model for his account of the Archbishops of Rouen which appears in the fifth book of the completed work.⁹²²

Orderic's role in copying significant sections of Bede's *Historia*, William's *Gesta Normannorum* and the *Liber pontificalis* offers important evidence towards the evaluation of his experiences of historical studies. All three manuscripts show Orderic providing potential sources for the study of the past and models through which he was able to develop his own historiography. While it is not possible to know exactly when he carried out this work, van Houts' interpretation of Orderic's revision of William of Jumièges suggests that this text had an important role to play in his development as a student of the past. Although it is too much to suggest that he interpolated the text by way of an official training programme for an existing ambition to compile the subsequent *Historia ecclesiastica*, it is certainly possible that his experiences may have given Orderic the experience, confidence and perhaps the hunger to compile a much longer and more detailed work such as the *Historia*.

One further body of manuscript additions assist in analysing Orderic's early development as a student and author of history. He compiled numerous sections of the Easter-table annals featured across fols. 138r-160r of the Saint-Évroul chapter-book. These tables form part of a much larger section of computistical extracts and tables featured from fol. 130r-160r, which appears to have been almost completely compiled by Orderic. If, as suggested above, these materials were linked to his cantorship, it is unlikely that Orderic added these annals in early adulthood as part of some historiographical apprenticeship, as suggested by Chibnall.⁹²³ Although it is not certain exactly when Orderic made his additions to these annals, as noted by both Chibnall and van Houts,⁹²⁴ they do provide firm evidence of Orderic's interest in recording the past, and in this case in a further form other than historical narrative.

In addition to the three works which Orderic is known to have copied, Chibnall's identification of quotation and allusions within the *Historia ecclesiastica* suggests that Orderic had also studied other potential sources and models housed at Saint-Évroul. The extended introductory preface which Orderic added to the beginning of the completed work referenced Eusebius, Paul the

⁹²² As argued in *ibid.*, vol.1, p. 59.

⁹²³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 29.

⁹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29; *GND*, vol. 1, p. lxvii.

Deacon and Orosius as models worthy of emulation,⁹²⁵ thereby virtually confirming Orderic's knowledge and use of their respective texts within the library at Saint-Évroul. Chibnall has suggested that Orderic also drew on Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* and Paul's *Historia Langobardorum* at later junctures,⁹²⁶ even proposing that Paul's *Historia* was a major source for the account of Frankish history that Orderic added to his fifth book.⁹²⁷

Orderic's knowledge and use of many of the historical sources and models held at Saint-Évroul during his lifetime provides important evidence for assessing his development as a student of the past. Although it might be expected that his *Historia* might wish to draw on important predecessors by Eusebius, Orosius, Bede, Paul the Deacon and William of Jumièges, his familiarity with these works, and in particular his copying of Bede and revision of William, shows a more detailed experience of these sources, and provides a strong contribution to the assessment of Orderic's skills and interests as historian. Further light is shed on this topic by considering a number of Orderic's possible models which were identified by Chibnall, but which are not recorded as having been present at Saint-Évroul during his lifetime. The resultant suggestion that Orderic may have studied and even sought out sources for historical enquiry during several trips away from his home foundation provides important proof in the analysis of his self-identification as historian.

Orderic's own *Historia ecclesiastica* is the chief source of information on his numerous journeys away from Saint-Évroul. The autobiographical epilogue of Orderic's thirteenth book records that he was ordained as sub-deacon by bishop Gilbert of Lisieux, deacon by bishop Serlo of Séez, and priest by William, Archbishop of Rouen.⁹²⁸ The note that during the latter ordination, Orderic was one of 360 others, suggests that all three ordinations were held at their respective bishops' seats of office.⁹²⁹ Elsewhere, Orderic also informed his readers that he had been to Worcester and Crowland Abbey in England.⁹³⁰ While at Crowland, Orderic probably also visited nearby Thorney Abbey, where his characteristic hand added the name of St Évroul to the calendar, writing '*Hic super astra pius conscendit pastor ebrulfus*'.⁹³¹ In addition, Orderic testified that he

⁹²⁵ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 130-1.

⁹²⁶ For Eusebius, see *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 48-9; for Paul, see *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 68-9.

⁹²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. xxvii and 370.

⁹²⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 554-5.

⁹²⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 554-5.

⁹³⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 186-9 and 324-5.

⁹³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 203. This item may be viewed on-line at <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17/index.htm>, with Orderic's addition clearly visible on fol. 21v: <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17/folio.php?p=21v>.

had been in France in 1106 (although did not specify why),⁹³² and that he had attended a grand meeting of monastic clergy at Cluny in 1132 to discuss monastic reform.⁹³³

Orderic's tendency to cite his sources and the circumstances in which he consulted them confirm that he studied several important sources and models of historical writing while absent from Saint-Évroul. Orderic noted, for example that he had read the world chronicles of John of Worcester and another similar source at Cambrai.⁹³⁴ A longer visit to Crowland Abbey in England, which Chibnall dated to between 1114 and 1123, gave Orderic access to important sources of historical information, including a *Life* of the community's patron, St Guthlac written by Felix, an early Anglo-Saxon Bishop of East Anglia, and the oral testimony of elders within the community, especially sub-prior Ansgot.⁹³⁵ Orderic confirmed that he used this evidence to construct a new *Life* of Guthlac and a short history of Crowland, both of which he later abridged into the *Historia ecclesiastica*.⁹³⁶

One of the most important sources of Orderic's *Historia* which does not appear to have been held at Saint-Évroul was Baudry of Bourgueil's *Historia Ierosolomitana*. Chibnall showed that the ninth book of Orderic's *Historia* was heavily dependent on Baudry's work,⁹³⁷ and it is possible to speculate on this use. At the end of his ninth book, Orderic noted that he had known Baudry in person, stating his wish to 'honour and revere this venerable bishop, whom I knew well.'⁹³⁸ Although the circumstances surrounding their meeting are unknown, Baudry almost certainly introduced Orderic to his work during the course of their contact. His *Historia* made an immediate impression on Orderic, who claimed a desire to reproduce it in his own historical compilation 'because I love the brave champions of Christ and delight in praising their valiant deeds.'⁹³⁹ The perceived successes of the crusade inspired Orderic, who saw the events as nothing less than 'divine inspiration' and the repetition of former miracles in his own time.⁹⁴⁰ With this mindset, Orderic regarded it as his duty to disseminate knowledge of the events,

⁹³² *HE*, vol. 6, pp. 74-5.

⁹³³ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 424-7.

⁹³⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 186-9.

⁹³⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 322-5 and 338-9: '*ex veraci relatione Ansgoti subprioris aliorumque proferam seniorum.*' For Chibnall's discussion of these sources, see: *ibid.*, pp. xxv-xxix. For her dating of Orderic's visit, see: *HE*, vol. 1, p. 25.

⁹³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 322-51.

⁹³⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 47 and 60, and vol. 5, pp. xiii-xv.

⁹³⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 188-9: '*Praefatum seniore, quem bene cognovi, veneranter honorare decrevi.*'

⁹³⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 6-7: '*quia strenuos Christi agonithetas diligo, et eorum probos actus attollere gestio.*'

⁹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 4-5: '*diuinitus initur.*'

describing them as ‘a noble and marvellous theme for exposition’, claiming that ‘Never, I believe, has a more glorious subject been given to historians of warfare’, and admitting that ‘I do not know how to pass over such a noble theme in silence’.⁹⁴¹ At the end of his ninth book, which reproduced Baudry’s work almost in full, he wrote that ‘Up to now I have followed in the footsteps of the venerable Baudry...In many parts of my work I have copied the very words of this learned man, just as he wrote them’.⁹⁴² In his desire to follow this wish, Baudry’s *Historia* provided Orderic with a motivation to provide his home foundation with a record of the First Crusade, which he decided to house within the body of his own historical text.

Baudry’s influence was not only felt in the provision of information relating to the first crusade. In fact, Orderic’s comments suggest that he saw a place for his own *Historia* within the established and expanding circle of crusade narratives, just as he had done so through his work in copying and re-casting William of Jumièges. At the beginning of his ninth book, Orderic displayed his awareness of Baudry’s place within the literary traditions that had built up around the crusading movement, citing the work of Fulcher of Chartres, and noting that ‘Many other Latin and Greek writers’ had ‘treated this memorable subject, and have preserved the great deeds of the heroes for posterity with their vivid images’.⁹⁴³ Orderic’s admission that he wished to join this cluster of authors is evident in his note that ‘I too...aspire to include this Christian enterprise for the Lord Jesus in the little book I have begun on Christian matters’. Had he not been able to have consulted Baudry’s *Historia Ierosolomitana* away from Saint-Évroul, the shape of Orderic’s ninth book is likely to have been very different indeed, and he may not have continued to add details of events relating to the crusading movement in his remaining four books.⁹⁴⁴

Another prominent source within Orderic’s writing which is absent from the Saint-Évroul records during his lifetime is the *Gesta Guillelmi ducis* of William of Poitiers. As noted above, this text was one of the key sources for Orderic’s narration of wider social and political history during the time of William the Conqueror. Orderic acknowledged this on two occasions. The first directed readers to William’s text for further information on Duke William’s reign,⁹⁴⁵ while the second recognised the value of William’s aim to ‘set out to describe authentically, in detail, all

⁹⁴¹ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 4-7: ‘Nulla ut reor unquam sophistis in bellicis rebus gloriosior materia prodiit’, and ‘qualiter intactum tam nobile thema preteream nescio’.

⁹⁴² Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 188-9: ‘Hucusque venerabilis Baldrici prosecutus sum vestigia, et veracem feci narrationem’.

⁹⁴³ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 6-7: ‘Multi etiam alii Latinorum et Graecorum de tam memoranda re tractaverunt et posteritati claros eventus heroum vivacibus scriptis intimaverunt.’

⁹⁴⁴ As featured in ibid., vol. 5, pp. 268-79; 322-79; vol. 6, pp. 104-37, and 494-509.

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 78-9.

the events which he had seen with his own eyes and in which he himself had taken part.’⁹⁴⁶ Judging the *Gesta Guillelmi* as a ‘book wonderfully polished in style and mature judgement’,⁹⁴⁷ it must be concluded that this text had a marked influence on not only Orderic’s knowledge and interpretation of Duke William’s deeds, but also in his desire to include a narrative of events relating to the Norman Conquest of England throughout books three to seven of the *Historia ecclesiastica*.

Other journeys away from Saint-Évroul appear to have given Orderic the opportunity to consult a different type of source for historical enquiry; that is, the various buildings, ruins and topographical features which appear to have coloured his descriptions of several cells and priories linked to Saint-Évroul. Chibnall has argued that ‘vivid’ depictions of the histories and patrons of nearby cells at Maule and Auffay within the *Historia ecclesiastica* were compiled after Orderic had visited both and that he had done so with the specific aim of collecting such materials.⁹⁴⁸ Likewise, Orderic’s colourful narrative of the extinct Merovingian foundation at Saint-Céneri and its demise appears to have been inspired by visits to the ruined foundation. Orderic wrote: ‘Tradition tells us that a hundred and forty monks laboured in the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts when Céneri was abbot’ and, in observing the ruins of the community, concluded that the numbers of ruined stone sarcophagi bore ‘witness to all comers of the man whose merits and venerable life brought together the monks who rest in that place’.⁹⁴⁹

Orderic’s consultation of numerous historical sources away from Saint-Évroul and his later incorporation of some of these materials within his *Historia ecclesiastica*, provides further valuable evidence for the assessment of his role as historian and his own self-identification as such. While the circumstances surrounding many of his journeys remain unknown, it is certain that Orderic took several opportunities to consult historical materials at Worcester, Cambrai, and Crowland. That he was invited to compose new works on the history of Crowland and the Life of St Guthlac, together with the fact that the commission came from Abbot Geoffrey who Orderic

⁹⁴⁶ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 184-5: ‘Ipse siquidem praedicti regis capellanus longo tempore exstitit, et ea quae oculis suis uiderit et quibus interfuerit, longo relatu uel copioso indubitanter enucleare studuit, quamuis librum usque ad finem regis aduersis casibus impeditus perducere nequiverit.’

⁹⁴⁷ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 184-5: ‘...affluenter tractauit, et librum polito sermone et magni sensus profunditate praeclarum edidit.’

⁹⁴⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 26; Chibnall, *World*, p. 35.

⁹⁴⁹ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 156-7: ‘Centum quadraginta ut fertur sub prefato archimandrite cultores ibidem in uinea Domini Sabaoth laborauerunt, quorum lapidea sepulcra palam qduentantibus intra basilicam et in circuitu eius testimonio sunt, cuius meriti reuerentiae homines inibi requiescunt.’

noted as an alumnus of Saint-Évroul,⁹⁵⁰ may suggest that Orderic had gained a reputation as an experienced and capable student of the past by the time of his visit. Perhaps most crucially of all, while Orderic acknowledged his use of historical sources away from Saint-Évroul, he did not mention his study and reading of any other types of texts. This key point suggests that the consultation of historical sources and potential models was Orderic's priority when given access to external collections of learning. Certain journeys, such as his visit to Crowland and his exploration of ruined sites such as Saint-Céneri, may have been carried out specifically in order to conduct historical studies and to compose historical narrative, thereby further confirming the extent of his experiences of historical studies and self-perception as a student of the past.

Orderic's role in copying the historical works of Bede, William of Jumièges and the *Liber pontificalis*, his use of these texts as sources and models for his own writing, and his consultation or use of source histories by John of Worcester, Baudry of Bourgueil and the Crowland materials while away from Saint-Évroul, suggest, taken as a whole, that his historical writing drew a much greater level of influence from wider historiographical traditions than did the works of Eadmer and Symeon. Surveys of the library holdings at Christ Church and Durham during roughly the same period certainly suggest that Eadmer and Symeon would have been able to read many of the texts cited or used by Orderic had they so wished. However, unlike Eadmer and Symeon, who did not compare their histories to such works, Orderic appears to have been inspired, and his research given depth, dimension, and inspiration, through his knowledge of many of these leading exemplars of historiography. Moreover, several of his commentaries on the nature and aims of his *Historia ecclesiastica* suggest that Orderic wished for his text to be associated with leading historiographical exemplars. The best illustration of this appears in the opening preface to the first book of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, and which has been referred to above in relation to Orderic's probable knowledge and use histories by Eusebius, Orosius, Paul the Deacon and Bede. Designed to locate his writing within the traditions of some of the best-known examples of historiography, Orderic wrote:

Our predecessors in their wisdom have studied all the ages of the erring world from the earliest times, have recorded the good and evil fortunes of mortal men as a warning to others, and, in their constant eagerness to profit future generations, have added their own writings to those of the past...this we find in Dares Phrygius and Pompeius Trogus and

⁹⁵⁰ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 322-51.

other historians of the gentiles, this too we see in Eusebius and the *De Ormesta mundi* of Orosius and Bede the Englishman and Paul of Monte Cassino and other ecclesiastical writers. I study their narratives with delight; I praise and admire the elegance and value of their treatises...⁹⁵¹

Chibnall has shown that this grand prologue is unlikely to have been composed before the mid-1130s.⁹⁵² As such, Orderic's comments provide insight into his ambitions at an advanced stage of writing. His statements suggest that Orderic had developed sufficient experience and confidence so as to regard his own historical writing alongside the best-known examples of the genre, which encouraged his openly stated desire to follow in their footsteps as student and author of history.

With access to and confirmed use of several of the best-known historical texts of his age, Orderic's vision of history and the character of his own writing within the genre was rooted in his interaction with the previous historiographical canon. Given that, in comparison, Eadmer and Symeon were not able or did not choose to associate their respective historical narratives with works of this kind which were available to them, the evidence of Orderic's engagement with previous sources and models of narrative history begins to suggest that his study and composition of history provided a much more consistent thread within his studies and own personal interests; something which is further demonstrated by Orderic's enthusiasm in gathering historical sources and information whenever he had the chance, either at home or away from Saint-Évroul. Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica*, and through it, his regular engagement with and search for the past, may be seen as a defining feature of his career from c.1113 onwards. The evidence presented above therefore, supports the conclusion that what may without exaggeration be referred to as Orderic's passion for history, developed from a relatively young age.

Although Chibnall suggested that Orderic's master, John, brought from Rheims the benefits of 'an exceptionally strong historical tradition', there is little surviving evidence to suggest that historical studies were a particularly prominent component within the wider curriculum at Saint-

⁹⁵¹ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 130-1: 'Antiores nostri ab antiquis temporibus labentis saeculi excursus prudenter inspexerunt, et bona seu mala mortalibus contingentia pro cautela hominum notaverunt, et futuris semper prodesse volentes, scripta scriptis accumulaverunt. Hoc nimirum videmus a Moyse et Daniele factum, aliisque hagiographis. Hoc in Darete Phrygio et Pompeio Trogo comperimus, aliisque gentiliū historiographis. Hoc etiam advertimus in Eusebio, et Orosio de Ormesta mundi, Anglicoque Beda, et Paulo Cassinensi, aliisque scriptoribus ecclesiasticis. Horum allegationes delectabiliter intueor, elegantiam et utilitatem syntagmatum laudo et admiror'.

⁹⁵² Ibid., vol. 1, p. 45.

Évroul during Orderic's lifetime.⁹⁵³ Only Orderic himself, and John his teacher, can be shown to have produced works of a historical nature there during these years. Furthermore, no individual appears to have been either sufficiently interested or perhaps trained so as to be able to continue Orderic's work, as seen at Durham in the continuations of Symeon's *Libellus*.⁹⁵⁴ Although it could be argued that Saint-Évroul hosted an apparently strong school of hagiographical studies, most of these works are known only through the surviving twelfth-century book-list. This hampers assessment of their character, scope, length, and form, and by consequence, obscures the exact status of hagiographical studies at this time. As it stands, the evidence suggests therefore, that the study of the past was something of a niche activity at Saint-Évroul during Orderic's lifetime, and that he, above all others, was its chief authority.

Substantial evidence within the *Historia ecclesiastica* suggests that Orderic's interests in discovering the past were also matched by regular musings on what he believed the study of this past was for, how it could be written and why it might be written. These extracts provide further material for the analysis of Orderic's experiences of the historian's craft, and his own confidence and authority in commenting on the nature and purposes of the discipline. Orderic provided more of this kind of direct commentary than Symeon and Eadmer combined. Seven of the thirteen books in the *Historia ecclesiastica* were preceded by specially-composed introductory prefaces.⁹⁵⁵ Orderic used these to outline and reinforce the intended aims of the work as a whole, and to introduce the subject matter of each of these constituent books. In addition, Orderic concluded nine books with short epilogues.⁹⁵⁶ Although in most cases, these epilogues merely announced the end of the book, some offered additional brief comments on the evolving character of the *Historia*. As well as these clearly-marked sections, Orderic also made a number of comments at various points within the main body of his narrative. Some took the form of short authorial asides, inserted following particularly thought-provoking episodes, such as his reconstruction of the Life of St. Évroul, and narration of the unrest which followed the death of

⁹⁵³ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 21-2 and 29-30.

⁹⁵⁴ For Orderic's list of John's works, see: *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 168-171. On the continuations of the *Libellus de exordio* see: *LDE*, pp. lxvi-lxviii in which these feature at pp. 258-323.

⁹⁵⁵ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 130-3 and 164-5; vol. 2, pp. 2-5; vol. 3, pp. 4-9 and 212-5; vol. 5, pp. 4-9; vol. 6, pp. 8-13.

⁹⁵⁶ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 162-3; vol. 2, pp. 188-8 and 360-1; vol. 3, pp. 210-1 and 360-1; vol. 4, pp. 108-9; vol. 5, pp. 190-1 and 380-1; vol. 6, pp. 550-7.

William the Conqueror.⁹⁵⁷ Others were added, with much apology, after the inclusion of episodes which might be seen as particularly digressive from Orderic's main themes.

Like Eadmer and Symeon, Orderic also claimed that the initial impetus to begin writing his history came via an official request. His presentation of these events allowed Orderic to depict his *Historia ecclesiastica* as a work which addressed a long-held need for monastic identity, and as such can be directly compared with Symeon's presentation of his *Libellus de exordio*. Orderic's preface to book one described the text as a 'narrative of the restoration of the abbey of Saint-Évroul', which had been started in response to the 'command of Abbot Roger'.⁹⁵⁸ Further details relating to the genesis of the work were added within the preface of book five. In this, Orderic argued that his 'modest account of the church of Saint-Évroul' had been desired for some time, but had not been compiled owing to the sloth of previous generations. This he described in the following way:

All were more ready to be silent than to speak, and preferred quiet routine to the exacting task of investigating past events. They were only too willing to read the deeds of their abbots and of the brethren of their house, and to learn of the building up of its modest property...but they shrank from bending their minds to the task of composing or writing down their traditions.⁹⁵⁹

The preface in which these comments featured took the form of a mini treatise on the evils of apathy and inactivity. This Orderic began with a series of bold observations on the 'sin of idleness', which he coloured with quotations from the Psalms, the book of Proverbs, the *Rule of St Benedict*, and the poetry of Virgil and Ovid, and which suggested that:

⁹⁵⁷ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 284-5 and vol. 4, pp. 108-9.

⁹⁵⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 130: '*In relatione, quam de restauratione Vticensis coenobii, iubente Rogerio abbate, simpliciter prout possum facere institui*'.

⁹⁵⁹ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 6-7: '*Nam quisque silere quam loqui maluit, et securam quietem edaci curae transactas res indagandi praeposuit. Libenter quippe legissent actus abbatum, fratrumque suorum, et parvarum collectionem rerum suarum, quae ab egenis sed deuotis fundatoribus tenuiter auctae sunt ingenti sollicitudine Patrum; sed ad dictandi seu scribendi sedimen suum renuerunt incuruare ingenium.*'

As our masters have taught by their example we ought ceaselessly to shun the sin of idleness, by devoting ourselves wholeheartedly to useful study and profitable activity arm ourselves to triumph against all evil with wholesome discipline.⁹⁶⁰

Presenting his *Historia* as a response to these essential requirements and shaping his work in carrying these out as an antidote to previous lethargy, Orderic was able to present his writing as a pious undertaking, which responded to a long-standing need for his community to formulate an official account of its past. In doing so, Orderic may also have been justifying the very act of historical writing. While as argued above, Orderic was highly and personally motivated by the study of the past, characterising his work on the *Historia* as a labour of specific need and purpose justified Orderic's exploration of the past.

Evidence from within the *Historia ecclesiastica* suggests that the work which Roger had envisioned was of much narrower focus than that which Orderic eventually wrote. van Houts has observed that Orderic's initial aim to depict the history of the community of Saint-Évroul was subsequently expanded greatly, into a text which she described as 'a historical narrative covering the period from the birth of Christ to his own time and concerning the whole of Western Europe'.⁹⁶¹ Chibnall also commented on Orderic's expansion of the work, and proposed that as Orderic's master, John of Rheims had in some way held Orderic back in his expansion of the text.⁹⁶² The widening scope of his *Historia ecclesiastica* was an issue of which Orderic can be shown to have been conscious, and keen to explain. In the middle of the first book that he wrote (numbered three in the final edition) Orderic observed that although the deeds of King William I and his children would interest any historian, they lay outside the scope of his chosen subject matter, stating:

Skilful historians could write a memorable history of these great men and women if they applied themselves with energy to the task of handing on their exploits to future generations. We, however, who have no experience of the courts of the world, but spend

⁹⁶⁰ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 4-5: '*MAIORUM exempla sectantes, laetale ocium indesinenter debemus deuitare, utilique studio et salubri exercitio feruenter insudare: quibus intenta mens a uiciis emundatur et in omne nefas uitali disciplina gloriose armatur.*'

⁹⁶¹ van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, p. 15.

⁹⁶² *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 29-32.

our lives in the daily round of the cloisters where we live, will briefly note what is relevant to our purpose, and return to our chosen topic.⁹⁶³

Despite this initial reticence, Orderic continued to broaden the scope of his first book. While it began with an account of the re-foundation and expansion of the abbey in the 1050s, this was accompanied by a brief summary history of the Norman duchy,⁹⁶⁴ and was soon expanded to include biographies of several leading patrons and their families,⁹⁶⁵ an account of Osmund Drengot's deeds and the transfer of Saint-Évroul monks to Southern Italy,⁹⁶⁶ notes on wider dynastic conflicts of the Norman duchy and its neighbours,⁹⁶⁷ a short description of the Norman Conquest of England,⁹⁶⁸ and an abbreviated *Life* of St Judoc with a list of associated miracles.⁹⁶⁹

By the time Orderic completed this first book and began his second (books three and four in the final version) his ambitions had shifted significantly towards recounting the exact events which he apparently wished to avoid, according to the above extract. The epilogue to book three claimed that the subsequent book four would 'tell more of King William',⁹⁷⁰ while this fourth book opened with the declaration that William's deeds in England 'provided a mournful theme of ruin for the pen of true historians.'⁹⁷¹ In writing his first book, Orderic appears to have realised that his aims could not be achieved without expanding his text into a much wider-ranging survey of Anglo-Norman, and later, European, history, and therefore felt comfortable in using it to outline events during the first decade of post-Conquest England, also adding within this, his version of the *Life* of St Guthlac,⁹⁷² and his short history of Crowland Abbey.⁹⁷³

Chibnall has commented on this apparent decision to expand the *Historia*, and suggested that during the ten years in which it took him to compose book three, Orderic grew in independence,

⁹⁶³ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 104-5: '*De his ingentem historiam dicaces historiographi texere possunt, si, otio remoto studioque admoto, uarios illustrium eventus posteris promulgare satagunt. Nos autem, quia saecularibus curiis non insistimus, sed in claustris monasterii degentes monasticis rebus incumbimus, ea quae nobis competunt breviter adnotantes, ad inchoptam materiam redeamus.*'

⁹⁶⁴ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 4-13.

⁹⁶⁵ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 22-31; 78-87; 120-31, and 152-7.

⁹⁶⁶ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 56-65.

⁹⁶⁷ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 90-3; 104-7; 116-20, and 130-5.

⁹⁶⁸ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 134-45 and 168-89.

⁹⁶⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 156-69.

⁹⁷⁰ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 188-9: '*In sequentibus uero latius de rege Guillelmo disseram, miserasque mutationes Anglorum et Normannorum sine adulatione referam, nullius remunerationis a uictoribus seu uictis expetens honorificentiam.*'

⁹⁷¹ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 190-1: '*Anglia tunc Heraldii saeuitia perjurioque polluta corruit, et genuinis haeredibus orbata, externis praedonibus Guillelmo uictori fauentibus subjacuit; unde flebile thema de sua ruina piis historiographis ad dictandum tribuit.*'

⁹⁷² Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 322-39.

⁹⁷³ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 338-51.

maturity and ambition, and so, therefore did his aims for the rest of the work.⁹⁷⁴ Her argument that Orderic had conducted extensive background researches both at home and in external collections is supported by changes in Orderic's style. He no longer felt himself to be insufficiently qualified to write upon wider secular history, nor did he consider such topics as obstacles to the depiction of his house history. In fact, Orderic appears to have realised that such an aim could not be realised without expanding his text into a much wider-ranging survey of Anglo-Norman, and later, European, history, and even by the time he wrote book nine, a narrative of the First Crusade.

Although it would be near impossible to outline all of more than 1,800 locations noted by Wolter in his survey of Orderic's *Historia*,⁹⁷⁵ it should be noted that its books covered events from not only Normandy, England and France, but also those as far afield as the Byzantine Empire and Southern Italy,⁹⁷⁶ Norway,⁹⁷⁷ short details of events within the German Empire,⁹⁷⁸ and, as noted above, an extensive account of those in the Holy Lands.⁹⁷⁹ Furthermore, even if the exact chronology of their composition is unknown, Orderic's decision to add books one and two at some point during the mid-1130s ensured that the scope of his *Historia* grew even wider.⁹⁸⁰ He now added an abbreviated history of the entire Latin Christian church, including an account of the life of Christ and the apostles, and short notes on the successions of secular rulers of Latin Christendom down to his own time. As such, these sections might be regarded as a true *Historia ecclesiastica* in the mould of Eusebius, or a reflection of his engagement with John of Worcester's *Chronicon*.⁹⁸¹

Despite Orderic's obvious awareness that his *Historia ecclesiastica* had developed into much more than a narrow depiction of his home foundation, there exists ample evidence to suggest that his initial remit was much narrower. Several instances show him apologising for apparent digressions away from his main theme, after the following passages: his depiction of the Giroie

⁹⁷⁴ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 33.

⁹⁷⁵ Wolter, *Ordericus; ein Beitrag*, p. 112.

⁹⁷⁶ Orderic, *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 56-65; vol. 4, pp. 10-75.

⁹⁷⁷ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 218-23.

⁹⁷⁸ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 6-11.

⁹⁷⁹ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 4-191.

⁹⁸⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 33-4.

⁹⁸¹ For further discussions of Eusebius, see Glenn F. Chesnut, *The first Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius*, (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977); on Orderic's contact with John's *Chronicon*, see: *HE*, vol. 5, pp. 186-9.

family;⁹⁸² his summary of tenth-century English monastic reforms;⁹⁸³ his lengthy account of the history of the archbishops of Rouen;⁹⁸⁴ his record of the circumstances surrounding the foundation of Shrewsbury Abbey by Roger Montgomery and Orderic's father, Odelerius;⁹⁸⁵ and his abridged history of the cult of St Nicholas of Myra.⁹⁸⁶ On each occasion, Orderic displayed an awareness that he had strayed from his original intended subject matter. Following the history of the Rouen archiepiscopacy, Orderic wrote, 'Now my purpose is to return to the intended course of my narrative, and I ask you, kind reader, to forgive me. For I have digressed at great length...'⁹⁸⁷ His abbreviated version of the translation of St Nicholas of Myra in his sixth book, ended with a statement that, 'Now I will return to my subject, from which I have digressed somewhat.'⁹⁸⁸ It is important to consider from what, in making these statements, Orderic thought he was digressing. It is significant that all of Orderic's apologies for digression appear in the first half of the *Historia*, with no such modesty or self-imposed restrictions shown after the middle of his seventh book. Whether resulting from the passing of his former tutor and potential supervisor John of Rheims, or as a result of his own growing confidence and experiences as a historian, Orderic's expansion of his *Historia ecclesiastica* provides a dramatic illustration of his development and status as a student and author of the past.

A considerable number of Orderic's statements suggest that like Eadmer and Symeon, Orderic had firm beliefs in the importance of creating written records of past events, and that such principles were at least partly influenced by his own experiences as a student of the past. In total, Orderic commented on the intrinsic value of historical information or professed a desire to record and circulate the written record of the past on twelve separate occasions throughout the *Historia ecclesiastica*.⁹⁸⁹ Some such notices were brief indeed. For example, he stated that he wished to record the names of guests at the funeral of William I simply 'for the notice of later generations' (*ad notitiam posteriorum*) as if no further excuse were required for the ensuing list of seventeen

⁹⁸² *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 30-1.

⁹⁸³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 246-7.

⁹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 94-5.

⁹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 150-1.

⁹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 74-5.

⁹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 94-7: '*Ad lineam propositae relationis remeare volenti, o benigne lector, quaeso, parce mihi. Prolixam digressionem pro Rothomensibus jam feci episcopis, continuam successionem eorum charitative appetens pleniter enucleare posteris.*'

⁹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 74-5: '*Nunc ad inceptam unde aliquantulum digressi sumus redeamus materiam.*'

⁹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 132-3 (twice), 177; vol. 3, pp. 8-9, 50-1, 94-5, 260-1; vol. 4, pp. 104-5, 332-3; vol. 5, pp. 188-9 and 190-1; vol. 6, pp. 136-7.

individuals, which Orderic himself concluded by observing that to add further names ‘would be tedious to enumerate’.⁹⁹⁰

Other notices were more considered. They suggest that like Eadmer, Orderic was motivated to preserve the memory of the past due to his own disappointment at the lack of resources through which he could uncover earlier medieval events. His preface to book six included a commentary on the purposes of the historian’s work, including his observation that histories ‘reveal past events to future generations’, and that without them, knowledge of the subject would ‘vanish into oblivion.’⁹⁹¹ Orderic added a particularly vivid illustration of this in his sixth book when, commenting on a dearth of written sources, he offered his thoughts in the following manner:

...during the terrible disturbances that accompanied the ravages of the Danes the records of former times perished in the flames, along with churches and other buildings; and all the ardent labour and desire of later men has been unavailing to restore them. Some things indeed, which were saved from the hands of the barbarians by the care of our forbears, have since perished (shameful to relate) by the abominable neglect of their descendants, who took no pains to preserve the profound spiritual wisdom recorded in the writings of the Fathers. With the loss of books the deeds of men of old pass into oblivion, and can in no ways be recovered by those of our generation, for the admonitions of the ancients pass away from the memory of modern men with the changing world, as hail or snow melt in the waters of a swift river, swept away by the current never to return.⁹⁹²

The frustrated, and even melancholic, tone of this extract, suggests that Orderic was acutely aware of the fleeting nature of historical memory if it were not written down. His struggles to locate written narrative accounts of the preceding centuries can be seen to have engendered Orderic’s sense of responsibility to ensure that the deeds of his generation did not go similarly unrecorded.

⁹⁹⁰ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 104-5.

⁹⁹¹ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 212-3.

⁹⁹² Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 282-5: ‘*In nimiis enim procellis, quae tempore Danorum enormiter furuerunt, antiquorum scripta cum basilicis et aedibus incendio deperierunt; quae feruida juniorum studia, quamvis insatiabiliter sitiant, recuperare nequeunt. Nonnulla uero, quae per diligentiam priscorum manibus barbarorum solerter erepta sunt, damnabili subsequentium negligentia, pro pudor! interierunt: qui sagacem spiritualium profunditatem patrum libris insertam servare neglexerunt. Codicibus autem perditis, antiquorum res gestae obliuioni traditae sunt; quae a modernis qualibet arte recuperari non possunt, quia ueterum monumenta cum mundo praetereunte a memoria praesentium deficiunt, quasi grando vel nix in undis cum rapido flumine irremeabiliter fluente defluunt.*’

Although the preservation of the past for future generations was a key motivating factor in Orderic's perception of history, such ambitions were intimately linked to Orderic's desire that his historical writing might inform and edify these audiences. A particularly strong illustration of why he believed this to be important appears at the end of his ninth book, in which Orderic explained the contents and aims of book ten. Speaking directly to his readers, he wrote:

I will give a true account of the different events, both prosperous and adverse, which have happened in the course of thirty years, and will record them simply, for the benefit of future generations, to the best of my ability. For I believe there will be some men after me like yourself, who will eagerly peruse the events and transitory acts of this generation in the pages of chroniclers, so that they may unfold the past fortunes of the changing world for the edification or delight of their contemporaries.⁹⁹³

Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* is full of instances in which he employed such theories towards reading the lessons of history. His regular judgements surrounding the morality of its protagonists suggest that the revelation of these moral lessons was never far from Orderic's mind. One of the most pronounced examples of this is that which features in Orderic's verse preface to book eleven.⁹⁹⁴ Composed in the form of a prayer to God that he might protect his people from the evils of the world, Orderic considered the worth of his historical writing, and its place among other, more holy biographical and historiographical traditions. The following extract illustrates this point:

If new miracles were openly performed in these days
I would endeavour to include them faithfully in my chapters;
I believe that a brief account of them would be more
Acceptable to present and future generations, more
Profitable to me, more pleasing to others,
Than vainly to explore and then recount long stories
Of earthly happenings and transient generations.
While I long for great deeds, and yearn to write of marvels,

⁹⁹³ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 190-1: '*maxime spero, de diversis eventibus, prosperis vel adversis, qui per XXX annos contigerunt, veraciter tractabo, et pro posse meo notitiae posterorum simpliciter intimabo. Mei nimirum similes autumo quosdam esse futuros, qui generationis hujus ordines a chronographis avide perscrutabuntur, et actus transitorios, ut coessentibus sibi ad aedificationem seu delectationem retexere possint labentis saeculi casus praeteritos.*'

⁹⁹⁴ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 8-13.

...I am compelled to speak of dark deeds seen and suffered,
I relate the transient doings of men who are fickle,
For love of the world drags down human beings to perdition
And the file of justice does not smooth away the rust from them.⁹⁹⁵

Orderic continued this prayer with further warnings of the 'fierce greed of gain' amongst men, of 'Murders and incest and a thousand crimes', and even warned, dramatically, that 'Leprous sin stains the mad rabble the world over.'⁹⁹⁶

Orderic's views of the wider world in which he lived have been commented upon at length in studies by Chibnall, Musset, Lettinck, and Hingst.⁹⁹⁷ All agree that Orderic's firm faith in monasticism led him to regard the secular world at best with caution, and at worst with fear and scorn. In analysing Orderic's use of biblical typology in his *Historia*, Elisabeth Mégier has also approached this subject, arguing that Orderic's historical writing was at times used as 'divine pedagogy', teaching fear of God's judgement, and that love for Him ensured a better life for those who wished to learn.⁹⁹⁸ Examination of Orderic's ability to use the past as edification offers, therefore, important evidence towards analysing his experiences, abilities and motivations as a historian.

As has been noted above, one of the poems which Orderic added to Alençon, MS 1 and which has been attributed to him as an original composition, reflected on the ills of this world and the temporality of human existence. What is at times a somewhat bleak view of the world within Orderic's *Historia* can be seen to have been formed by his experiences and reports of events which had occurred in his lifetime. While he may have wished to record new miracles and marvels, Orderic was often more struck by the cruelty of the world in which he lived and in particular, the misdeeds of those in power. One of the great anti-heroes throughout the *Historia*

⁹⁹⁵ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 8-9: '*Si fierent istis liquido nova signa diebus/Niterer illa meis ueraciter indere rebus./Credo quod arcta magis praesentibus atque futuris/Grata forent, mihi proficerent, aliisque placerent./Quam de terrenis excursibus, atque caducis/Stemmatibus frustra rimari, uel dare lata;/Inclita dum spiro, mirandaque scribere uellem./Prodigiis implens in Christi nomine pellem./Eius amo laudes, cui totus subjacet orbis./Qui potis est cunctis leuiter nos demere morbis./Cogimur atra loqui, quae cernimus aut toleramus./Instabiles actus mutabilium memoramus/Nam mundanus amor hominum trahit agmen ad ima,/Iustitiae nec eos polit a rubigine lima./Ad mala procliui, quae terrea sunt meditantur/Coelica contemnunt, ea cui non speculantur.*'

⁹⁹⁶ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 10-11. Orderic wrote: '*Quae male seruus eis nimis ingerit ardour habendi/Cedes, incestus et criminal mille notari*', and '*Effera plebs passim scelerum lepra maculatur*'.

⁹⁹⁷ HE, vol. 1 pp. 36-9 and 77-97; Chibnall, *World*, pp. 180-220; Musset, 'L'horizon géographique, moral et intellectuel'; Lettinck, 'Comment les historiens jugeaient-ils leur temps?'; Hingst, *The Written World*.

⁹⁹⁸ Mégier, '*Divina pagina*', p. 111.

was Robert of Bellême, whose ambitious use of force throughout Normandy during Orderic's lifetime earned him constant criticism, and at times outright contempt, which has been characterised by Chibnall as 'relentless hatred'.⁹⁹⁹ Orderic counted Robert among the 'the men of diabolical pride and ferocity' who had gathered around the tumultuous court of Robert Curthose.¹⁰⁰⁰ Orderic's views were almost certainly influenced by Bellême's actions against both the church of Saint-Évroul and other foundations. Orderic recorded that Robert had burned a nunnery at Almenèches,¹⁰⁰¹ the church at Tournay,¹⁰⁰² and had subjugated church lands in Sééz.¹⁰⁰³ In addition, he directly subjected the community of Saint-Évroul to his rule in 1092, with Orderic likely to have been present and in his late teenage years. This saw Robert forcing the monks to perform manual labour and seizing their properties and possessions, resulting in the following situation, according to Orderic's account:

Finally his madness reached such a pitch that almost all the church lands in his neighbourhood were laid waste through his excesses. As a result the monks suffered acutely from want, and Abbot Roger was obliged to seek for supplies from King William in England for the use of the needy, who had lost all their means of sustenance through the tyrant's ravages.¹⁰⁰⁴

These events doubtless impacted on the younger Orderic, who celebrated Bellême's eventual imprisonment in 1112 by declaring that:

After the imprisonment of the tyrant who had disturbed the land and was preparing to add still worse crimes to his many offences of plundering and burning, the people of God, freed from the bandit's yoke, rejoiced and thanked God their liberator...¹⁰⁰⁵

⁹⁹⁹ On Orderic's depiction of Robert, see Chibnall, *World*, p. 52; Kathleen Thompson, 'Robert of Bellême reconsidered', *ANS*, 13 (1991) 261-84 and 'Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Bellême', *Journal of Medieval History*, 20 (1994) 133-41.

¹⁰⁰⁰ *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 34-5: '*militarii probitate insignes, superbia immanes, feritate contrariis hostibus terribles*'.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 36-7.

¹⁰⁰² *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 62-3.

¹⁰⁰³ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 46-7.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 296-7: '*Denique in tantum crevit eiis uesania, ut pene omnes ecclesiasticae possessiones in uicinio, eius depopularentur insolentia. Unde monachi claustrales graui arctati sunt penuria, et Rogerius abbas compulsus est Guillelmi regis subsidium deprecari in Anglia, ad usus egenorum, quibus tiranni depopulatio alimenta sustulerat necessaria.*'

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 178-9: '*Capto itaque tiranno, qui terram turbabat, et multiplicibus rapinis ac incendiis adhuc addere pejora parabat, erepta de iugo praedonis plebs Dei gaudebat, Deoque, liberatori suo, gratias agebat, et Henrico regi longam bonamque vitam optabat.*'

While Orderic deplored acts of cruelty from those who, like Robert, abused their power, his edificatory commentary also saw him commenting on man's place in the world, and especially the ephemerality of human existence. An excellent example is provided by his withering criticism of the court of William Rufus, which filled over four pages of the original manuscript, and included firm condemnation of these men for their time spent idly drinking, playing dice and sleeping all day, and their use of hair curlers and the wearing of shoes so pointed as to make them almost impossible to wear.¹⁰⁰⁶ Orderic's account of the sinking of the White Ship depicts a similar band of wasteful young aristocrats, and is especially critical of the way in which 'many of them had in their hearts no filial reverence for God'.¹⁰⁰⁷ Orderic's monastic stoicism simply could not understand the worth of any of these activities and fashions, and argued that it was his duty and that of other writers to pen 'long laments about the sins and sorrows of this age', 'to criticize and expose to public mockery' such behaviour, and to press his belief that disease, wars, and 'false rulers' were inflictions given by God as punishments for such sinful behaviour.

An extended example of Orderic's moralising may be seen in his account of the events surrounding William the Conqueror's death. Reflecting on the lessons of his posthumous robbery, Orderic again commented on the transitory nature and ultimate worthlessness of William's rule, observing:

Oh, worldly pomp, how despicable you are, how utterly vain and fleeting! It is right to compare you to watery bubbles, one moment all swollen up, then suddenly reduced to nothing. See how that most mighty lord, who once commanded the eager service of more than a hundred thousand men-at-arms, who was feared and dreaded by many people, is now shamefully despoiled by his own followers in another's house, and abandoned on the bare ground.¹⁰⁰⁸

This evaluation of William's reign and its legacy continued over several pages, with Orderic also arguing that the decay of William's corpse during his funeral might also be read on the moral

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 186-91.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 296-7: '*Periti enim remiges quinquaginta ibi erant, et feroces epibatae, qui iam in nauis sedes nacti turgabant, et suimet prae ebrietate immemores, uix aliquem reuerenter agnoscebant. Heu! quamplures illorum mentes pia devotione erga Deum habebant uacuas.*'

¹⁰⁰⁸ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 102-3: '*O secularis pompa, quam despicabilis es! quia nimis uana et labilis es. Recte pluuiialibus bullis aequanda diceris, quae in momento ualde turgida erigeris, subitoque in nihilum redigeris. Ecce potentissimus heros, cui nuper plus quam centum millia militum auide seruiabant, et quem multae gentes cum tremore metuebant, nunc a suis turpiter in domo non sua spoliatus est, et a prima usque ad tertiam supra nudam humum derelictus est.*'

plain, commenting that ‘His bowels, nourished with so many delicacies, shamefully burst, revealing to wise and foolish alike how vain is the glory of the flesh.’¹⁰⁰⁹ Returning to this subject in his epilogue to book seven, Orderic suggested that a greater good (and perhaps a more immediate concern for an audience of Saint-Évroul monks) lay in the study of sacred scripture, which had the power to amend the moral failings of the world in which he lived:

Rich and poor are of the same nature; both fall victims to death and decay. Therefore put not your trust in false princes, O sons of men, but in the true and living God who is the creator of all things. Meditate on the books of the Old and New Testaments, and from them heap up examples to teach you what to shun and what to pursue. Trust not in oppression and become not vain in robbery. If riches increase, set not your heart upon them. For all flesh is grass, and all the goodness therefore falls, but the word of the Lord shall stand for ever.¹⁰¹⁰

The pattern of Orderic’s moralising is therefore fixed. He urged readers to observe and shun the evils of the secular world, but also suggested ways in which these could be avoided. Chief among these was the devotion to religious observances, for which the ultimate rewards were a place in heaven, and even sanctity. For example, in the preface to book three, Orderic spoke of ‘the saints whose praise is sung in authentic writings’, writing that ‘spurning transitory things they formerly gave their minds to things eternal, and abandoned the pleasures of the flesh for the real joys of the spirit’, and observing that thanks to this, the saints were ‘now joined with the angels...in heaven’.¹⁰¹¹ Returning to this theme again in the introduction to his sixth book, Orderic observed the examples set by several other saints, and suggested that the men of his own day had fallen far behind these worthy examples, writing:

...the fathers of old, Martian and Taurin, Silvester, Martin and Nicholas, and other wonderful men, whose tongues were the keys of heaven, who, filled with spiritual gifts,

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 108-9: ‘*Aruina uentris eius tot delectamentis enutrita cum dedecore patuit et prudentes ac infrunitos qualis sit gloria carnis edocuit.*’

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 108-9: ‘*Divitis et pauperis par est conditio, et similiter ambos inuadit mors et putredo. Nolite ergo confidere in principibus falsis O filii hominum, sed in Deo uiuo et uero, qui creator est omnium. Veteris et novi testamenti seriem revoluite, et exempla inde multiplicia uobis capessite, quid cauere, quidue debeatis appetere. Nolite sperare in iniquitate, et rapinas nolite concupiscere. Diuitiae si affluent, nolite cor apponere. Omnis enim caro ut fenum, et omnis gloria ejus ut flos feni. Exaruit fenum, et flos ejus cecidit uerbum autem Domini manet in aeternum.*’

¹⁰¹¹ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 2-3: ‘*Ob hoc beati homines, quorum laus est in authenticis codicibus, et sociati angelis gaudent in coelestibus, contemptis transitoriis inhiabant perennibus, et abhorrentes carnalia salubriter fruebantur spiritualibus.*’

shone forth as the sun in the Church, and who, by the power of the Almighty, who rules over the elements of the world and powers of the air, have now gained their reward and dwell in bliss with their heavenly King in paradise. Their successors, however...enjoy every kind of worldly pomp and wealth, to which most are far too addicted; but they do not shine in the same way with the merits of holiness and the power of miracles and wonders.¹⁰¹²

The frequency with which Orderic highlighted the moral lessons of history confirms that his desire to record the pattern of past events for the edification of readers was one of the major principles which guided his motivation to study and write about the past. His depictions of Robert of Bellême suggest that Orderic was partly motivated by a wish to expose and shame the malefactors of his age based on his own experiences. However, sections of the *Historia* confirm that Orderic also consciously followed previous written precedents, some of them historiographical. Following his depiction of the court of Rufus, Orderic cited five separate passages from the Bible from which he drew moral instruction, and also cited lines of poetry from a certain Giroie Grossivus, who, Orderic noted, had seen ‘how many men of his day fell away from virtue’.¹⁰¹³ Elsewhere, his grand opening preface to book one noted that ‘Our predecessors...have recorded the good and evil fortunes of mortal men as a warning to others’, listing such authors as Moses, Daniel, Dares Phrygius, Pompeius Trogus, Eusebius, Orosius, Bede and Paul the Deacon.¹⁰¹⁴ Although, following Gransden, these may be interpreted as common introductory *topoi*,¹⁰¹⁵ the above discussions have certainly shown that Orderic highlighted such warnings throughout his work.

Orderic’s desire to use the examples of the past as an edificatory tool may be directly attributed to his experiences and knowledge of the wider historiographical canon. The desire to edify audiences has long been established as a key concept within the historiography of the Middle

¹⁰¹² Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 214-5: ‘*Antiqui enim patres, Martialis et Taurinus, Silvester, Martinus et Nicolaus, aliique mirabiles uiri, quorum linguae clauae coeli factae sunt, qui diuinis karismatibus pleni, ut phebus in aecclesia fulserunt, et elementis mundi aereisque potestatibus in uirtute omnipotentis imperantes dominati sunt, iam cum rege suo superna mercede potiti, felices in coelis consistunt. Successores autem eorum, qui potestatis apicem optinent, et rabi uocitantur, atque super kathedram Moisi resident, secularibus pompis et diuitiis, quibus plerique nimium inhiant, multipliciter pollent, sed merito sanctitatis, potentiaque uirtutum et prodigiorum non aequae renitent.*’

¹⁰¹³ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 190-1, especially notes 1-6.

¹⁰¹⁴ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 130-1: ‘*Antiores nostri ab antiquis temporibus labentis saeculi excursus prudenter inspexerunt, et bona seu mala mortalibus contingentia pro cautela hominum notauerunt, et futuris semper prodesse uolentes, scripta scriptis accumulauerunt.*’

¹⁰¹⁵ Gransden, ‘Prologues’.

Ages, and before this also Classical Antiquity.¹⁰¹⁶ In addition to further confirming his status as an experienced student of historiography, Orderic's edificatory commentary also reflects his status as a distinctly monastic historian. Chibnall, Lettinck and Musset have all suggested that Orderic's commitment to Benedictine monasticism contributed to a conservative view of the world outside of the cloister.¹⁰¹⁷ This may be extended, through the suggestion that Orderic's monasticism caused him to regard the innate spirituality of the process of monastic studies, historical writing included. Sections within the *Historia ecclesiastica* suggest Orderic's belief that writing history benefitted the spiritual disposition of the author, not only in terms of the lessons learned from the events depicted, but also through the fact that the actual act of writing it was inherently beneficial to the soul. Chibnall has shown that at some point after the middle of the 1130s, Orderic returned to the first book which he had written (which would eventually become book three) in order to add a preface to a previously blank folio at the front of the manuscript.¹⁰¹⁸ In it, Orderic reminded his readers of the ultimate mission of any monastic scholar. He noted that:

Unending praise of the Creator in all his works is our perpetual duty: for we can never define his ineffable power and greatness, and have no words to describe his perfection and infinite mercy. The books of the Old and New Testament treat all of this; all men of wisdom study and meditate upon it, yet no man can plumb the infinite depths of the wisdom of God. The knowledge of the love of Christ surpasses all human wisdom; and to contemplate it and strive with all our might to follow it is very right and abounding in salvation.¹⁰¹⁹

This extract reinforced Orderic's devotion to his monastic spiritual vocation. Offering the example of the saints who had achieved their place in heaven because they 'abandoned the

¹⁰¹⁶ Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages*, pp. 15-6, 19-20, and 88; Partner, *Serious Entertainments*; Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 27-9. For a detailed review of this theme within the *Gesta regum* of Orderic's contemporary, William of Malmesbury, see: Sønnesyn, *Ethics of History*.

¹⁰¹⁷ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 39-44; Chibnall, *World*, pp. 27-33; Lettinck, 'Comment les historiens' jugeaient-ils leur temps?', pp. 61-77; Musset, 'L'horizon', pp. 107-13.

¹⁰¹⁸ *HE*, vol. 2, p. 2.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 2-3: 'Ad laudandum creatorem in cunctis operibus suis indesinenter instare debemus, cuius ineffabilem potentiam et magnitudinem discutere non possumus, nec efficaciam, qua sublimitas eius et infatigabilis benignitas a nobis enarrari possit, habemus. Inde ueteris et novi testamenti pagina tractat, inde omnis sapiens perscrutatur et cogitat, sed immensitatem profunditatum Dei nemo penetrat. Scientia karitatis Christi supereminet omni humanae prudentiae, quam inuestigare, amplecti totoque nisu sequi iustum est, et plenum salutis perpetuae.'

pleasures of the flesh for the more real joys of the spirit', Orderic argued that intellectual advancement was a route to spiritual advancement.¹⁰²⁰ Inserted at a specific juncture between on the one hand, a life of Christ and the apostles and the history of the early church (as featured in books one and two), and on the other, the history of Orderic's own time, this preface linked scriptural and sacred history with an account of the more recent past, thereby suggesting that the study of such events could lead the way to similar rewards among his own generation.

Sections within Orderic's *Historia* are full of praise for the intellectual achievements of others, and especially those who were known to the author, or whose legacy was felt in his own time. His pride in the efforts of previous generations of scribes and scholars whose efforts had furnished the library of Saint-Évroul is visible (perhaps autobiographically) in Orderic's declaration that 'their example was an inspiration to young monks engaged in the same work' his suggestion that such activities were invaluable in man's quest to 'avoid mental sloth which could harm body and soul alike.'¹⁰²¹ Similarly, Orderic's epitaph praised Abbot Osbern as 'well-versed in letters from childhood, a fluent speaker and a gifted craftsman' of whose teaching, Orderic wrote that 'So, preventing idleness, he wisely bent their young minds to useful employment and prepared them richly to receive the treasures of learning'.¹⁰²²

Orderic's belief in the fundamental values professed by these scholars and illustrated by their work lay not only in the simple fact that they enabled others to obtain a deeper appreciation of sacred scripture. A further extract from book three of the *Historia* suggests that Orderic was instructed to believe that spiritual benefit was obtained by the very act of study itself, especially in its uses towards avoiding the sin of idleness. Orderic's emphasis on the wickedness of sloth can be seen throughout the *Historia ecclesiastica*. Such accusations were levelled at numerous secular personalities whose actions Orderic wished to criticise, including the wasteful courtiers of William Rufus,¹⁰²³ and the ineffectual Duke Robert Curthose, whose tenure Orderic saw as ruined by his lax attitude to controlling his magnates.¹⁰²⁴ By contrast, Orderic regularly instructed his readers to follow examples such as Bohemond, 'who never indulged in idleness or

¹⁰²⁰ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 2-3: '*abhorrentes carnalia salubriter fruebantur spiritualibus.*'

¹⁰²¹ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 48-53, at pp. 50-1: '*exemplis suis ad simile studium secuturam iuuentutem salubriter cohortati sunt. Hos uir Domini Teodericus docebat, et sepe commonebat, ut uagae mentis ocia omnino deuiterent, quae corpori et anime ualde nociua esse solent.*'

¹⁰²² Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 106-7: '*ab infantia litteris admodum eruditus*', and '*Sic otia depellens iuueniles mentes intentione utili sagaciter onerabat, easque futuro tempore scientiae diuitiis ditatas praeparabat.*'

¹⁰²³ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 188-9.

¹⁰²⁴ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 106-7; vol. 4, pp. 114-5, 146-9; vol. 5, pp. 26-7, 300-3; vol. 6, pp. 22-5.

indolence'.¹⁰²⁵ It is likely that this stance was influenced by Chapter 48 of the *Rule of St Benedict*, which laid down careful rules for the ways in which monastic studies could replace manual labour.¹⁰²⁶ One section of Orderic's third book suggests that as a youth, he was taught that all monastic studies contributed towards the spiritual disposition of the scholar. In describing the extent to which Abbot Thierry and his contemporaries founded the library of Saint-Évroul, Orderic put into writing a lesson that he claimed was taught by Thierry. He wrote:

The venerable Thierry taught these young men, urging them repeatedly to avoid mental sloth which could harm body and soul alike. He used to tell them the following story: 'In a certain monastery there dwelt a brother who had committed almost every possible sin against the monastic rule; but he was a scribe, devoted to his work, who had of his own free will completed a huge volume of the divine law. After his death his soul was brought for judgement before the throne of the just judge. While the evil spirits accused him vehemently, bringing forward all his many sins, the holy angels showed in his defence the book that he has written in the house of God; and the letters in this huge book were carefully weighted one by one against his sins. In the end one letter alone remained in excess of all the sins; and the demons tried in vain to find any fault to weight against it. So the judge in his mercy spared this brother, and allowed his soul to return to his body for a little while, so that he might amend his life.'¹⁰²⁷

Orderic noted that Thierry taught this lesson in communicating the belief that 'a thousand demons assault the slothful monk and prick him with so many temptations', and that the only remedy was to 'Pray, read, chant psalms, write' in order to 'arm yourselves with them against the wiles of the devil.'¹⁰²⁸ Orderic's knowledge of this story suggests that Thierry's lesson was

¹⁰²⁵ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 70-1: '*Buamundus pigriciae uel somnolentiae nunquam adquiescens*'.

¹⁰²⁶ St Benedict of Nursia, *Regula cum commentariis*, Patrologia Latina, vol. 66, col. 703-4, accessed online at http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/all/fulltext?ACTION=byid&ID=Z300034544&WARN=N&TOCHITS=N&ALL=Y&FILE=../session/1351950584_5887 on: 11-11-12.

¹⁰²⁷ HE, vol. 2, pp. 50-1: '*Quidam frater in monasterio quodam de multis transgressionibus monasticae institutionis reprehensibilis exstitit; sed scriptor erat, et ad scribendum deditus, quoddam ingens uolumen diuinae legis sponte conscripsit. Qui postquam defunctus est, anima eius ante tribunal iusti iudicis ad examen adducta est. Cumque maligni spiritus eam acriter accusarent, et innumera eius peccata profferrent, sancti angeli e contra librum, quem idem frater in domo Dei scripserat, ostentabant; et singillatim litteras enormis libri contra singula, peccata computabant. Ad postremum una sola littera numerum peccatorum excessit, contra quam daemonum conatus nullum objicere peccatum praevaluit. Clementia itaque iudicis fratri pepercit, animamque ad proprium corpus reverti praecepit, spatiumque corrigendi vitam suam benigniter concessit.*'

¹⁰²⁸ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 50-3: '*unus solummodo daemon tentando uexat laborantem in bonis monachum; mille uero daemones impugnant otiosum, innumerisque tentationum iaculis undique stimulum cogunt fastidire monasteriale*

passed down the generations of Saint-Évroul monks down to his own day. Moreover, it allows the conclusion that his perception of monastic studies was grounded in an adherence to the inherent spiritual benefits associated with reading and studying. With elements of his history bridging the ground between sacred history and moral edification it is therefore possible to suggest that Orderic held highly developed perceptions regarding the place of his historical writing in an overall programme of monastic studies: studies which were an essential weapon in the armoury of monastic scholars who conducted such studies in pursuit of spiritual perfection.

Orderic's use of biblical typology and analogy must also be considered as a reflection of his status as a distinctly monastic historian. This aspect of Orderic's writing has been commented on at length by Mégier, who cited over thirty episodes in which the narrative of the *Historia ecclesiastica* applied typological or allegorical comparisons to biblical narrative.¹⁰²⁹ One of the best examples of this occurs in the narration of events surrounding William Rufus' siege of Rochester castle in 1088, in which Orderic observed that the outbreak of disease among the defenders played a key role in their surrender. Orderic, who took the side of Rufus, used biblical typology to heighten the case of the victors, arguing that:

In the town of Rochester, a plague like one of the plagues of Egypt broke out. In this way God, who always directs and justly disposes human affairs, repeated old miracles in modern times. Just as lice molested the Egyptians, biting them without a moment's respite from their persecution, so flies incessantly plagued the besieged.¹⁰³⁰

Despite the suggestion that Rufus had won through divine action, this extract should not be taken out of its original context. Taken as a whole, Orderic's narration of the events at Rochester was designed to highlight the difficulties that Rufus faced upon succeeding to the English throne, and especially to both criticise the actions of 'evil-doers and criminals of all kinds' who had 'resorted to plunder and slaughter and other crimes' and highlight the clemency of the king, which,

claustrum', and 'Orate, legite, psallite, scribite, aliisque huiusmodi actibus insistite, eisque contra daemonum tentamenta uos sapienter armate.'

¹⁰²⁹ Mégier, 'Divina Pagina', especially at pp. 109-10.

¹⁰³⁰ HE, vol. 4, pp. 128-9: 'In oppido Roffensi plaga similis Ægyptiorum plagae apparuit, qua Deus qui semper res humanas curat et iuste disponit, antiqua miracula nostris etiam temporibus recentia ostendit. Nam sicut sciniphes importunitate sua Ægyptios infestabant, et nec ad momentum ab infestatione sua circa ipsos cessabant, ita muscae obsessos incessanti molestia importune uexabant.'

Orderic argued, would lead to ‘more devotion in the years that followed’.¹⁰³¹ On the whole, although Orderic’s use of biblical exemplars added a spiritual sheen to his edificatory ambitions, there is little to support the possible conclusion that he did so in a search for God’s hand within world affairs. In identifying and commenting at length on Orderic’s deployment of biblical typology within the *Historia*, both Chibnall and Mégier concluded that this should be seen more as a simple reflection of his education and monastic vocation, rather than any sustained desire to conduct a full-scale exposition of God’s hand in contemporary history.¹⁰³² Mégier, in particular, suggested that Orderic’s use of biblical typology was used to illustrate a number of themes which were mostly related to human behaviour rather than divine agency, and which do not illustrate any one consistently-applied theme throughout their use.¹⁰³³

Orderic’s own testimony supports these views. In the middle of his eighth book, he observed that ‘I find many things in the pages of Scripture which, if they are subtly interpreted, seem to resemble the happenings of our own time.’¹⁰³⁴ However, Orderic then suggested that it was not his place to develop or interpret these observations, noting humbly that he would: ‘leave the allegorical implications and explanations appropriate to human customs to be interpreted by scholars, and propose now to relate a little further the simple history of human affairs.’¹⁰³⁵ In this way, Orderic suggested that although the use of biblical typology allowed him to edify his readers, he did not wish to extend this to a full-scale analysis of universal history.¹⁰³⁶ Despite his claims, Orderic’s completed *Historia ecclesiastica* has been seen to reflect many of the themes of universal history.¹⁰³⁷ But while his decision to expand the scope of his narrative to include the Life of Christ, the deeds of the apostles and the development of the early church, and his stated interest in the world chronicles which he had found at Worcester and Cambrai, might be used to suggest that Orderic wrote universal history, the finished version of his *Historia ecclesiastica* is different enough to suggest that Orderic was writing for other purposes. While John’s world

¹⁰³¹ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 134-5: ‘*Nam iniqui et omnes malefactores, ut audaciam regis et fortitudinem uiderunt, quia praedas et cedes, aliaque facinora cum auiditate amplexati fuerant, contremuerunt, nec postea xii annis quibus regnauit mutire ausi fuerunt*’.

¹⁰³² Mégier, ‘*Divina pagina*’, at pp. 110-1; *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 48-55, at p. 48.

¹⁰³³ Ibid., pp. 110-1

¹⁰³⁴ *HE*, vol. 4, pp. 228-9: ‘*Multa intueor in diuina pagina, quae subtiliter coaptata nostril temporis euentui uidentur similia*’.

¹⁰³⁵ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 228-9: ‘*Ceterum allegoricas studiosis rimandas relinquam, simplicemque Normannicarum historiam rerum adhuc aliquantulum protelare satagam*’.

¹⁰³⁶ Mégier, ‘*Divina pagina*’, pp. 114 and 120.

¹⁰³⁷ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, vol. 1, pp. 152 and 155-6; Smalley, *Historians*, p. 88; *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 34-5; Chibnall, *World*, p. 173-5 and 177-80.

chronicle suits Idisore's depiction of *annales* in its deployment of historical information arranged in chronological order, Orderic's *Historia* contained narrative history, in which he was free to move in time, place and subject, and which was far less rigid in its structure than John's work.

Orderic's declaration noted above suggests that he was not interested in expounding the significance of God's hand in shaping human affairs, or that even if he was, he did not feel qualified to do so. This provides strong evidence for the analysis of Orderic's self-perception as a historian, confirming that he preferred to simply record, preserve and circulate the events of the past, rather than to conduct a full-scale analysis of any theological dimensions within the events of his own time. For him, it was enough to simply record the past so that future generations of Saint-Évroul monks might know more of their community, who had shaped its development, and who, through poor moral action, had threatened its position. Orderic's beliefs in the spiritual values of history were rooted in his commitment to the pedagogical readings of the past, as shown above, and in his conviction that study and learning was the route to spiritual advancement. As Orderic wrote in the verse preface to his eleventh book:

I write the deeds of kings and bishops;
...make them plain to the novices.
...I am compelled to speak of dark deeds seen and suffered,
I relate the transient doings of men who are fickle
...Prone to every evil, they brood on earthly matters
And scorn things celestial, so bent they cannot see them.¹⁰³⁸

By the time he composed this section in the second half of the 1130s, Orderic appears to have developed a sophisticated understanding of the ways in which records of the past could identify the evils of the world and, on the other hand, laud the deeds of those who strove against them.¹⁰³⁹ While this aspect of his work cannot be shown to have provided his initial impetus to begin writing history (owing more as it did to the general requirement of an official house history and perhaps also the commission from Abbot Roger) it was certainly an unavoidable facet of his historical method, present from an early stage of his work right through to the final judgements

¹⁰³⁸ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 8-9: '*Pontificum, regumque senex nunc scriptito gesta;/Sexagenus ego pueris ea do manifesta...Cogimur atra loqui, quae cernimus aut toleramus,/Instabiles actus mutabilium memoramus...Ad mala proclivi, quae terrea sunt meditantur,/Coelica contemnunt, ea curui non speculantur.*'

¹⁰³⁹ On the composition of book 11, see *HE*, vol. 1, p. 47.

surrounding the disorder seen during rule of King Stephen at the end of book thirteen of the final version of the *Historia ecclesiastica*.¹⁰⁴⁰

The discussions featured within this chapter have explored some of the ways in which Orderic Vitalis' *Historia ecclesiastica* may be viewed as a product of the education, experiences, personal interests and motivations of its author. This has suggested that Orderic was an avid student of the art of historical writing, and some of the conceptual theories that lie behind the writing of the past. However, as noted above at length in chapter three, medieval historians approached their writing with few rigid constraints. This discussion has shown that Orderic was no different. While he indicated some of his wider interests within the interpolations to William of Jumièges' *Gesta Normannorum*, the independence and experience which Orderic had built up over the course of subsequent years enabled him to compose the *Historia* in a way that was more relevant to his knowledge and concerns. Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* was a multifaceted work, representative of numerous influences and complimentary ambitions and related to a desire to highlight institutional traditions of commemoration and identity, edificatory anecdotes and treatises, sacred and secular biography, and even (in the case of book one) aspects of biblical interpretation and gospel corroboration. Orderic directed all of his energies, talents and personal interests towards the work, resulting in a text that represents more of an encyclopaedia of his world view organised along the thread of institutional identity and community, rather than a carefully-selected series of events designed to argue a single case such as seen in Eadmer's *Historia novorum*. If, as suggested by Shopkow, this resulted in a text whose reading was complicated by its 'mixing of genres' and a perceived 'lack of reader interest' outside of the community for which it was written,¹⁰⁴¹ the discussions featured in this chapter have shown some of the reasons why this may have been the case.

This chapter has reviewed the entire known corpus of evidence relating to Orderic's activities, interests and experiences as a scholar, showing that Orderic was not just an author of history, but also a knowledgeable reader of the Bible and its interpretation, a skilled student and author of original poetry and rhythmic prose and with this also possibly a musician, an experienced and driven student and author of hagiography, and probably also a cantor-librarian. Directing all of these experiences into its composition, Orderic envisioned his *Historia ecclesiastica* on multiple

¹⁰⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 530-47.

¹⁰⁴¹ Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 208.

conceptual levels. Although his original stated aim was to provide an official history of his community,¹⁰⁴² Orderic did not just describe the essential events that made up this story in order to produce the kind of sleek and directed narrative seen in Symeon's *Libellus de exordio*. In fact, Orderic took every opportunity to engage with other additional facets of history. This saw him venerating the lives and deeds of the individual (whether secular, ecclesiastical or sanctified), disseminating knowledge of wider events or personalities from the past otherwise unrecorded or unknown amongst his audiences, and identifying the relative virtues or failings among great numbers of his protagonists. Orderic also stressed the uses of historical writing in bestowing the knowledge of past times on to later generations; something that he himself felt on numerous occasions. It has also been suggested that Orderic's monastic vocation cultivated his belief in the edificatory aspects of historical studies, while following this, discussions also proposed that Orderic's monastic context of composition fostered a belief that the act of writing history itself held an important place in the monastic spiritual curriculum.

Although it is possible to argue that these aspects of the *Historia ecclesiastica* diverted Orderic away from his original brief to narrate the origins and progress of his community at Saint-Évroul, the bulk of the work remained shaped by Orderic's ambition to provide an account of the history of his community. This is because almost all of the events depicted impacted on the fortunes of Saint-Évroul, whether directly or indirectly. A host of examples illustrate this point. Book three narrated the circumstances through which the abbey of Saint-Évroul was re-established and endowed during the 1050s and the 1060s. In doing so, Orderic chose to narrate the circumstances through which several important donors decided to give lands to the community. This decision resulted in several biographies of patrons and notes on their family history, including, amongst others, the Giroie family,¹⁰⁴³ Robert of Grandmesnil (later abbot of Saint-Évroul),¹⁰⁴⁴ Mabel of Bellême,¹⁰⁴⁵ and William of Montreuil.¹⁰⁴⁶ Orderic's account of Duke William's attack on the county of Maine, although at first discursive, is in fact made relevant because Abbot Osbern bought captured lands for the community of Saint-Évroul, which were subsequently disputed by successive occupants of Maine.¹⁰⁴⁷ Likewise, his abbreviated *Life* of St Judoc was added

¹⁰⁴² *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 130-1; vol. 3, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 22-41.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 41-3.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 54-7.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 58-65.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 116-21.

following his description of how the church holding Judoc's relics at Parnes came into the property of Saint-Évroul, following donation by Foucher of Chaudry.¹⁰⁴⁸

As accounts of important patrons recorded the ways in which they had increased the standing of Orderic's home foundation, so a number of threats and malefactors also harmed the reputation and even the residents of Saint-Évroul. Depicting the actions of Robert of Bellême allowed Orderic to provide numerous examples of the evils brought about by ambition and the search for temporal gain. However, Orderic did not include these stories simply because he wanted to use Robert as a negative example, but rather because the deeds of Robert and his contemporaries also had a huge impact on the position of Orderic's community and other nearby foundations. Orderic's testimony records that Robert Bellême's castle-building encroached on the lands of St Peter of La Couture and St Vincent the martyr,¹⁰⁴⁹ that Robert destroyed the nunnery at Almenèches,¹⁰⁵⁰ the church at Tournay,¹⁰⁵¹ and had subjugated church lands in Séez.¹⁰⁵²

A note on the locations involved highlights the fact that many of the episodes featured in Orderic's later books on wider secular and ecclesiastical affairs in fact took place in the immediate surroundings of Saint-Évroul. As noted above, Robert of Bellême forced the monks of Saint-Évroul to assist in his castle-building in 1092.¹⁰⁵³ Orderic's later account of wars on the southern Norman border with France featured actions in nearby Alençon,¹⁰⁵⁴ Évreux,¹⁰⁵⁵ and Noyon.¹⁰⁵⁶ Orderic's account of the battle at Tinchebray in 1106 was followed immediately by a notice on the submission and surrender of Robert of Bellême, and a treatise on the firm but peaceful government of Henry I.¹⁰⁵⁷ Little wonder then, that Orderic was pleased to depict the defeat of his anti-hero and with it, to note the presence of many of Saint-Évroul's benefactors and defenders of its environs at the battle, including William of Évreux, William of Warenne, and Robert of Grandmesnil.¹⁰⁵⁸

¹⁰⁴⁸ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 152-69.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 226-7.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 32-3 and 36-7.

¹⁰⁵¹ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 62-3.

¹⁰⁵² Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 46-7.

¹⁰⁵³ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 296-7.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 178-9; 194-7; 204-9; 224-5; 438-9 and 446-7.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 188-9 and 228-30.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 236-41.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 78-101.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 84-5.

Taking into account the example of Robert, Orderic was naturally happy to recount the deeds of those who had striven to protect the lands around his foundation. Robert of Grandmesnil and his brothers-in-law Hugh of Montpinçon and Robert of Coury were said by Orderic to have ‘resisted the fierce brigands as well as they could, and struggled to defend their country’ during the tumultuous tenure of Duke Robert Curthose.¹⁰⁵⁹ These events were of immediate importance to the position of the community at Saint-Évroul, and suggest that while Orderic used every opportunity to highlight the moral message of the events that he depicted, their inclusion was in fact rooted in an ambition to explain the present state of his immediate environment, rather than in teaching morals alone. After noting that Gilbert of Auffay had donated the church of St Mary at Auffay to the monks of Saint-Évroul, Orderic then gave a brief history of Gilbert’s family, which culminated in his note that both Walter of Auffay and his wife Avice were buried in the cloister of Saint-Évroul under one of Orderic’s verse epitaphs.¹⁰⁶⁰ Likewise, Orderic’s notice of Robert of Rhuddlan’s gifts to Saint-Évroul in book eight was accompanied by a detailed summary of Robert’s life and notable deeds in the Welsh marches, his death and the eventual entombment of his body in the cloister of Saint-Évroul.¹⁰⁶¹ Elsewhere, Orderic expanded Baudry of Bourgeuil’s narrative of the siege of Antioch by recording that William and Aubry of Grandmesnil had been present at and escaped the siege after enduring great peril.¹⁰⁶²

In this way Orderic made even an account of the first crusade of immediate relevance to a Saint-Évroul audience who would have been aware that these brothers were sons of one of the founding fathers of their community. The relevance of Orderic’s extensive account of Robert Guiscard’s wars in southern Italy and the Byzantine Empire in may also be understood to have contributed to the contemporary knowledge relating to the history of the community at Saint-Évroul.¹⁰⁶³ Orderic noted that Abbot Robert of Grandmesnil died at Saint-Eufemia during the course of these wider events,¹⁰⁶⁴ and also acknowledged that after his death, Guiscard was eventually buried at the abbey of Holy Trinity Venosa, which, Orderic added, was governed by Abbot Berengar, an alumnus of Saint-Évroul who ‘had been educated at Saint-Évroul by the holy father Thierry’.¹⁰⁶⁵ While the scope of Orderic’s narrative expanded in ever-widening arcs

¹⁰⁵⁹ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 24-5.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 246-61.

¹⁰⁶¹ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 134-143.

¹⁰⁶² Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 96-9.

¹⁰⁶³ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 10-38.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 22-5.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 38-9: *‘Teodericus archimandrita pius apud Vticum educauerat’*.

throughout the remaining ten books of his *Historia*, these examples show that the history and development of the monastery of Saint-Évroul remained a defining thread.

Chapter 8: Conclusions: Custodians of their Sacred Past

Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic all studied and narrated the story of past events in broadly similar environments of study. This thesis has discussed the extent to which they were able, demonstrably and suggestively, to access a core of established historiographical paradigms, which were among the most widely-read works of history in the Anglo-Norman context.¹⁰⁶⁶ These include Josephus' *De antiquitate Iudaica* and *De bello Iudaico*, Eutropius' *Breuiarium historiae Romanae*, Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos*, Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*, and Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. The collection of these texts at Christ Church, Durham, and Saint-Évroul suggests the existence of a near-standardised selection of works from the genre of narrative history. If studied as part of an established programme of instruction in historical studies, these textbook exemplars of historiography carried the potential to inform contemporary understandings of the nature, and the diverse purposes, of historical writing.

In addition to these established examples of narrative *historia*, other types of historical texts were collected, collated and presumably also studied at Christ Church, Durham and Saint-Évroul. All three foundations collected shorter annals and chronicles, from the Easter-table annals found at Durham and Saint-Évroul,¹⁰⁶⁷ to longer, semi-narrative chronicles such as the two Anglo-Saxon chronicles from Christ Church, and the three examples from Durham comprising the world chronicle, the account of early medieval history relating to Anglo-Saxon and Continental affairs, and the longer and even more detailed Durham *Historia regum*.¹⁰⁶⁸ Hagiographical texts provided biography of past individuals, and further contributed to the established canon of potential historical sources and models. While book list evidence suggests a well-established programme of collecting various saints' lives, passions and miracles at Saint-Évroul, Christ

¹⁰⁶⁶ Gameson, *MENE*, pp. 24-5.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS Hunter 100, fols. 27v-41r, and Glasgow, University Library MS Hunter 85, fols. 18r-26v.

¹⁰⁶⁸ For the former items, see Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 139, fols. 48r-50v, and Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.22, fols. 3r-5v. The original manuscript of the *Historia regum* is now lost.

Church and Durham appear to have gathered together smaller groups of hagiographical texts relating to those saints to which their respective communities had particular links.

Despite Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's demonstrable access to and engagement with many of the potential sources and models of historical writing which were available to them at their respective home foundations, the resultant character of their own historical texts demonstrates that in fact, the study and writing of history in the Middle Ages cannot be understood through the reconstruction of a single and consistently-observed understanding of the genre, whether or not it was labelled history, or *historia*, in the medieval period. Although Eadmer, Symeon, and Orderic all investigated, recorded, and analysed the history of past events in their historical writings, and although all three were able to draw from a broadly similar pool of historiographical models, to group all of their respective texts under the umbrella of 'history' ignores the distinct and idiosyncratic nature of their aims, sources, and respective characters as authors of the past. Schneidmüller articulated this point in his observation that:

Naturally, every historian displays personal tendencies: One has a great love for detail, the next shows instead a feel for the spirit of the times. Some historians take a critical stance toward the textual traditions shaping their sources, and others prefer simple storytelling. Some have a talent for assembling detailed facts, while others are preoccupied with isolating large structures and processes. The extent to which these conceptualisations and their forms of presentation win credit in the academic and public spheres depends largely on their compatibility with the sources, against which or without which history cannot be written.¹⁰⁶⁹

The activities of the three authors in question can be interpreted in light of Schneidmüller's statement. Eadmer of Canterbury used the term *historia* to describe his account of the archiepiscopacy of his colleague and close friend, Anselm. The vision of history featured in his *Historia novorum in Anglia* was one which drew heavily on Eadmer's experiences in the study and writing of hagiography in order to produce a biography of Anselm's public deeds. Although Eadmer stressed this aim in his preface in no uncertain terms, the final version of his *Historia* provides a valuable source for the study of the English church and its relations with the crown

¹⁰⁶⁹ Bernd Schneidmüller, 'Constructing the Past by means of the Present: Historiographical Foundations of Medieval Institutions, Dynasties, Peoples and Cities', in: *Medieval Concepts of the Past*, eds., Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick Geary (Cambridge: 2002), pp. 167-92, at: p. 168.

and papacy during Anselm's pontificate. There is strong evidence to suggest that it was known as such by Eadmer's contemporaries and immediate successors. William of Malmesbury cited Eadmer as a key source on several occasions within his own works, and even described Eadmer as a 'historian', while noting his 'praiseworthy standard of truth' (*'historicus, sinceritate ueritatis laudandus'*).¹⁰⁷⁰ Although he did not mention Eadmer's influence directly, John of Worcester has also been shown to have used the *Historia novorum* as a key source for entries covering the years 1091-1121 within his world chronicle.¹⁰⁷¹

Eadmer wrote history in an environment which was home to numerous exemplars of narrative history, hagiography, historical annals and extended chronicles of national importance, but his *Historia novorum in Anglia* bore little reference to any of these potential sources and models. Although his text matched Isidore's definition that *historia* constituted 'a narration of deeds accomplished', and that 'through it what occurred in the past is sorted out',¹⁰⁷² Eadmer does not seem to have engaged with the theories of history laid down by Augustine, Cassiodorus, Isidore, or any of the various historiographical exemplars which had come before. Despite the fact that it transmitted a detailed record of archiepiscopal history in England between c.1070 and 1122, Eadmer regarded his *Historia novorum* as a personal monument to his subject, Anselm, and the public role in which he had participated, which was, as Eadmer noted himself, the subject of considerable debate in succeeding generations.¹⁰⁷³

Through his own hagiographical researches, Eadmer was acutely aware of the oblivion to which past-venerated archbishops had been consigned in his own lifetime.¹⁰⁷⁴ His ambition then, was to argue in defence of Anselm's legacy, describing as he himself put it, 'how it came about that...he was so often and for so long absent in exile from the country',¹⁰⁷⁵ and in the face of criticism from 'certain men who to this day with jaundiced minds are your detractors and assert that I have

¹⁰⁷⁰ William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum*, vol. 1, pp. 14-15, 560-1, 572-3.

¹⁰⁷¹ *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, vol. 2, pp. lxxiii-lxiv and vol. 3, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

¹⁰⁷² Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, vol. 1, book 1, ch. XLI: '*Historia est narratio rei gestae, per quam ea, quae in praeterito facta sunt, dinoscuntur.*'

¹⁰⁷³ *Eadmeri Historia*, pp. 217; VA, p. 170.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 251-2; *Anselm: Portrait*, p. 318; Rubenstein, 'Liturgy Against history'; Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, p. xiv.

¹⁰⁷⁵ HRE, pp. 1-2; *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 1: '*Et ea quidem hujus operis intentio praecipua est, ut designato qualiter Anselmus Beccensis coenobii abbas fuerit archiepiscopus factus, describatur quamobrem, orto inter reges Anglorum et illum discidio, toties et tam diu exsulaverit a regno et quem eventum ipsa discidii causa inter eos sortita sit.*'

written too much'.¹⁰⁷⁶ Having boldly declared himself a witness to many of the events within and even a participant, Eadmer's authority was underlined by his choice to narrate 'the things which I have seen with my own eyes and myself heard'.¹⁰⁷⁷ Eadmer's *Historia novorum in Anglia* was to provide the last word on the legacy of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Symeon's principal work of historiography was not labelled a history at all, but rather a *Libellus*. This word might be variously understood as a 'small book', 'petition', 'tract', or 'treatise', but also as 'memorial', and does not necessarily describe a text with historical content.¹⁰⁷⁸ The status of this *Libellus* within the genre of history is derived from the fact that the text narrated and united a series of interrelated events from the Anglo-Saxon past and the Anglo-Norman present: those which Isidore would have described as the records of 'many years or ages'.¹⁰⁷⁹ As shown in chapter six, it is possible that Symeon was regarded by contemporaries as something of an authority on the history of Northumbria. However, the extent to which Symeon might have regarded himself as historian, and the *Libellus* as *historia*, is uncertain. Symeon did not give his work an official title, but rather referred to the work as a *libellus* ('*libelli*') in the opening chapter of his first book.¹⁰⁸⁰ Moreover, he did not claim any aspect of ownership or authorship, and did not name himself once in the text. Symeon's history was designed to narrate the story of a community, and to entrench its inheritance of the vast spiritual and cultural legacy of the first Anglo-Saxon saints of Northumbria, in Oswald, Aidan, Cuthbert, and to a lesser extent, also Bede, rather than an overview of the history of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria.¹⁰⁸¹

The *Libellus* was a work produced by a community for a community. While Symeon was certainly the author down to its original conclusion at the end of book four, he did not work alone. His preface solicited thanks not for a personal effort, but for a team of contributors and an unnamed patron, that is: 'him who ordered this work to be composed and for those who in obedience to him laboured and studied to bring it to completion'.¹⁰⁸² Although he returned to

¹⁰⁷⁶ VA, p. 170: '*Peperci enim incredulitati quorundam qui usque hodie tibi non sincero animo detrahunt, et quae scripsi nimia esse contendunt*'; on the dates of these additions, see: Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 319 and 368-9.

¹⁰⁷⁷ HRE, p. 1; *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 1: '*statui ea quae sub oculis vidi vel audiui*'.

¹⁰⁷⁸ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P.G.W. Glare et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968-82) pp. 1022-3; *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, vol. 1: A-L, prepared by R.E. Latham and D.R. Howlett et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 1595.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, vol. 1, book 1, ch. XLIV, '*Historia autem multorum annorum vel temporum est*'.

¹⁰⁸⁰ LDE, pp. 18-9.

¹⁰⁸¹ On the extensive use of saints in the text and their contribution to the successes of the *Libellus*, see Piper, 'First Generations'.

¹⁰⁸² LDE, pp. 4-5.

make later adjustments, Symeon was not responsible for copying either of the two main manuscripts of the text, which are likely to have been intended for Durham audiences: one for Bishop Ranulf Flambard,¹⁰⁸³ and one for the monastic community. He openly encouraged later readers to continue or to re-draft the text, suggesting that ‘those more skilled than I may, if what I have done does not please them, find in my work the materials with which to create a work more suitable to their expertise’.¹⁰⁸⁴ The two continuations of his completed work which now appear in the Durham Cosin manuscript show that Symeon’s aspiration was granted, and that his history of community continued to be read and used throughout the history of medieval Durham.

Compared to Orderic’s work, Symeon’s *Libellus* is a relatively short piece, including only the information which he considered directly relevant to the development of his community. Unlike Orderic, who expanded his version of in-house history in order to provide a wider record of deeds relating to those individuals whose legacies were remembered in benefaction and confraternity at Saint-Évroul, Symeon recorded only the benefactions. Donors and supporters of the community, such as Earls Uhtred and Morcar of Northumbria,¹⁰⁸⁵ move in and out of Symeon’s narrative, but unlike Orderic, he did not pursue them outside the limits of his own self-imposed parameters of house history. The overwhelming majority of Symeon’s protagonists are the bishops, monks and clerks belonging to the community of St Cuthbert, whose memory was enshrined in the story of the community.

Orderic wrote a version of *historia* which, in its final form, moved well beyond the boundaries of those written by Eadmer and Symeon. Like Symeon, Orderic noted that his narrative had originally been requested by his monastic superiors (in his case, Abbot Roger of Le Sap) as an account of his community at Saint-Évroul.¹⁰⁸⁶ Orderic characterised this initial request as a demand for an account regarding ‘the restoration of the abbey of Saint-Évroul’,¹⁰⁸⁷ which, although long desired, had been neglected among his predecessors who, he claimed, ‘shrank from bending their minds to the task of composing or writing down their traditions’.¹⁰⁸⁸ As was the case for Symeon at Durham, Orderic’s monastic foundation had only recently been re-established, in his case around sixty years prior to the start of his writing. As such, Orderic’s

¹⁰⁸³ Aird, ‘The Political Context’, pp. 41-5.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *LDE*, pp. 2-3: ‘*Ea scilicet que sparsim in scedulis inuenire potui, ordinatim collecta digessi, ut eo facilius peritiores si mea non placent, unde sue peritio opus conueniens conficiant, in promptu inueniant.*’

¹⁰⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 148-9 and 182-3.

¹⁰⁸⁶ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 130-1 and vol. 3, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 130-1: ‘*de restauratione Vticensis coenobii*’.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 6-7: ‘*sed ad dictandi seu scribendi sedimen suum renuerunt incuruare ingenium.*’

claim that his predecessors and contemporaries had wanted to read of the ‘deeds of their abbots and of the brethren of their house, and to learn of the building up of its modest property’,¹⁰⁸⁹ suggests that his intended audience had felt a similar need for the establishment of identity and legacy through knowledge of the past as that seen at Durham in Symeon’s lifetime.

Unlike Symeon, Orderic responded to this remit by producing a work which is marked by its author’s desire to collect as much information as possible related to the community of Saint-Évroul. Either through his own personal interest in the past or through an official mandate, Orderic was seemingly unrestricted in the size and scope of his work. From around the mid-1120s onwards, he would spend the bulk of his working life in the search for and narration of the past.¹⁰⁹⁰ This mission saw the narration of not only the history and development of Orderic’s own monastic house in a level of detail which is unparalleled in any other equivalent Anglo-Norman text, but also witnessed Orderic’s interest in events from further afield, from social, cultural and political history close to home on the Norman-French border, encompassing wider developments of the Norman duchy and the Anglo-Norman realm, to an abridged history of the first crusade. Orderic directed all of his knowledge and experience into the *Historia ecclesiastica*. He added his own poems and prayers, explained the various contributions which monks of Saint-Évroul had made to the learning and liturgy of his house, and showed his belief that historical and hagiographical narrative could legitimately appear within the same text. All of these areas of learning appeared under Orderic’s umbrella of *historia*, suggesting that he understood the genre as one which collected all materials pertaining to the past, rather than a more narrowly-defined narration of events related to a particularly concise theme, as seen in the works of Eadmer and Symeon.

Although the range of learning and content included in Orderic’s grand project was vast, it was tied together by Orderic’s expanded understanding of community. His accounts of predecessors, such as the musician Guitmund and the poet John of Rheims, allowed his readers to know whose hands had influenced the rhythms of daily, monthly and yearly worship in their house and its associated daughter houses.¹⁰⁹¹ Likewise, Orderic narrated events from the social and political history of England and the Holy Lands because influential benefactors of Saint-Évroul had made

¹⁰⁸⁹ Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 6-7: *Libenter quippe legissent actus abbatum, fratrumque suorum, et parvarum collectionem rerum suarum, quae ab egenis sed deuotis fundatoribus tenuiter auctae sunt ingenti sollicitudine Patrum*’.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 31-3 and 45-8.

¹⁰⁹¹ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 108-9 and vol. 3, pp. 168-71.

important contributions to this wider world, and two of the most celebrated events of living memory, the conquest of Anglo-Saxon England and the domination of its hinterland, and the conquest of Jerusalem. Both were remembered as divinely ordained. While some, such as the brothers William and Aubry of Grandmesnil had participated on crusade,¹⁰⁹² others such as Robert of Rhuddlan and Hugh of Grandmesnil, had shaped the destiny of Anglo-Norman England.¹⁰⁹³ Having been buried within the monastery of Saint-Évroul, the legacies of Robert and Hugh in particular were felt in more than just the past development of the monastic community, but also by their continued presence within the daily life of the community, and therefore of immediate relevance to his audience.¹⁰⁹⁴

The principal historical works produced by Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic are marked by their considerable differences in content, scope, and form. While Eadmer's version of *historia* derived from his past experiences in the study and composition of historical biography and from his own personal memoirs, Symeon and Orderic searched through many more written accounts in order to tell the story of their respective houses, but with dramatically different results in terms of the size and scope of their respective works. When the character and contents of Eadmer's *Historia novorum*, Symeon's *Libellus* and Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* are compared, they bear as many differences as they do similarities. With this in mind, it is possible, and sensible, to question whether they even belonged to the same genre at all, and whether their original authors and audiences would have regarded them as having done so. However, despite the pronounced differences in their original compositions, Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic shared several underlying concerns and interests in their work as historians. These trends hold important potential towards analysis of the role of the author within the development of the Anglo-Norman historiographical turn.

As has been shown above, Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic all claimed to have been ordered or requested to write their histories. All three authors wrote in response to cultural change and uncertainty, suggesting that at least some of their motivation to discover the past was shaped by contemporary socio-political concerns. Eadmer studied and wrote the history of several prominent Anglo-Saxon saints in a post-Conquest society whose cultural inheritances were subject to renewed debate and reworking, and wrote of Anselm in a world in which the legacy of

¹⁰⁹² Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 96-9.

¹⁰⁹³ Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 142-5, and 336-9.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Hingst, *The Written World*, pp. 102-9.

his great mentor as archbishop was under close scrutiny and apparently intense debate.¹⁰⁹⁵ Symeon depicted the story of a monastic community which had only existed in its present form for twenty to thirty years, had replaced an ousted community of secular canons, and which, through projects such as his *Libellus* and the resurrection of the Durham *Liber vitae*, claimed inheritance of the cultural, spiritual, and probably also the financial legacies of the early Anglo-Saxon church of Lindisfarne, possibly under the threat of a potentially hostile and powerful figure in the form of Bishop Ranulf Flambard.¹⁰⁹⁶ Orderic also wrote a house history on behalf of his recently-established monastic house, and which also claimed to be the inheritor of a displaced early medieval community, complete with the spiritual legacy of its patron, St Évrout. Chibnall and Hingst have suggested that Orderic's community led a similarly precarious existence on the border between Normandy and French-held territories.¹⁰⁹⁷ As noted in chapter seven, above, Orderic's own depiction of the ills inflicted on the community and surrounding countryside by autonomous and at times tyrannical leaders such as Robert of Bellême, illustrates the difficulties faced by his community on the hinterlands of Norman rule.¹⁰⁹⁸

Given the potentially unstable environments in which Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic wrote, it could be argued that the existence of their historical texts was more the result of contemporary social, political and economic circumstance, rather than the product of each author's genuine historiographical mission. Discussions within the introduction to this thesis have shown some of the ways in which modern commentators have explained the development of Anglo-Norman historiography as a long-term interpretation of events witnessed prior to, during, and after, the Norman Conquest.¹⁰⁹⁹ However, while previous studies in this area provide valuable explanations as to why the study of the past was financed and patronised by powerful bodies such as Symeon's monastic superiors, Orderic's abbots, and Eadmer's unnamed contemporaries, this socio-political explanation of historical studies in the Anglo-Norman period does not place sufficient emphasis on the role of history's place within contemporary intellectual structures, nor the role of the intelligent, historiographically-inclined monastic scholar whose task it was to

¹⁰⁹⁵ Southern, 'Aspects 4: the Sense of the Past', pp. 246-56; Rubenstein, 'Liturgy Against History'; Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles*, pp. xiii-xiv. On Anselm's legacy, see Eadmer's comments in: *HRE*, p. 1; *Eadmeri Historia*, pp. 1 and 217, and commentary in: Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 51-2, 57, 64, 139, 180, and 306-7; Southern, *Anselm: Portrait*, pp. 119-21 and 230-5; Gasper, 'Envy, Jealousy', pp. 50 and 66.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Piper, 'First Generations', p. 442; Aird, 'The Political Context'.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Chibnall, *World*, pp. 20-41; Hingst, *The Written World*, pp. 2-3,

¹⁰⁹⁸ For examples, see *HE*, vol. 6, pp. 34-7, 46-7 and 62-3.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Southern, 'Aspects', 4: 'The Sense of the Past', pp. 246-56; Brett, 'John of Worcester and His Contemporaries'; Brett, 'The Use of Universal Chronicle at Worcester'; Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon and the Revival of the English Nation'; Aird, 'The Political Context'; van Houts, 'Historical Writing', pp. 120-1.

research and narrate the desired history to a level that might be considered palatable and ultimately plausible by its intended and potentially-hostile audiences. In assessing the development of Anglo-Norman historiography, the role of the individual author, in the context of his community, should be considered equally, if not more important, than the wider society in and for which he may have written. He, and his community, ultimately decided its aims, investigated and evaluated the sources which underpinned its composition, developed the contents and directed the eventual shape of the completed text, and in the cases of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic, constructed carefully-composed sections of text which introduced the nature and aims of the work, usually in the form of an elaborate introductory preface.

Although it has been argued here and in preceding chapters that Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's respective studies relating to the past represented merely one aspect of their wider corpus of work, there is strong evidence to suggest that all three authors participated in some form of training in the study of the past, and that Eadmer and Orderic at least, may have been assisted by a mentor. This insight into their development as students and authors of the past is crucial towards successfully identifying their respective interests in the past and their development as students and authors of the past.

Although no such figure is known in the career of Symeon, Eadmer and Orderic named a particular individual under whom they had studied during their early adult lives. It is likely that Eadmer's first taste of hagiography was linked to the figure of Osbern, who stands alongside Eadmer as a notable author of original works, and who, like Eadmer, was also described as cantor to the monks of Christ Church.¹¹⁰⁰ Orderic also studied under an individual who is known for having composed text related to the past. In his case, this was John of Rheims, who has been identified as the author of a verse *Life* of St Évrout and a short history of the earliest foundation of the abbey of Saint-Évrout from 1050 onwards.¹¹⁰¹ It is difficult to arrive at a precise evaluation of the roles played by Osbern and John in Eadmer and Orderic's development as historiographers. Although their nocturnal search for relics as noted in chapter five suggests that Eadmer may have been especially interested in Osbern's composition of hagiographical works, Eadmer did not comment on this, nor did he outline the precise nature of their working relationship. Similarly, although Orderic described himself as a pupil or '*discipulus*' of John, his

¹¹⁰⁰ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 250.

¹¹⁰¹ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 20-1, especially p. 20, note 7.

accompanying depiction of John's talents in the study of poetry and biblical exegesis does not allow for a sustained analysis of the ways in which John may have helped to develop Orderic's skills in the study of the past.¹¹⁰²

Regardless of whether or not Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic studied the past under the influence of a mentor, there is evidence to suggest that they, and also Symeon, copied potential sources and models of historical enquiry in the years leading up to the composition of their original historical narratives. Although Eadmer cannot be shown to have studied the collection of existing historical narratives held in the library of Christ Church during his lifetime, he certainly studied and wrote numerous works of hagiography prior to his compilation of the *Historia novorum* and the *Vita Anselmi*. If Southern's dating of the works featured in Cambridge, Corpus Christi Ms 371 is upheld, it can be suggested that by the time he began to add his *Historia* and *Vita* to the manuscript, Eadmer had already completed work on his *Life* of Wilfrid, the *Life* of Odda, the *Life* and the *Miracles* of Dunstan, the *Life*, and the *Miracles* of Oswald.¹¹⁰³ As noted in chapter five above, the majority of this work saw Eadmer revising existing redactions of these texts, with Turner and Muir suggesting that Eadmer's method was 'highly (but by no means totally) dependent on the basic outline and text of Osbern's narrative', and that certain sections of Eadmer's working methods involved 'little more than offering a précis of Osbern'.¹¹⁰⁴ It may be concluded therefore, that by the time he began work on the *Historia novorum* and its accompanying *Vita Anselmi*, Eadmer possessed significant experience in the field of hagiography, which may have been gained under the tutelage of Osbern, and that in comparison, Eadmer cannot be shown to have had any experience in the study or writing of narrative history. This understanding of Eadmer's development suggests that the largely biographical nature of the type of historical enquiry represented in his *Historia novorum* is the direct product of Eadmer's training as a student and author of hagiography rather than narrative history, and that although one near-contemporary witness in William of Malmesbury knew and used it as a source for historical enquiry, Eadmer himself is likely to have regarded himself as a biographer, rather than as a historiographer.

Additions within manuscripts featuring his hand suggest that in contrast to Eadmer, Symeon may have experienced an intensive programme of training in historiography prior to his compilation

¹¹⁰² *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 168-71.

¹¹⁰³ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 367-8.

¹¹⁰⁴ Eadmer, *Lives and Miracles of Saints*, pp. lxix-lxx.

of the *Libellus de exordio*. Although it is impossible to know anything of Symeon's life and studies prior to his arrival at Durham in c.1090, dates provided by Gullick suggest that by the time he came to write the *Libellus* at some point after 1104, Symeon had undertaken work in correcting the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* by William of Jumièges and Eutropius' *Breviarium historiae*,¹¹⁰⁵ had read and made minor scribal and editorial additions to Palladius' account of the Desert Fathers,¹¹⁰⁶ and had copied the whole of two notable collections of texts related to the life and miracles of St Cuthbert.¹¹⁰⁷ With the Cuthbert materials acknowledged as key sources for Symeon's *Libellus*, and other historical narratives by William, Eutropius and Palladius providing useful potential models for the composition of Latin narrative history, it is possible to suggest that these activities provided some form of preliminary training as a student and author of history. The extent to which he retained this interest in the study of the past is suggested by two additional types of historical texts: first, his work in compiling the marginal Easter-table annals of Glasgow, MS Hunterian 85 (T.4.2) and the longer annals of Durham, MS B.IV.22, and secondly, in his likely role in the compilation of the Durham *Historia regum*. Although the study of history does not appear to have dominated the remainder of Symeon's adult working life as it may have done in the case of Orderic, the fact that the *Historia regum* ends unfinished in the year 1129, suggests Symeon's involvement in this particular project of historiography down to the last years of his life.¹¹⁰⁸

Like Symeon, Orderic may also have copied a number of texts relating to the past, as part of his training. Although few of his manuscripts are securely dated, his additions to six surviving collections of *Lives* and *Miracles* of saints,¹¹⁰⁹ the annals of Saint-Évroul,¹¹¹⁰ his work in copying Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*,¹¹¹¹ and the compilation of his own *Historia ecclesiastica* between c.1113 and 1141, suggest that the study of the past provided a constant thread to Orderic's life and works. Chibnall and van Houts have both suggested that Orderic experienced a particular programme of training in the study and writing of history. Chibnall proposed that Orderic had studied history under John of Rheims, and that his additions to the Easter-table annals within the Chapter-Book of Saint-Évroul could be interpreted as his first forays into the recording of

¹¹⁰⁵ Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 27, item 18 and 31, item 43.

¹¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 24, item 1.

¹¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 24 items 2 and 4.

¹¹⁰⁸ *Symeonis Opera*, vol. 2, p. 283.

¹¹⁰⁹ Alençon, BM, MSS 6 and 14; Paris, BNF, MS 6503 and Rouen, BM, MSS 1343, 1376 and 1389.

¹¹¹⁰ Paris, BNF, MS Lat. 10062, fols. 138r-160r.

¹¹¹¹ Rouen, BM, MS 1343 (U. 43).

historical events.¹¹¹² Chibnall and van Houts have both suggested that Orderic's work in copying and interpolating the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* was a crucial factor in his development as a student and author of history, interpreting this work as a staging-point in his ability to transcribe and revise exiting historical narrative, and his composition of new material.¹¹¹³

Similarities in Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's lives are not only seen in their training and compositions as historians. Study of their lives and experiences suggests that all three authors had much more in common. Perhaps the defining aspect of their lives was their vocation as Benedictine monks, and their stated commitment to the monastic ideal. Although Symeon's life before his arrival in Durham is undocumented, he certainly lived the monastic life from c.1090 until his death in 1128-9.¹¹¹⁴ Eadmer and Orderic both joined the monastic order as child oblates and lived their entire lives in devotion to a single community.¹¹¹⁵ Dedication to the monastic ideal is visible in the original writings of all three authors. It is one of the many aspects of Anselm's character praised within Eadmer's *Historia novorum* and *Vita Anselmi*.¹¹¹⁶ In the accompanying *Vita Anselmi*, Eadmer argued that Anselm had realised in his youth that 'there was nothing in the life of men superior to the life of a monk', and even prayed to God that he might fall ill and be accepted into the walls of a monastery.¹¹¹⁷

The concept of monasticism runs throughout Symeon's *Libellus*. His account of Bishop William's removal of secular canons and introduction of Benedictine monks at Durham in 1083 appears at the climax of the story. William, himself noted as a former monk and abbot,¹¹¹⁸ is shown to have asked 'how matters had been arranged in the time of St Cuthbert, when the church was founded',¹¹¹⁹ and was told that 'monks had reverently served' Cuthbert and his cult.¹¹²⁰ As argued in chapter six, above, this axis of monastic life and devotion, and the prestige that it brought to the care of Cuthbert's cult provides a firm foundation to Symeon's belief that Durham's cathedral priory was the true inheritor of Cuthbert's cult and legacy.

¹¹¹² *HE*, vol. 1, p. 29.

¹¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 29; *GND*, vol. 1, pp. lxviii-lxix.

¹¹¹⁴ Gullick provided some speculation in: Gullick, 'Hand', pp. 18-9.

¹¹¹⁵ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*; Southern, *St Anselm: a Portrait in a Landscape*, pp. 406-7; *HE*, vol. 3, pp. 6-9; *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 550-557.

¹¹¹⁶ *HRE*, pp. 25-4; *VA*, pp. 8-11.

¹¹¹⁷ *VA*, p. 5: 'idque concepit apud se, nichil in hominum conversatione monachorum vita prestantius esse'.

¹¹¹⁸ *LDE*, pp. 222-3.

¹¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 226-7: 'Qualiter in initio apud sanctum ageretur Cuthbertum ab illo exquisiti'.

¹¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 226-7: 'monachosque tam uiuo quam ibidem sepulto uenerabiliter seruasse'.

Orderic's commitment to the Benedictine ideal is a ubiquitous theme in his writing.¹¹²¹ His intense pride at the intellectual and spiritual achievements of Saint-Évroul monks and alumni is visible throughout the narrative, and as shown above in chapter seven, is particularly marked in the third book of the *Historia*, through leading monastic scholars such as Abbots Thierry of Mathonville and Roger of Le Sap, the musician Guitmund.¹¹²² Orderic's pleasure at having taken part in a large reform council held at Cluny in 1132 and witnessed by 200 priors and 1212 monks, is noted in his comments that he had the 'joy' of contributing to what he described as a 'glorious company' of fellow monks.¹¹²³

Eadmer, Symeon, and Orderic illustrate the wide variety of activities and scholarly exercises of a major monastic house including: the scribal, in the production of manuscripts and administrative documents; the intellectual, in the pursuit of numerous additional disciplines, such as poetry, music, and *computus*; and the public, in that all three authors participated in the daily rounds of services, and at least in later years, all served as monastic cantor. There are striking similarities in many aspects of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's work as monastic scholars. All appear to have started on the road to original writings by working as scribes at their respective locations, labouring to address the requirements of their monastic libraries through copying whole or significant portions of books from across the entire curriculum of monastic studies, later supervising and reviewing the completed work of other scribes as they gained more responsibility within this same process. These contributions to a diverse array of learning, often dateable to earlier periods of their lives,¹¹²⁴ suggest that Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic all went through the same process of copying and studying existing works from across the whole curriculum before they were granted the right to explore their own original topics.

Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic all graduated to a point where they were trusted with authorial responsibility by their communities. They were all talented polymaths. Each studied the Bible, and all three were well-grounded in its interpretation and the theology which developed from this according to leading patristic and medieval authorities. Eadmer and Symeon produced original

¹¹²¹ Lucien Musset, 'L'horizon géographique, moral et intellectuel d'Orderic Vital, historien Anglo-Normand', in: *Le chronique et l'histoire au Moyen Âge*, ed. Daniel Poirion (Paris, 1984), pp. 101-22, at: pp. 107-9; Nico Lettinck, 'Comment les historiens de la première moitié du XIIe siècle jugeaient-ils leur temps?', *Journal des savants* 1-2 (1985), pp. 51-77, at: pp. 53-4.

¹¹²² *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 48-9 and 108-9.

¹¹²³ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 424-7: '*edo quia gaudens interfui, et tam gloriosum agmen*'.

¹¹²⁴ Gullick, 'The Scribal Work of Eadmer'; Gullick, 'Scribes'; Gullick, 'Hand'; *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 201-3 and Escudier, 'Orderic et le scriptorium'.

works in this area: Eadmer in the form of his *De excellentia gloriosissimae virginis matris Dei* and *De conceptione sanctae Mariae*,¹¹²⁵ and Symeon in his tract on the errors of Origen.¹¹²⁶ Orderic too, showed evidence of an independent mind, directing his learning in biblical studies towards compilation of the eventual first book of his *Historia ecclesiastica*, in which he combined the accounts of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in order to compile an abridged history of the early Christian church.¹¹²⁷

All three authors used various skills in order to fulfil the role of monastic cantor. This was a position likely to have been held during their later years. Each added to important service books at their respective foundations: Eadmer to a Christ Church lectionary, Symeon to Durham's *Liber Vitae* and Cantor's Book, and Orderic to the 'Chapter-Book' of Saint-Évroul.¹¹²⁸ All three authors made important contributions to the supervision of their library collections by overseeing the work of other scribes, and Symeon and Orderic also produced inventories which listed many of the books placed under their care.¹¹²⁹ Symeon and Orderic can also be shown to have held advanced knowledge of the discipline of computistics, and given the importance of this towards the cantor's task, it is likely that Eadmer was also an adept computist. Although the evidence is strongest for Orderic, it can be argued strongly that all three authors were experienced competent musicians, which was an essential area of knowledge for one charged with immediate interjection during the performance of the liturgical hours.

In her studies of reading and literacy in the Carolingian period, Rosamond McKitterick has argued that actually very few monks in the earlier medieval period were able to read and write at a high level, and that those who did might be seen as 'an elite of academics expressing themselves in the formal written language of their own culture'.¹¹³⁰ Although they lived in a different age from that studied by McKitterick, the breadth of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's skills and apparent interests in diverse fields of learning, can be seen to fit McKitterick's description, even within a later Anglo-Norman context. Symeon's career shows this well. He worked on almost every type of Durham book during the period, including those housing

¹¹²⁵ Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 287-98.

¹¹²⁶ Sharpe, 'Errors of Origen'.

¹¹²⁷ *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 130-200.

¹¹²⁸ Gullick, 'Hand', p. 30, item 37, and 31, item 42; *HE*, vol. 1, p. 201.

¹¹²⁹ Gullick, 'Hand', p. 25, item 9; Nortier, *bibliothèques médiévales*, p. 107.

¹¹³⁰ Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Rosamond McKitterick, 'Latin and Romance: an Historian's Perspective', in: *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Roger Wright (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 136.

historical, hagiographical, and computistical works, and works of theology and exegesis. Gullick showed that he copied out two grants from King Edgar of Scotland to the Durham monks in 1097 and 1107,¹¹³¹ copied two precepts from Bishop Ranulf Flambard between 1122-8,¹¹³² and two charters from Ranulf to Durham's monks in 1128.¹¹³³ The broad range of his activities at Durham suggests that Symeon provided work as an experienced and intelligent scribal hand, applying these skills and experience whenever and wherever was necessary, and suggests that he was probably one of only a few men in Durham capable, or given the authority, to do so.

Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's activity within their own respective communities and further afield, sheds important light on their respective roles as students of the past and compilers of original historical works. If all original writing was practised only by a small intellectual elite to which all three authors belonged, at least their initial training as historians may have depended more on their status as leading intellectuals, and less on any particular talent they may have had for historical research, or any special interest they may have had in discovering the past. While this initial impetus to write history may have been conferred rather than sought, their subsequent development as copyists, students and authors of a variety of historical texts, suggests that Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic all in their own ways possessed strong motivations to uncover, record and communicate knowledge of the past.

This thesis has suggested that the individual texts, whose composition in increased numbers between the last decade of the eleventh century and the middle of the twelfth has been seen by modern commentators to have represented a revival of historical studies throughout various centres of study in the Anglo-Norman world, are best understood as products of the distinct and individual circumstances in which they were created, rather than as part of a conscious and uniform programme of historiographical reform. Although modern readers may be quick to identify Eadmer's *Historia novorum*, Symeon's *Libellus de exordio*, and Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica* as distinctly historical texts thanks to their status as records of past events, the arguments presented in this and previous chapters have proposed that such categorisation results in an oversimplified interpretation of each narrative which, as suggested in chapter two, attaches a modern set of expectations onto works produced very far from the mindset of the modern historian.

¹¹³¹ Durham Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Muniments Misc. chs. 556 and 558. See: Gullick, 'Hand', p. 26.

¹¹³² Durham Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Muniments 2.1 Pont. 10 and 2.1 Pont. 11. See: Ibid., p. 30.

¹¹³³ Durham Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Muniments 2.1 Pont. 1 and Pont.2. See: Ibid., p. 30.

What united the histories of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic was not any simple adherence to the intrinsic value of uncovering the story of the past for its own sake, but rather a desire to contribute to the circumstances of the present, through knowledge of the past. Schneidmüller has observed that ‘In any period contemporary needs and yearnings determine why and how we explore the historical record’.¹¹³⁴ The examples of Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic illustrate well the fact that in the monastic historiography of the Anglo-Norman revival of history, these ‘contemporary needs and yearnings’ were key to authors’ very perceptions of the past, its presence and its uses within the daily life of the present.

For authors like Eadmer, Symeon, and Orderic, the experience of everyday life in the monastery was saturated by contact with the past. Christian life in this period demanded the study and interpretation of the historical narrative within the Bible on a daily basis. Regular ceremonial liturgy celebrated the memory of past individuals, including saints, martyrs, church leaders, members and associates of their own foundations, and authors of influential scholarly or doctrinal texts. As participants, and later co-ordinators of these activities (by virtue of their respective cantorships), Eadmer, Symeon, and Orderic gained a unique awareness of the place of the past in memorial traditions which came to define their respective communities. All three authors participated in the memorial of the dead. The media through which they did so were many, and included Durham’s martyrology and *Liber vitae*,¹¹³⁵ the *Liber memorialis* and confraternity notes within the Chapter-Book of Saint Évrout,¹¹³⁶ and numerous individual accounts related to the lives and miracles of saints collected by each of their respective institutions. The very buildings in which these activities were carried out featured conspicuous and permanent monuments to the past, in the form of graves housing the material remains of past community members and benefactors, complete with inscribed epitaphs through which their memories were enshrined in daily consciousness and which, as Amanda Hingst has noted, served as ‘brief poetic histories’.¹¹³⁷

The monastic memorial culture in which all three authors lived both shaped their work as historians, with each author reacting to this environment in his own unique way, and was in its turn shaped by their works. Eadmer’s interests as hagiographer informed him of the precarious

¹¹³⁴ Schneidmüller, ‘Constructing the Past’, p. 167.

¹¹³⁵ Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.24; London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian viii.

¹¹³⁶ Paris, BNF, MS Lat. 10062.

¹¹³⁷ Hingst, *The Written World*, p. 105.

position of the dead, regardless of whether they had been sanctified by previous generations of monks within the same community. Through his own work revising previous texts, Eadmer knew that later authors could rewrite the legacy of an individual, whether a saint or not, and made it his life's mission to set the record of Anselm's life and works as rigidly as he could in his *Historia novorum* and *Vita Anselmi*, all the while enshrining his authority by reminding his audiences that he had witnessed everything first hand. Symeon's *Libellus* was the product of a wider revival of memorial traditions within Durham's cathedral priory. In order to entrench their position as inheritors of St Cuthbert and all that pertained to his cult, his narrative, alongside other conspicuous statements of heritage such as the translation of Cuthbert in 1104 and the revival of the *Liber vitae* at around the same time, made explicit the legacy of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria. Symeon's lists of Durham monks and the Bishops of Lindisfarne-Durham,¹¹³⁸ made these links all the more tangible, and in so doing made use of the monastic memorial of the past towards the problems of the present. Orderic's *Historia* was likewise influenced by his experience of the commemorative memorial at Saint-Évroul, best illustrated by his description of Abbot Osbern's service of family memorial, and the inclusion of poetic epitaphs throughout the narrative.¹¹³⁹ Orderic's acknowledgement that he wanted to preserve the memory of 'those by whose gifts they [the monks of Saint-Évroul] are supported in this mortal life',¹¹⁴⁰ with the intention 'so that alms given in faith may be brought to the knowledge of the novices, and when they make use of them they may know when and by whom they were given, or sold at a price',¹¹⁴¹ illustrates well the ways in which his version of *historia* was intended to contribute to the monastic memorial culture within the community of Saint-Évroul.

The precise locations in which and occasions on which Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's respective historical writings were read cannot be known. However, as products of this memorial culture, and with their potential to contribute to it, it is likely that extracts from their works were read aloud as elements within the type of public memorial instigated by Abbot Osbern at Saint-Évroul, particular feast days related to the foundation of their respective institutions, or those of important individuals (such as saints) featured within all three texts. This ceremonial aspect of their possible intended uses is rendered even more likely by Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic's

¹¹³⁸ *LDE*, pp. 4-15.

¹¹³⁹ *HE*, vol. 2, pp.114-5; *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 198-9; vol. 3, pp. 50-95; 136-9; 178-9; 198-9; vol. 4, pp. 44-7; 112-3; 164-5; 180-1; 304-5; 308-11; vol. 5, pp. 193-5; vol. 6, pp. 38-9; 138-41; 146-7; 152-3; 172-3; 378-9 and 312-3.

¹¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 260-1: '*quorum beneficiis in hac mortali vita sustentantur*'.

¹¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 122-3: '*ut eleemosinae fideliter datae pateant novitiorum notitiae, ut utentes eis sciant a quibus vel quo tempore datae sint uel pretio comparatae*'.

respective tenures as cantors, whose task it may have been to select particularly pertinent public readings, and the works of all three authors show their concern to attract prayerful remembrance for their efforts. Eadmer's preface included a note that he hoped his work would earn him 'from God a good reward'.¹¹⁴² Symeon's preface within the Cosin manuscript of his *Libellus* was more explicit, requesting prayers on behalf of 'both him who ordered this work to be composed and for those who in obedience to him laboured and studied to bring it to completion'.¹¹⁴³ Orderic's acknowledgement that the *Historia* would record the memories of the benefactors of Saint-Évroul for the benefit of future generations, together with Orderic's clear demonstration of authorial ownership, suggests that he too hoped for similar spiritual rewards for his endeavours.¹¹⁴⁴

Although the *Historia novorum*, *Libellus de exordio*, and *Historia ecclesiastica* at times bear more differences than they do similarities, they are fundamentally united by the monastic context, and in particular, a single monastic memorial culture, within and for which they were written. The historical writings of Eadmer, Symeon, and Orderic recorded the foundation, reform or evolution of the communities in which they were written, commemorated and sought to explain the actions of those who had contributed to these developments (whether lay or monastic) and, with all three authors mindful of the ways in which written records of the past could be utilised within the present, noted explicitly that these subjects had been written down so that their descendants might profit from their endeavours and in doing so, preserve their memory and commemoration in generations to come.¹¹⁴⁵

As Patrick Geary suggested for an earlier medieval context, 'for each institution then, the memory of the past was a key to its ability to meet the challenges of the present, and its loss of memory was its greatest danger'.¹¹⁴⁶ This thesis has argued that the best-known works of the authors studied here are best understood in light of the manifold roles they played, and the many ways they had contact with the past. As historians, hagiographers, cantors, and exegetes, Eadmer, Symeon and Orderic were ideally placed to meet the challenges of their own present through their own unique experiences and studies surrounding the discovery and presentation of this past.

¹¹⁴² *HRE*, p. 1; *Eadmeri Historia*, p. 1.

¹¹⁴³ *LDE*, pp. 4-5.

¹¹⁴⁴ *HE*, vol. 2, pp. 114-5 and vol. 3, pp. 122-3 and 260-1.

¹¹⁴⁵ *HRE*, p. 1; *LDE*, pp. 18-21; *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 130-1, vol. 3, pp. 282-5, and vol. 5, pp. 6-7.

¹¹⁴⁶ Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p. 17.

Appendix A: Index of manuscripts at Christ Church, Canterbury during Eadmer's lifetime, c.1060 – c.1130.

Sources:

Richard Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England, (c. 1066-1130)*, (Oxford University Press, 1999).

Richard Gameson, *The Earliest Books of Canterbury Cathedral: Manuscripts and Fragments to c. 1200* (London, 2008) (Referred to as Gameson, *Cat* where cited).

Michael Gullick, 'The Scribal Work of Eadmer of Canterbury to 1109', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 118 (1998) 173-189.

N.R. Ker (ed.) *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964).

N.R. Ker with Andrew G. Watson (eds.) *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, supplement to the second edition, ed. Andrew G. Watson, (London: Royal Historical Society, 1987).

Richard Southern, *Anselm and his Biographer*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).

Key:

* Denotes items featuring the hand of Eadmer

No.	Shelfmark	Contents	Date	References (with page numbers)
1	Cambridge University Library, D. 1. 4 and Cambridge, St John's College A. 8	Josephus, <i>De antiquitate Iudacia</i> , books I-XIV and Ibid., books XV-XX, over two volumes	s. xii in	Ker, 29 Gameson, 56 and 68
2	Cambridge, University Library D. 2. 7	Various letters and treatises by Jerome, Origen, Pelagius and Pseudo-Jerome	s. xii in	Ker, 29 Gameson, 56
3	Cambridge, University Library Dd. 8. 15	Haymo of Auxerre, <i>Expositio in Isiam</i> ; Augustine, <i>De sancta vitginitate</i>	s. xi/ xii in	Ker, 29 Gameson, 56
4	Cambridge, University Library Ff. 3. 9	Ezechiel extract, with Gergory, <i>In Ezechielem</i>	s. xi ex	Ker, 29 Gameson, 57
5	Cambridge, University Library Ff. 3. 29, fols. 13-162	Isidore, <i>Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum</i> ; Bede, <i>In Regnum libros XXX quaestiones De tempolo Salamonis; Super Canticum Abacuc allegorica expositione</i> -incomplete	s. xii in	Ker, 30 Gameson, 57
6	Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 4. 43	Smaragdus, <i>Diadema monachorum</i>	?pre-1070	Southern, 243; Ker, 30
?7	Cambridge, University Library Ii. 2. 1	Priscian	s. xii in	Ker, 30

8	Cambridge, University Library li. 3. 12	Boethius, <i>De musica</i>	1110-1130	Ker, 30 Gameson, 58
9	Cambridge, University Library li. 3. 33	Gregory, <i>Symbolon fidei</i> ; <i>Registrum epistolarum</i> ; Berengar of Tours' Recantation at Council of Rome, 1079	s. xi/xii	Ker, 30
10 *	Cambridge, University Library Kk. 1. 23	(ff. 1-66) Ambrose, <i>Hexameron</i> ; (ff. 67-138) various sermons and exegetical tracts by Ambrose, Augustine and Pseudo-Ambrose	s. xi/xii (Gameson observes two collections bound together by s. xii)	Ker, 30 Gameson, 59
11	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 19	Ivo of Chartres, <i>Decretum</i> ; Papal letters and councils, c. 1124-30	1110-1130, (before 1127-Gameson)	Ker, 30 Gameson, 60
12	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 130	Lanfranc, <i>Decreta pontificum et concilia</i> ; <i>Epistola ad episcopum Hiberniae</i> , with early additions of papal lists and short biographies	s. xii in: Canterbury provenance, but contents suggest CCC?	Gameson, 61
13	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 173	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> ; <i>Anglo-Saxon Laws</i>	s. viii-xi, with additions and revisions before c.1070, and additions to 1128.	Ker, 30 Southern, 243 Gameson, 61
14	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 187	Eusebius, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	s. xi/xii	Ker, 30 Gameson, 61
15	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 192	Amalarius of Metz, <i>Liber officialis</i>	s. x Breton origin, to CCC after	Ker, 30 Southern, 243
16	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 260	Misc. including <i>Musica Hogeri</i> ; <i>Musica enchiridis</i> ; <i>Scholica enchiridis</i> ; <i>Commemoratio brevis</i>	s. x	Ker, 30 Southern, 243
17	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 272	'Psalter of Count Achedeus'	s. ix ex, continental origin to CCC after	Ker, 30 Southern, 243
18	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 304	'Juvencus'	s. vii in (Ker)	Southern, 243; Ker, 30
19	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 326	Aldhelm, <i>De laudibus virginitatis</i> , with England and Latin glosses	s. x/xi	Ker, 30 Parker on-line
20	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 328	Osbern, <i>Epistola de vita Dunstani</i> ; <i>Vita Dunstani</i> ; <i>Missa de S. Dunstano</i> ; <i>Prosa de Sancto Dunstano</i>	s. xi/xii at CCC, at Winchester by s. xiii	Ker, 30 Gameson, 61
21 *	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 341	Fragment of sections from Eadmer, <i>Historia novorum</i> and <i>Vita Anselmi</i>	1120s-30s	Ker, 30 Southern, 372-3 Gameson, 64

22 *	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 371	Eadmer's 'personal notebook' of collected works and drafts	1080s-1130s	Ker, 30 Southern, 367-74 Gameson, 64
23	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 411	Psalter	s. x, probably Tours, but CCC by s. xi?	Ker, 31; Southern, 243
24 *	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 452	Eadmer, <i>Historia novorum</i>	1120s-30s	Southern, 373
25	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 457	Alexander of Canterbury, collection of Anselm's sermons, <i>Liber dictis beati Anselmi</i>	s. xii in (Gameson, c. 1122-30)	Ker, 31 Southern, 220-1 Gameson, 65
26	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 1. 17 (16)	Jerome, <i>In Matheum</i> ; Physiologus extract on the hyena	1110-1130	Ker, 31 Gameson, 68
27	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 2. 3 (46)	Bede, <i>In Evangelium Lucae expositione</i>	1110-1150	Ker, 31 Gameson, 69
28	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 2. 34 (77)	Various exegetical treatises of Jerome, Eusebius (trans. Jerome) and Pseudo-Jerome	1110-1130	Ker, 31 Gameson, 69
29	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 2. 36 (79)	Collection of exegetical tracts by John Chrysostom; extract on Gregory from Isidore's <i>De viris illustribus</i> ; Gergory, <i>Dialogi</i>	1110-1130	Ker, 31 Gameson, 70
30	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 3. 4 (83)	Jerome, <i>In Psalmos</i>	s. xii in	Ker, 31 Gameson, 70
31 *	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 3. 5 (84)	Jerome, <i>In Prophetas minores</i> ; <i>In Danielelem</i>	s. xi ex (vol. 2 of 2, with vol. 1 now lost)	Ker, 32 Gameson, 70
32	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 3. 9 (88)	Ambrose, <i>Espositio Evangelii secundum Lucam</i>	s. xi/xii	Ker, 32 Gameson, 70
33	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 3. 10 (89)	Ambrose and Pseudo-Ambrose, various exegetical treatises and <i>epistolae</i>	s. xi/xii	Ker, 32 Gameson, 70
34	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 3. 14 (93) and London, Lambeth Palace Library 62 (no. 582)	Richard of Préaux, <i>In Genesim</i>	s. xi/xii	Ker, 32 and 37 Gameson, 70, 122
35	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 3. 25 (104)	Augustine, <i>Retractatio</i> ; <i>Confessiones</i> ; <i>De diversiis haeresibus</i> (without prologue)	s. xi/xii	Ker, 32 Gameson, 70
36	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 3. 31 (110)	Augustine, <i>Retractatio</i> ; <i>Epistola ad Aurelium</i> ; <i>De Trinitate</i>	s. xii in	Ker, 32 Gameson, 70
37	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 3. 32 (111)	Collection of sermons and exegetical tracts by Augustine; sermons by Maximus episcopus, Petrus episcopus, Eusebius Gallicanus, Isidore, Leo and Jerome	s. xii in	Ker, 32 Gameson, 70
38	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 3. 33 (112)	Collection of treatises by Augustine and Pseudo-Augustine	s. xi ex	Ker, 32 Gameson, 70
39	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 4. 2 (116)	Gospel of St John; Augustine, <i>In evangelium Iohannis</i>	s. xi/xii	Ker, 32 Gameson, 70

40	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 4. 5 (119)	Florus of Lyon, <i>Expositio in epistolas beati Pauli ex operibus S. Augustini collecta</i> . Companion to item 116.	s. xi/xii ?in Normandy, then to CCC	Ker, 32 and 38 Gameson, 71 and 130
41	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 4. 9 (123)	Gregory, <i>Moralia in Job</i> , books 17-35. Companion to item 130, below	s. xi/xii (vol. 2 of 2, with vol. 1 now lost)	Ker, 32 Gameson, 71
42	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 4. 25 (139)	Augustine, <i>De Genesi ad litteram</i>	1110-1130	Ker, 32 Gameson, 71
43	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 4. 26 (140)	Augustine, various <i>Epistolae</i>	s. xi/xii	Ker, 32 Gameson, 71
44	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 4. 27 (141)	Isidore, <i>Quaestiones in vetus testamentus</i>	s. x ?pre-1070	Ker, 32; Southern, 243
45	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 4. 28 (142)	Jerome, <i>In Ezechielem</i>	1110-1130	Ker, 32 Gameson, 71
46	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 5. 22 (168)	Jerome, <i>In Ieremiam</i>	1110-1130	Ker, 33 Gameson, 72
47	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 5. 23 (169) and B. 5. 24 (170)	Jerome, <i>In Isiam</i>	1110-1130	Ker, 33 Gameson, 72
48 (* vols. 2-3)	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 5. 24 (172); B. 5. 28 (174) and Tokyo, Takamiya Collection, 55	Augustine, <i>Enarrationes in Psalmos</i>	s. xi/xii	Ker, 33 Gameson, 72 and 155.
49	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 14. 3	Arator	?pre-1070	Southern, 243
50	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 15. 34	English Homilies	?pre-1070	Southern, 243
51 *	Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 16. 44 (405)	<i>Collectio Lanfranci (Decreta pontificum et concilia)</i> ; later s.xi ex additions of letters to Lanfranc and extracts from councils	?Post-1066, from Bec in Normandy to CCC (Gameson)	Ker, 33 Gameson, 72
52	Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 2. 31	Prosper, <i>Epigrammata; Disticha Cantonis</i> , with English glosses	?pre-1070	Southern, 243
53	Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 2. 51	Prudentius, <i>Psychomachia</i>	?pre-1070	Southern, 243
54	Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 4. 34 (1264)	Orosius, <i>Historiae adversus paganos</i> ; Pseudo-Aethicus Ister (Julius Honorius), <i>Cosmographia</i> ; Jordanes, <i>De origine actibusque Getarum</i> ; <i>Itinerarium provinciarum Antonii Augusti</i>	s. xi/xii	Ker, 34 Gameson, 74
55	Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 10. 28 (1480)	Eutropius, <i>Brevarium historiae romanae ab urbe condita</i> ; Paul the Deacon's continuation of Eutropius	s. xi/xii	Ker, 34 Gameson, 75
56	Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 10. 31 (1483)	<i>Passio S. Quiriaci; Inventio Sanctae Crucis</i> ; Victor of Vita, <i>Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae</i>	s. xi/xii	Ker, 34 Gameson, 75
?57	Cambridge, Trinity College R. 15. 22 (944)	Boethius, <i>De musica</i>	s. xii in	Ker, 33

58	Canterbury Cathedral Library, Add. 20	Fragment of Chrodegang of Metz, <i>Regula canonicorum</i> , in Latin and English (fragmentary)	s. xi $\frac{3}{4}$ (Gameson) s. xi ex (Ker)	Ker, 34 Southern, 243 Gameson, 76 Gameson, <i>Cat.</i> 127-132
59	Canterbury Cathedral Library, Add. 25.	4 fols. of Gregory's <i>Dialogi</i> translated into English by Werferth	s. x ex	Ker, 34 Southern, 234 Gameson, <i>Cat.</i> 85-88
60	Canterbury Cathedral Library, Add. 32	Gregory, <i>Dialogi</i> , with English glosses	?pre-1070	Southern, 243 Gameson, <i>Cat.</i> 89-93
?61	Canterbury Cathedral Library, Add. 127/15	Fragment of <i>Epistolae</i> of Ivo of Chartres	1110-1130	Gameson, 76 Gameson, <i>Cat.</i> 208-213
?62	Canterbury Cathedral Library, Lit. B. 7	Collection of Canons, <i>Sententiae du primate Romanae ecclesiae</i>	s. xi ex, France, to CCC by s. xii in (Gameson)	Ker, 34 Gameson, 77 Gameson, <i>Cat.</i> 169-182
63	Canterbury Cathedral Library, Lit. E. 28	ff. 1-7, <i>Domesday monachorum</i>	s. xi/xii	Gameson, 77
64	Canterbury Cathedral Library, Lit. E. 42, and Lit. E. 43 A, part I with Maidstone, Kent County Archives S/Rm Fae. 2	Fragments of four volumes of an original seven-volume Passional. ?Related to items 87 and 93	s. xii in (Gameson-before 1128)	Gameson, 77 <i>MMBL</i> vol. 2, 289-96 Gameson, <i>Cat.</i> 226-247
?65	Canterbury Cathedral Box CCC, no. 23	Ivo of Chartres, <i>Epistolae</i> (3 fols.)	s. xii in	Ker, 34
66	Dublin, Trinity College, 98 (B. 3. 6) fols. 1-72.	Pontifical	s. xii in	Ker, 35 Gameson 78
67	Dublin, Trinity College, 98 (B. 3. 6) fols. 73-155	Benedictional	s. xii in	Ker, 35 Gameson 78
?68	Dublin, Trinity College, 371, fols. 149-50	Fragment from a gradual	s. xi 2	Gameson, 78
69	Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, B. II. 10	Jerome, <i>Epistolae</i> ; Origen, (trans. Jerome) <i>In Cantica Canticorum</i> ; Jerome, <i>Adversus Heluidium de Mariae perpetua uirginitate</i> ; <i>Contra Vigilantium</i>	s. xi ex – to Durham before c.1096	Ker, 66 Gameson, 79
70	Durham, Dean and Chapter Library B. III. 32	Hymns and Canticles with English gloss; Ælfric's grammar	to Durham before c.1096	Southern, 243
71	Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, B. IV. 18	Various abridgments of Lanfranc's <i>Decreta</i> ; Gregory, <i>Registrum epistolarum</i> ; Henry V, <i>Decretum</i> ; Calixtus II, <i>Decretum et electionibus in Teutonico regno</i> (1122); Cyprian Gallus, <i>Cena</i> ; <i>Priuilegia papalia de statu ecclesiae Cantuariensis</i> ; <i>Concilium Lateranensis</i> (1123)	1110-1130; to Durham shortly after	Ker, 68 Gameson, 85

72 *	Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, B. IV. 24	Usuardus, <i>Martyrologium</i> (obits added in margins, s. xi ex- s. xii in); Lectionary of Gospels for chapter; Lanfranc, <i>Constitutiones</i> ; William Carilef, <i>Epistola ad monachos Dunelmenses</i> .	s. xi ex – to Durham before c.1096	Gameson, 87
73	Durham University Library, Cosin V. v. 6	Gradual	1079-1096 (Gameson), to Durham after c.1096	Gameson, 87
?74	London, British Library, Add. 37517	Psalter	s. x ex	Ker, 35
75	London, British Library, Add. 57337	Pontifical	s. x/xi	Ker, (Watson), 11
76	London, British Library Arundel 16	Osbern, <i>Epistola de vita S. Dunstani</i> ; <i>Vita Dunstani</i>	s. xi/xii (Gameson-at Dover by s. xiv)	Gameson, 94
77	London, British Library, Arundel 155	‘Arundel Psalter’, with calendar, tables, preface, canticles and prayers; extensive corrections and additions, including prayers, hymns, litany etc.	Originally by Eadwinus Basan, (1012x23), with later additions and corrections s. xi med-s. xii med onwards	Ker, 35 Southern, 243 Gameson, 95
?78	London, British Library Cotton Calig. A.xiv	Tropary	s. xi/xii	Ker, 35
79	London, British Library Cotton Calig. A. xv fols. 120-153, and Egerton 3314	Old English <i>Computistica</i> ; extracts from Ælfric, <i>De temporibus anni</i> ; Various texts on the location of Easter; notes on computistics, based on Bede and Hrabanus Maurus	c.1073 (Gameson)	Ker, 35 and 36 Gameson, 97 and 105
80	London, British Library, Cotton Claud. A.iii	English and Latin charters, (ff.2-9); Benedictional (ff. 87-105)	s. xi ?pre-1070?	Ker, 35 Southern, 243
81	London, British Library Cotton Claud. E. v	Pseudo-Isidore, <i>Decreta pontificum</i> ; Gregory, <i>Libellus responsionum</i> ; <i>Epistola Melito</i> (from Bede); various privileges and papal decrees to Canterbury; tables of Kings of Israel and Judah	1110-1130, from Continent to CCC (Gameson)	Ker, 35 Gameson, 98
82	London, British Library Cotton Cleop. E. i fols. 17-38 and 40-57	Episcopal profession slips; papal letters to English kings and bishops	1120-1 (Gameson)	Ker, 36 Gameson, 98
83	London, British Library Cotton Dom. viii, fols. 30-70	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> with Latin translation = ‘F’ text, or ‘Cotton Bilingual’	s. xi/xii	Ker, 36 Gameson, 99
84	London, British Library, Cotton Faust. B. iii	<i>Regularis Concordia</i> , (ff.159-198)	s. xi ?pre-1070	Ker, 36 Southern, 243
85	London, British Library Cotton Faust. B. vi, fols. 95, and 98-100	Papal letters relating to privileges of Canterbury and York	s. xii in	Ker, 36

86	London, British Library Cotton Nero, C. ix, fols. 19-21 and London, Lambeth Palace 430 (flyleaves)	Fragments of necrology	s. xii in	Ker, 37 Gameson, 101
87	London, British Library Cotton Otho, D. viii, fols. 8-173	Passional (31 Jan to 20 March) ?Related to items 64 and 93	s. xii 1-2/4	Ker, 36 Gameson, 101
88	London, British Library, Cotton Tib. A. ii	Gospel-book	s. ix	Ker, 35; Southern, 243
89	London, British Library, Cotton Tib. A. iii	<i>Rule of St Benedict; Regularis Concordia</i> with English glosses	s. xi ?pre- 1070	Ker, 35 Southern, 243
90	London, British Library, Cotton Tib. B. iv, fol. 87 and London, Lambeth Palace Library 771	Gospel, with English Charters	s. xi in	Ker, 35 Southern, 243
91	London, British Library Cotton Vesp. B. xxv	Collection of poetry by Christian authors: Solinus, Priscian, Dares the Phrygian, Jerome and Segardus de Sancto Audomaro; 'Nennius' <i>Historia Brittonum</i>	1110-1130	Ker, 36 Gameson, 104
92	London, British Library, Cotton Vit. C. iii	English Herbal	s. xi ?pre- 1070?	Ker, 36 Southern, 243
93	London, British Library Harley 315, fols. 1-39; Harley 624, fols. 84-143; Cotton Nero C. vii, fols. 29-78	Parts of a Passional, (originally a seven-volume set) ?Related to items 64 and 87 Harley 315, fols. 16-39, <i>Vita Anselmi</i>	s.xii in VA, post- 1123	Ker, 36 Gameson, 106
94	London, British Library, Harley 603	'Harley Psalter'	s. xi in	Ker (Watson), 11
95	London, British Library, Harley 2892	Benedictional	s. xi med-3/4	Southern, 243
96*	London, British Library Harley 5915	Fol. 12, Fragments of Augustine, <i>Contra mendacium; De cura pro mortuis gerenda</i>	s.xi/xii	Gameson, 109
97	London, British Library, Royal 1. B. vii	Gospels	?pre-1070	Southern, 243
98	London, British Library, Royal 1. D. ix	Gospels	s. x	Ker, 35 Southern, 243
99	London, British Library, Royal 1. E. vii	Bible (vol. 1 of 2)	s. x ex	Ker, 36; Southern, 243
100	London, British Library, Royal 1. E. viii	Bible (vol. 2 of 2)	s. x ex	Ker, 36; Southern, 243
101	London, British Library, Royal 2. B. v	Psalter with English glosses	?pre-1070	Southern, 243
102	London, British Library, Royal 7 C. iv	Defensor, <i>Liber scintillarum</i> , with English gloss	?pre-1070	Ker, 37 Southern, 243

103	London, British Library Royal 12 D. iv	Calendar; tables; Helperic, <i>De computo</i> ; Bede, <i>De temporum ratione</i> ; <i>Epistola ad Wichtedum de aequonotio uel de paschae celebratione</i>	s. xi/xii (Gameson, post-1090)	Ker, 37 Gameson, 118
104	London, Inner Temple Library 511. 10	Macrobius, <i>Interpretation in somnium Scipionis</i>	s. xii in	Ker, 37 Gameson, 122
105	London, Lambeth Palace Library 59, fols. 1-190	Anselm, <i>Epistolae</i>	s. xii 1-2/4 (post-1122)	Gameson, 122
106	London, Lambeth Palace Library 144, fols. 163- 314 and 147, fols. 1-59	Extract from Ezechiel; Gregory, <i>In Ezechielem</i> ; Bede, <i>In proverbial Salomonis</i>	s. xii 1-2/4	Gameson, 123
?107	London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1370	Gospels	s. ix	Ker, 37
?108	London, Private Collection CdH	fragment of Anselm, <i>Meditationes</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 124
109	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 97	Aldhelm, <i>De laude virginitatis</i> with English gloss	s. xi ?pre- 1070	Ker, 38; Southern, 243
110	Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 160, fols. 1-52 (SC 2014A)	Bede, <i>In Actus Apostolorum</i> ; <i>Nomina regionum atque locorum de Actibus Apostolorum</i>	1110-1130	Ker, 38 Gameson, 128
111	Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 160, fols. 53-89 (SC 2014A)	Various treatises by Ivo of Chartres; <i>Translatione S. Iacobi</i>	1110-1130	Ker, 38 Gameson, 128
112	Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 161	Bede, <i>In Cantica Canticorum allegorica expositione</i> , including Gregory, <i>Excerpta in Cantica Canticum</i> ; Jerome, <i>In ecclesiastice Salomonis</i>	s.xii in	Ker, 38 Gameson, 129
113	Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 217	Bede, <i>In evangelarium Marci expositione</i> ; <i>In epistolas Catholicas</i>	1110-1130	Ker, 38 Gameson, 129
114	Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 271	Collection of 16 texts by Anselm, including <i>Monologion</i> ; <i>Proslogion</i> ; <i>De veritate</i> ; <i>Cur Deus homo</i> among others	1110-1130	Ker, 38 Gameson, 129
115	Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 285	Jerome	s. xi/xii	Ker, 38 Watson, 11
116	Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 317	Florus of Lyon, <i>Expositio in epistolas beati Pauli ex operibus S. Augustini collecta</i> Companion to item 40, above	s. xii in, Normandy; then to CCC	Gameson, 130
117	Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 385	Jerome, <i>In Danielelem</i> ; Bede, <i>De tabernaculo</i> ; Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Dialogus questionum lxxv Orosii percontantis et Augustine respondentis</i>	s.xi/xii	Ker, 38 Gameson, 131
118	Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 827	Gratianus Augustus, <i>Epistola ad Ambrosium</i> ; Ambrose, <i>De fide</i> ; <i>De Spiritu Sancto</i> ; <i>De incarnationis dominicae sacramento</i>	s.xi ex-xii in	Ker, 38 Gameson, 135
119	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius II	English Genesis	s. x/xi	Ker, 38; Southern, 243

120	Oxford, Bodleian Library Lat. Misc. b. 15	Fol. 5, single leaf from Isidore, <i>Etymologiae</i>	1110-1130	Gameson, 139
121	Oxford, Bodleian Library Lat. Misc. d. 13 and d. 30	Fragments of Chronicles of England (d. 13) and Old Testament history (d. 30)	1110-1130	Ker, 38 Gameson, 139
122	Oxford, Bodleian Library Add. C. 248	Tertullian, <i>Apologeticum</i>	s. xi ex	Watson, 11
123	Oxford, St John's College Library 89	Bede, <i>In Apocalypsim</i> ; Caesarius of Arles, <i>Expositio in Apocalypsim</i>	s. xi/xii	Ker, 39 Gameson, 145
124	Oxford, St John's College Library, 194	Gospels	s. ix ex	Ker, 39; Southern, 243
125	Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, lat. 987	Benedictional	?pre-1070	Southern, 243
126	Stockholm, Royal Library A. 35	Gospels, 'Codex Aureus'	?pre-1070 ?	Southern, 243
127 *	Tokyo, Library of Professor T. Takamiya 55	Fragments of Augustine on the Psalms	s. xii in	Watson, 11 Gullick, 181; Gameson, 155
128	Windsor, St George's Chapel 5	Gregory, <i>In Ezechielem</i> ; Bede, <i>In Proverbia Salomonis</i>	s.xii in	Ker, 39 Gameson, 156
?129	Wisbech and Fenland Museum, 9	Julianus Pomerius (Pseudo- Prosper), <i>De uita contemplatiua et actiua</i>	s. xii in, ?CCC; Bury St Edmunds	Gameson, 156
130	?	Gergory, <i>Moralia in Job</i> , books 1- 16 (companion to above, item 41)	s. xi/xii (vol. 1 of 2, now lost)	

Appendix B: Index of manuscripts at Durham Cathedral Priory during Symeon's period of activity, c.1090 – c.1125.

Sources:

Alma Colk Browne, 'Bishop William of St Carilef's Book Donations to Durham Cathedral Priory', *Scriptorium*, 42 (1988) 140-155.

Richard Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England, (c. 1066-1130)*, (Oxford University Press, 1999).

Michael Gullick, 'The Hand of Symeon of Durham: further reflections on the Durham Martyrology Scribe', in: *Symeon: Historian of Durham and the North* ed. D.W. Rollason (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 1998) pp. 14-31.

N.R. Ker (ed.) *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964).

N.R. Ker with Andrew G. Watson (eds.) *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, supplement to the second edition, ed. Andrew G. Watson, (London: Royal Historical Society, 1987).

B.1: Inventory of Surviving Manuscripts

Key:

* Denotes items included on the list of donations by William Carilef.

† Denotes items featuring the hand of Symeon of Durham.

No.	Shelfmark	Contents	Date	References (with page numbers)
1	Cambridge, University Library, Gg 4. 33, fols. 49-92	<i>Florilegium</i> of patristic writings/letters, etc.	s. xii 1	Gameson, 58
2	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 183	Bede's verse and prose <i>Lives</i> of St Cuthbert, with lists of popes, bishops and English Kings, mass for St Cuthbert and a land grant of Bishop Walcher.	Unknown, probably given to monks at Chester-le-Street in 930s	Mynors, 26
?3	Cambridge, Jesus college, 28 (old catalogue)	Priscian	s. xi ex	Ker, 61
4 †	Cambridge, Jesus college, Q. A. 14, fols. 1-120	Bede, <i>In Genesim</i>	s. xii 1-2/4	Gameson, 66; Gullick, 28; Mynors, 55

5†	Cambridge, Jesus college, Q. A. 14, fols. 121-154	Bede, <i>De tabernaculo</i> (incomplete)	s. xii 1-2/4: Gameson argues originally separate from above item	Gameson, 66; Gullick, 28; Mynors, 55
?6	Cambridge, Jesus College, B. B 11	Priscian, Latin grammar in 16 books, and treatise on accents	s. xi	Mynors, 30
7 †	Cambridge, Jesus College, Q. B. 8, fols. 1-18	Anon, ' <i>Egyptii autem ex initio noctis sequentis diei originem tradunt</i> '	s. xii 1	Gameson, 66; Ker, 28; Gullick, 28
8	Cambridge, Jesus college, Q. G. 4, fols. 1-29	Collection of sermons by Ivo of Chartres and one tract by Pseudo-Augustine (Pelagius)	s. xii in, England or France, then Durham (Gameson)	Gameson, 66; Ker, 61
9	Cambridge, Jesus college, Q. G. 4, fols. 31-7	<i>Excerptiones ecclesiasticarum regularum</i> – Ivo of Chartres, <i>Prologue in Decretum</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 66
10	Cambridge, Jesus college, Q. G. 4, fols. 39-44	Pseudo-Augustine (Caesarius of Arles), <i>Sermo de decem praeceptis legis et de decem plagis Aegypti</i> ; Martin of Braga, <i>Formula honestae uitae</i> (prologus)	s. xii 1	Gameson, 66
11	Cambridge, Jesus college, Q. 5	<i>Epistolae</i> of: Ivo of Chartres, Paschal II, Anselm; Ivo, <i>Decretum</i> xvii and letters.	s. xii 1	Gameson, 66; Ker, 61
12	Cambridge, Jesus college, Q. G. 16, fols. 1-15	Collection of treatises by Boethius	s. xii 1, England or France, then Durham (Gameson)	Gameson, 66; Mynors, 62
13	Cambridge, Jesus college, Q. G. 16, fols. 16-85	Anselm, <i>Monologion</i> ; <i>Proslogion</i> ; Gaunilio, <i>Pro insipiente aduersus Anselmum</i> ; Anselm, <i>Liber apologeticus contra Gaunilionem</i> <i>De incarnatione Verbi</i> ; <i>De veritate</i> ; <i>De libertate arbitrii</i> ; <i>De casu Diaboli</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 66; Mynors, 62
14	Cambridge, Jesus College, Q. G. 16, fols. 86-120	Anselm, <i>Cur Deus homo</i> ; <i>De conceptu uirginali et originali peccato</i>	s. xii 1, England or France, then Durham (Gameson)	Gameson, 66; Mynors, 62

15 *†	Cambridge, Peterhouse, 74	<i>Decreta pontificum et concilia</i> (Lanfranc's collection) Additions (s. xii in-1): Eadmer, <i>Historia novorum</i> (extracts); Anselm, <i>Epistola ad Henricum regem Anglorum</i> ; <i>Concilium lateranense</i> (1123); Thurstan of York <i>Notificatio de consecratione episcopo S. Andree</i> ; Lanfranc, <i>Epistola ad episcopum Hiberniae</i> ; Paschal II <i>Epistolae</i> (2); <i>Canones de penitentibus de secunda uxore</i> .	s. xi ex before 1096, poss. 1080-88 (Gameson). Further additions made s. xii med, not listed here.	Gameson, 67; Ker, 62; Gullick, 30; Browne, 154, no. 21; Mynors, 43-4
?16	Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, 100 ii	Pontifical	s. xi	Ker, 62
17 †	Durham Cathedral, A. I. 10, fols. 1-169	Anselm of Laon, <i>In Matheum</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 78; Gullick, 29; Mynors, 53-4
18 †	Durham Cathedral, A. I. 10, fols. 170-242	Berengaudus, <i>In Apocalypsim</i> ; Cassidorus, <i>De anima</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 78; Ker, 63; Gullick, 29; Mynors, 53-4
19 *†	Durham Cathedral, A. II. 4.	'Carilef Bible' (Prophets-Apocalypse); Haimo of Auxerre, <i>Commentarium in Apocalypsim</i> (incomplete), also including list of book-donations (flyleaf)	pre-1096, Normandy then Durham	Gameson, 79; Ker, 63; Gullick, 25; Browne, 154, nos. 1 and 2; Mynors, 33-1
?20	Durham Cathedral, A. II. 17, fols. 103-11	Nine leaves from Anglo-Saxon Northumbrian gospel-book	s.vii ex-viii in	Mynors, 15
21*	Durham Cathedral, A. III. 29	Paul the Deacon, <i>Homiliarium</i>	pre-1096	Gameson, 79; Ker, 64; ?Browne, 154, no. 19; Mynors, 43
22	Durham Cathedral, A. IV. 15, fols. 17-56	Anon., <i>Commentarium in Iohannem</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 79; Ker, 65; Mynors, 51-2
23 †	Durham Cathedral, A. IV. 16, fols. 66-109	Augustine, <i>De Genesi ad litteram</i> (incomplete: I-VI)	s. xii in	Gameson, 79; Gullick, 26
?24	Durham Cathedral, A. IV. 19	'Durham <i>Rituale</i> '; collection of collects and liturgical readings	s. x in Ker; ?Continental origin then to Northumbria by s. x (Mynors)	Ker, 65; Mynors, 25
25	Durham Cathedral, A. IV. 19 (back fly-leaf)	Fragment of a leaf from a lectionary	s. vii/ix Mynors	Mynors, 23
26	Durham Cathedral, A. IV. 34	Anon., <i>Notae super Canticora Canticorum</i>	s. xii 1 Continent/England/ Durham (Gameson)	Gameson, 79; Mynors, 57

27	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 1	Josephus, <i>De antiquitate iudaica</i> ; <i>De bello iudaico</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 79; Ker, 66; Mynors, 60
28 *	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 2	Paul the Deacon, <i>Homiliarium</i> (Advent to Easter: incomplete)	s. xi ex (pre-1096; Gameson)	Gameson, 79; ?Browne, 154, no. 19; Mynors, 43
29 *†	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 6	Collection of commentaries/sermons by Ambrose; s. xi/xii addition of Augustine, <i>De decem chordis</i>	s. xi ex (pre-1096; Gameson)	Gameson, 79; Ker, 66; Gullick, 30; Browne, 155, no. 42; Mynors, 41
30 †	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 7	Jerome, <i>Breuiarium in Psalmos</i> , etc.	c. 1115- c. 1130	Gullick, 29; Mynors, 54
31 †	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 8	Jerome, <i>In Isiam</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 79; Ker, 66; Gullick, 29; Mynors, 54-5
32 *	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 9	Jerome, <i>In prophetas minores</i>	s. xi ex, pre-1096 in Normandy then to Durham (Gameson)	Gameson, 79; Ker, 66; Browne, 154, no. 9; Mynors, 37
33 *	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 10	Jerome, <i>Epistolae</i> ; Origen (trans. Jerome), <i>In Cantica Canticorum</i> ; Jerome, <i>Adversus Heluidim de Mariae perpetua uirginitate</i> ; <i>Contra Vigilantium</i>	s. xi ex, pre-1096 Canterbury CC, then to Durham (Gameson)	Gameson, 79; Ker, 66; Browne, 154, no. 10; Mynors, 37-8
34 *	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 11, fols. 1-108	Large collection of tracts, commentaries and letters by Jerome and Pseudo-Jerome; short texts on science, music and liturgy; List of Popes	s. xi ex, pre-1096 in Normandy then to Durham (Gameson)	Gameson, 80; Ker, 66; Gullick, 30; Browne, 154, no. 11; Mynors, 38
35†	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 11, fols. 109-137	Letters, Hymns and poetry by Fulbert of Chartres; Robert II of France, <i>Epistola ad Gauzilinum abbatem</i> ; Gauzlin of Fleury, <i>Rescriptum ad regem Robertum</i>	s. xi ex	Gameson, 80; Ker, 66; Gullick, 30.
36 *	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 13, fols. 7-226	Augustine, <i>Ennarationes in Psalmos</i> (LI-C)	s. xi ex, pre-1096 in Normandy then to Durham (Gameson)	Gameson, 80; Ker, 66; Browne, 154, no. 4; Mynors, 34-5
37 *	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 14, fols. 7-200	Augustine, <i>Ennarationes in Psalmos</i> (CI-CL)	s. xi ex, pre-1096 in Normandy then to Durham (Gameson)	Gameson, 80; Ker, 66; Browne, 154, no. 5; Mynors, 35

38 *	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 16	Augustine, <i>In Evangelium Iohannis</i>	s. xi/xii (poss. pre-1096 from Canterbury St Augustine's: Gameson)	Gameson, 80; Ker, 66; Mynors, 36
39 *	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 17	Augustine, <i>In Evangelium Iohannis</i> , beginning with a contemporary chapter-list.	s. xi ex, pre-1096 in Normandy then to Durham (Gameson)	Gameson, 80; Ker, 66; Browne, 154, no. 8; Mynors, 37
40	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 18	Augustine, <i>Sermones</i>	s. xii in	Gameson, 80; Ker, 66; Mynors, 49
41 *†	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 21, fols. 10-158	Collection of Augustine, <i>Epistolae</i>	s. xi ex (pre-1096)	Gameson, 81; Ker, 66; Gullick, 25; Browne, 154, no. 7; Mynors, 36
42 *†	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 22, fols. 27-231	Augustine, <i>Retractio</i> ; <i>De civitate Dei</i> ; Lanfranc's <i>Notae</i> on <i>De civitate Dei</i>	s. xi ex (pre-1096)	Gameson, 81; Ker, 67; Gullick, 25; Browne, 154, no. 6; Mynors, 35-6
43	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 26, fols. 5-137	Augustine, <i>Retractio</i> ; <i>Epistola 174</i> ; <i>De Trinitate</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 81; Ker, 67; Mynors, 52
44 *†	Durham Cathedral, B. II. 35, fols. 38-118	Bede, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> ; s.xii 1 additions of: <i>Vita Bedae</i> , fols. 119-23; Sergius Papa, <i>Epistola ad Ceolfriadum</i> , fol. 123 v.; Bede, <i>Historia abbatum</i> , fols. 123v-9.	s. xi ex (pre-1096; Gameson, ?1091-96)	Gameson, 81; Gullick, 31; Browne, 155, no. 43; Mynors, 41-2
45 *	Durham Cathedral, B. III. 1	Origen (trans. Rufinus), various <i>Homiliae</i> ; Pseudo-Origen (tr. Rufinus), <i>De benedictionibus patriarcharum</i>	s. xi ex (pre-1096), Normandy then Durham (Gameson)	Gameson, 81; Ker, 67; Browne, 154, no. 24; Mynors, 40-1
46	Durham Cathedral, B. III. 3, fols. 1-56	Augustine, <i>Retractio</i> ; <i>De diversis quaestionibus lxxxiii</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 81; Mynors, 56
47 *†	Durham Cathedral, B. III. 9	Gregory, <i>Symbolum fidei</i> ; <i>Registrum epistolarum</i> (14 books, plus supplement)	s. xi ex (pre-1096)	Gameson, 81; Ker, 67; Gullick, 24; Browne, ; Mynors, 39154, no. 15

48 *	Durham Cathedral, B. III. 10, fols. 1-236	Gregory, <i>Moralia in Iob</i> (I-XVI): vol. 1 of 2, with part 1 missing	s. xi ex (pre-1096), Normandy then Durham (Gameson)	Gameson, 81; Ker, 67; Browne, 154, no. 12; Mynors, 38-9
49	Durham Cathedral, B. III. 10, fols. i bis, and 243	Fragment of a breviary	s. xii in, France then Durham (Gameson)	Gameson, 82; Ker, 67; Poss. Browne, 154, no. 28 or 29
50	Durham Cathedral, B. III. 10, fols. 239 and 242; B. III. 16, fols. 159-160	Fragments of Augustine, <i>Sermones</i>	s. xii in	Gameson, 82
51 *	Durham Cathedral B. III. 11, fols. 1-135	Gregory, <i>Homiliae xl in Evangelia</i> ; Collection of sermons; Haimo of Auxerre (Pseudo-Haimo of Halberstadt), Homiliary (<i>De tempore</i>)	s. xi ex (pre-1096, Continent, then Durham: Gameson)	Gameson, 82; Ker, 67; ?Browne, 154, no. 16; Mynors, 39
52	Durham Cathedral B. III. 11, fols. 136-59	Antiphoner: one of two noted in the Carilef list	s. xi ex, Continent then to Durham (Gameson): ?pre-1096	Gameson, 82; Ker, 67; ?Browne, 154 nos. 30 and 31
53	Durham Cathedral, B. III. 14, fols. 1-58	Isidore, <i>De summo bono</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 82; Ker, 67; Mynors, 50-1
54	Durham Cathedral, B. III. 14, fols. 59-64	Peter Damian, <i>Dominus uobiscum</i>	s. xii 1 Continent, then to Durham, or Durham origin (Gameson)	Gameson, 82; Ker, 67; Mynors, 50-1
55	Durham Cathedral, B. III. 14, fols. 65-123	?Anselm of Laon, <i>In Apocalypsim</i>	s. xii 1 Continent, then to Durham, or Durham origin (Gameson)	Gameson, 82; Ker, 67; Mynors, 50-1
56	Durham Cathedral, B. III. 14, fols. 124-163	John Chrysostom, <i>De Psalmo quinquagesimo</i> ; <i>De muliere Cananaea</i> ; <i>De reparatione lapsi</i> ; Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermo de muliere forti</i>	s. xii 1 Continent, then to Durham, or Durham origin (Gameson)	Gameson, 82; Ker, 67
57 *	Durham Cathedral, B. III. 16, fols. 2-158	Hrabanus Maurus, <i>Epistola dedicatoria</i> ; <i>Versus de euangelistis</i> ; <i>In Mattheum</i>	s. xi ex (pre-1096), Normandy then Durham	Gameson, 82; Ker, 67; Browne, 154, no. 18; Mynors, 40
58	Durham, Dean and Chapter Library B. iii. 32	(fols. 2-43) Hymns and Canticles with English gloss; (fols. 56-127) Ælfric's grammar	Canterbury: to Durham, c. 1096	Southern, 243; Mynors, 28-9

59	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 1	Gregory Nazianzenus (trans. Rufinus), <i>Orationes</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 82; Ker, 68; Mynors, 53
60	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 4, fol. 1	Fragment of a tract on sin	s. xii 1	Gameson, 82; Ker, 68
61	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 4, fols. 2-79	Ambrose, <i>Hexameron</i>	s. xii in	Gameson, 82; Ker, 68; Mynors, 47
62	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 4, fols. 80-90	<i>Excerpta</i> from Gregory, <i>Moralia in Iob</i> ; and Isidore, <i>Etymologiae</i> .	s. xii in	Gameson, 82; Ker, 68; Mynors, 47
63 †	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 5	Ambrose, <i>De officiis ministorum</i> ; <i>De uirginibus</i> ; <i>De uiduis</i> ; <i>De uirginitate</i> ; <i>Exhortatio ad uirgines</i> ; Pseudo-Ambrose, <i>De lapsu uirginis consecratae</i> ; <i>Ad corruptorem uirginis</i> ; <i>Consolatio ad uirginem lapsam</i> ; Ambrose, <i>De sacramentis</i> ; Eusebius Gallicanus, <i>Sermo</i> . s. xii 1 additions on fols. 102v-122v: Ambrose, <i>De Helia et ieiunia</i> ; Pseudo-Ambrose, <i>Libelus de dignitate sacerdotali</i> ; <i>Sermo</i>	s. xii in	Gameson, 82; Ker, 68; Gullick, 26; Mynors, 48
64	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 6, fols. 1-94	Augustine, <i>Retractatio</i> ; <i>Confessiones</i> ; <i>De diuersis haeresibus</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 83; Ker, 68; Mynors, 57
65	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 6, fols. 99-138	Augustine, <i>Retractationes</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 83; Ker, 68; Mynors, 57
66	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 6, fols. 142-169	Short excerpta from Augustine; Alcuin, <i>Epistola dedicatoria metrica in Die dialecta sua</i> ; Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Dialectica</i> ; Alcuin, <i>De dialectica</i> ; Versus, 'Qui rogo ciuiles cupiat cognoscere'	s. xii 1	Gameson, 83; Ker, 68; Mynors, 57
67	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 6, fol. 169	Fragment of the first book of Maccabees.	s. vi (Mynors)	Mynors, 14
68 †	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 7	Augustine, Various tracts, including <i>De caritate</i> Pseudo-Augustine (Pseudo-Cyprian), <i>De duodecim abusiu</i> s	s. xii in	Gameson, 83; Ker, 68; Gullick, 27; Mynors, 48
69	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 8, fols. 2-79	Augustine, <i>In epistolam Iohannis ad Parthos tractatus x</i> (<i>De caritate</i>)	s. xii 1	Gameson, 83; Ker, 68; Mynors, 57
70	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 8, fols. 81-98	Josephus, <i>De bello Iudaico</i> (epitome)	s. xii in	Gameson, 83; Ker, 68; Mynors, 57
71	Durham, Cathedral B. Iv. 9	Prudentius, complete works, with heavy interlinear notes.	?s. ix ex, Flanders? (Mynors)	Mynors, 26-7

72	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 12, fols. 1-38	Fulgentius of Ruspe, <i>Epistola ad Donatum</i> ; (Pseudo-Augustine), <i>De fide S. Trinitatis ad Petrum</i> ; Gennadius, <i>Liber siue diffinitio ecclesiasticorum dogmatum</i> ; Augustine, <i>Sententia de penitentia</i> ; <i>Sermo</i>	s. xii in, bound with items below, at an early date (Gameson)	Gameson, 83; Ker, 68; Mynors, 51
73 †	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 12, fols. 39-120	Collection of treatises and expositions by: Prosper of Aquitaine; Augustine; Pseudo-Augustine; Origen (trans. Jerome); Ambrose; Pseudo-Ambrose	s. xii in, bound with items above, at an early date (Gameson)	Gameson, 84; Ker, 68; Gullick, 26; Browne, 154; Mynors, 51
74 †	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 12, fols. 121-172	Augustine, <i>De quantitate animae</i> ; <i>De praesentia Dei</i> ; <i>De paradiso</i> (= <i>De Genesi ad litteram</i> , xii)	s. xii 1, bound with items above, at an early date (Gameson)	Gameson, 84; Ker, 68; Gullick, 26; Mynors, 51
75	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 12, fols. 173-187	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Dialogus quaestionum lxi Orosii percontatis et Augustini respondentis</i>	s. xii 1, bound with items above, at an early date (Gameson)	Gameson, 84; Ker, 68; Mynors, 51
76 *†	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 13	Gregory, <i>In Ezechielem</i>	s. xi ex (pre-1096)	Gameson, 84; Ker, 68; Gullick, 25; Browne, 154, no. 39; Mynors, 39-40
77	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 14	Composite volume, housing <i>Lives</i> of saints, including: John the Deacon, <i>Vita S. Gregorii</i> ; Sulpicius Severus, <i>Vita S. Martini</i> ; <i>Epistolae</i> (3); <i>Dialogi</i> ; Gregory of Tours, <i>Miracula S. Martini</i> ; John the Deacon, <i>Vita S. Nicolai</i> ; John the Archdeacon of Bari, <i>Translatio S. Nicolai Barium</i> ; Osbern, <i>Epistola de uita S. Dunstani</i> ; <i>Vita S. Dunstani</i> ; Possidius, <i>Vita S. Augustini</i>	s. xii in; post-1087 (translation of Nicholas at Bari-Gameson); Canterbury connection of contents?	Gameson, 84; Ker, 68; Mynors, 48-9
78	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 15	<i>Epistolae</i> of Isidore and Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa; Isidore, <i>Etymologiae</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 84; Ker, 68; Mynors, 58
79	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 16, fols. 1-44	Bede, <i>In Apocalypsim</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 84; Ker, 68; Mynors, 55
80 †	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 16, fols. 110-190v	Odo of Cluny, <i>Collationes</i> ; Pseudo-John Chrysostom, <i>Sermo de Absolom</i> ; Martin of Braga, <i>Formula honestae uitae</i>	c. 1115- c. 1130	Gullick, 29; Mynors, 55

81	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 18	<i>Decreta</i> (abridgement of Lanfranc's); Gregory, <i>Registrum epistolarum</i> (excerpts); Henry V, <i>Decretum</i> ; Calixtus II, <i>Decretum de electionibus in Teutonico regno</i> (1122); Cyprian Gallus, <i>Cena</i> (incomplete); <i>Priuilegia papalia de statu Cantuariensis</i> ; <i>Concilium Lateranensis</i> (1123)	s. xii 1, CCC then Durham	Gameson, 85; Ker, 68
82	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 22, fols. 3-5	World chronicle, Adam to s. xii	s. xii 1 (1125-Gameson)	Gameson, 85
83 *†	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 24, fols. 12-73	Usuardus, <i>Martyrologium</i> (obits added in margins, s. xi ex- s. xii in); Lectionary of Gospels for chapter; Lanfranc, <i>Constitutiones</i> ; William Carilef, <i>Epistola ad monachos Dunelmenses</i> ; Additions: Calendar without saints added s. xi-xii, fols. 6-11; liturgical ordnances, s. xii 1, fol. 72r	s. xi ex (pre-1096), CCC then Durham (Gameson)	Gameson, 85; Ker, 68; Gullick, 25 and 31; Browne, 155, no. 49; Mynors, 44-5
84* †	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 24, fols. 74-127	Coeval sections, with numerous additions (See Gameson, p. 85): a) <i>Regula S. Benedicti</i> b) <i>Regula S. Benedicti</i> in English	s. xi 2; to Durham pre-1096	Gameson, 85; Ker, 68; Gullick, 25 and 31; Browne, 155, no. 49; Mynors, 44-5
85	Durham Cathedral, B. IV. 37	<i>Excerpta</i> from patristic writers, Hrabanus Maurus, Amalarius of Metz, and canon law.	s. xii 1	Gameson, 85; Ker, 69; Mynors, 58
?86	Durham Cathedral, C. III. 18	Suetonius, <i>De vita caesarum</i> ; Ausonius, <i>Versus de duodecim imperatoribus Romanorum</i>	s. xi ex	Ker, 70; Gameson, 85; Mynors, 30
87	Durham Cathedral, C. IV. 7, fols. 2-49	<i>Glossae super De inuentione rhetorica Ciceroni</i> ; <i>Super De ratione dicendi ad Herennium pseudo-Ciceronis</i> ; Plato (trans. Chalcidius), <i>Timaeus</i> , with gloss	s. xii in	Gameson, 85; Mynors, 58
88	Durham Cathedral, C. IV. 7, fols. 50-69	<i>Glossae in Arithmetica Boethii</i> ; Diagrams with verses (' <i>Ignea uis terrae</i> ')	s. xii in, bound with above item by s. xii-xiii	Gameson, 85; Mynors, 58
89	Durham Cathedral, C. IV. 10	<i>Expositiones uerborum in historia Romanorum</i> ; Marbod of Rennes, <i>De gemmis</i> ; <i>Dialogus super symbolum Athenasii</i> ; <i>Explanatio super Psychomacia Prudentii</i> ; <i>Expositio super uersus Sibyllae de adventu Domini</i> ; <i>Expositio super poemata Sedulii</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 86; Ker, 71; Mynors, 59
90 *	Durham Cathedral, C. IV, 12, binding slips	<i>Homiliae</i> fragments	s. xi ex (pre-1096)	Gameson, 86

91	Durham Cathedral, C. IV. 15	<i>Annales Mettenses priores</i> ; Regino of Prüm, <i>Libellus de temporibus dominicae incarnationis</i>	s. xii 1, ?Continent or Durham	Gameson, 86; Ker, 71; Mynors, 59
?92	Durham Cathedral, C. IV. 29	' <i>Note super Priscianum et super Rhetoricam Tullii</i> '	s. xii in	Ker, 71; Mynors, 59
93†	Durham Cathedral, Hunter 100, fols. 1-42	Isidore, <i>De natura rerum</i> (extracts); Eugenius of Toledo, <i>Versus de septem diebus</i> ; Petrus Pictor (Pseudo-Hildebert), <i>Versus de decem plagis</i> ; Tables; Calendar; Abbo of Fleury, <i>Computus</i> ; ?Robert of Losinga, <i>Expositio de computo</i> ; Tables; Schema; 'De resurrectionis Christi'; Dionysus Exiguus, <i>Epistolae duae de ratione festi paschae</i> ; <i>Cyclus xxviii annorum</i> (annals in margins); Guido of Arezzo, <i>Micrologus</i> (extracts)	s. xii in (1100-28)	Gameson, 86; Ker, 71; Gullick, 27; Mynors, 49-50
94	Durham Cathedral, Hunter 100, fols. 43-84	Helperic, <i>De computo</i> ; Bede, <i>De temporibus</i> (extracts); 'De uertice mundi'; Pseudo-Bede, <i>De signis caeli</i> (extract); <i>De planetis</i> ; Abbo of Fleury, <i>De differentia circuli et sphaerae</i> ; 'De duplici ortu signorum dubitantes'; <i>Explanatio tabulae</i> ; Isidore, <i>Etymologiae</i> (extract); <i>De qualitate et quantitate ponderum</i> ; <i>Ratio ponderum medicinalium</i> ; <i>De mensuris liquidis et pensis</i> ; <i>De ponderibus</i> ; Latin-Old English <i>Glossarium nominum planetarum</i>	s. xii in, coeval, but originally separate from above item	Gameson, 86; Ker, 71; Mynors, 49-50
95	Durham Cathedral, Hunter 100, fols. 85-101	<i>De quattuor humoribus corporis</i> ; Isidore, <i>Etymologiae</i> (extract); Ambrose, <i>Hexameron</i> (extract)	s. xii in	Gameson, 86-7; Ker, 71; Mynors, 49-50
96	Durham Cathedral, Hunter 100, fols. 102-120	<i>Remedia</i> ; <i>De herbis medicinalibus</i> ; <i>De quattuor humoribus</i> ; <i>Medicina</i> ; Medical diagrams	s. xii in	Gameson, 86-7; Ker, 71; Mynors, 49-50
97 †	Durham University, Cosin V. ii. 6	Symeon of Durham, <i>Libellus de exordio</i> , including <i>Prefatio</i> and list of Durham bishops to Ranulf Flambard and Durham monks (both continued)	s. xii in (?1104-9)	Gameson, 87; Rollason (ed. <i>LDE</i> , pages); Ker, 72; Gullick, 27; Mynors, 60-1
98	Durham University, Cosin V. v. 6	Mutilated Gradual, with additions, s. xi/xii; x. xii in	s. xi ex (?1079-1096: Gameson), CCC then to Durham	Gameson, 87; Ker, 72; Browne, 154 no. 32

99 * †	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Adv. 18. 4. 3, fols. 1-83	Palladius, <i>Historia Lausiaca</i> (Heraclides, <i>Paradisus rescension</i>); Victor of vita, <i>Historia persecutionis africanae prouinciae</i>	s. xi ex (pre-1096)	Gameson, 87; Gullick, 24; Browne, 154, no. 42; Mynors, 51
100 †	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Adv. 18. 4. 3, fols. 84-120	Paschasius Radbertus, <i>De corpore et sanguine Domini</i>	s. xi ex	Gameson, 87; Gullick, 24; Mynors, 51
101 †	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Adv. 18. 4. 3, fols. 123-49	Guitmund of Aversa, <i>De corpore et sanguine Domini contra Berengarium</i> ; Augustine, <i>De sacramentis altaris</i>	s. xi ex	Gameson, 87; Gullick, 24; Mynors, 51
102 †	Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 85 (T. 4. 2), fols. 11-34	Easter tables with marginal annals from s. xii in (<i>Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses</i>); 'De ratione computi' (= Dialogue version of Bede, <i>De temporum ratione</i> : Gameson)	s. xii in	Gameson, 89; Ker, 72; Gullick, 29; Mynors, 55
103 †	Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 85 (T. 4. 2), fols. 35+	Bede, <i>De temporum ratione</i> ; <i>Epistola ad Witchendum de uernali equinoctio</i> ; Dionysius Exiguus, <i>Epistolae duae de ratione festi paschae</i> ; Walcher of Great Malvern, <i>De lunationibus</i> (1092 +); Abbo of Fleury, <i>Computus</i> ; <i>De differentia circuli et sphaerae</i> ; <i>Tabula lunationum lxxvi annorum</i> ; Near-contemporary addition of Hyginus, <i>Poetica astronomica</i> (incomplete)	s. xii 1	Gameson, 89; Gullick, 29; Mynors, 55
104	Hereford Cathedral, P. I. 10	Didymus of Alexandria, (trans. Jerome), <i>De Spiritu Sancto</i> ; Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Dialogus quaestionum lxx Orosii percontantis et Augustini respondentis</i> ; (Vigilius of Thapsus) <i>Contra Felicianum</i> ; Augustine, <i>De orando Deo</i> ; Anon. 'Sunt quidem sanctae Dei ecclesiae inimici'; Augustine, <i>Sermo 37</i> ; Anon. 'Ferunt autem physici natum'; Augustine, <i>De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus</i>	s. xi/xii-xii in	Gameson, 90
105	London, British Library ??	'Cuthbert Gospels'	s.vii ex	Mynors, 15
106 †	London, British Library, Cotton Domitian vii	Durham <i>Liber Vitae</i> : begun s. ix 2/4, with later additions from late s. xi to the later Middle Ages	Updated in Durham, s. xi2 onwards	Gameson, 98; Ker, 73; Gullick, 30; Mynors, 24-5
? 107	London, British Library, Cotton Julian A. vi	<i>Hymnarium</i> , with English gloss	s. xi in	Ker, 72
108	London, British Library, Cotton Faust. A. v, fols. 24-97	Symeon, <i>Libellus de Exordio</i>	s. xii in, at Fountains by s. xiii in	Gameson, 99, Rollason LDE

109	London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. ix	Gospel-book, given to community of St Cuthbert while at Chester-le-Street by King Athelstan in 934.	s. x, unknown	Mynors, 25-6
110	London, British Library, Cotton Nero D. iv	Lindisfarne Gospels	s. vii ex-viii in	Symeon, <i>LDE</i> , 114-121; Mynors, 17
? 111	London British Library, Harley 12, fols. 1-140	John the Deacon, <i>Vita S. Gregorii</i> ; with additional ' <i>Versus Gregorii</i> ', s. xii in, fol. 140v	s. xi ex	Gameson, 105
112 †	London British Library, Harley 491, fols. 3-46, plus two blank fols.	Wiliam of Jumièges, <i>Gesta Normannorum Ducum</i>	s. xii in-1	Gameson, 106; Gullick, 27; Mynors, 60
113 †	London British Library, Harley 526, fols. 28-37	<i>Vita Bedae</i>	s. xii 1-2/4	Gameson, 106; Gullick, 28
? 114 †	London British Library, Harley 2729	Frontinus, <i>Stratagemata</i> (acephalus); Eutropius, <i>Brevarium historiae romanae ab urbe condita</i>	s. xi/xii, (Gullick, c. 1090-96)	Gameson, 107; Gullick, 31
115 †	London British Library, Harley 3864	Bede, <i>In Epistolas Catholicas</i>	s. xii in	Gameson, 108; Gullick, 27
116 †	London British Library, Harley 4688	Bede, <i>In proverbial Salomonis; epistola ad Egbertum</i>	s. xii in	Gameson, 109; Ker, 73; Gullick, 27; Mynors, 52
117	London British Library, Harley 4725, fols. 206-13	Fragments of Sermons	s. xii 1-2/4	Gameson, 109
118	London, Society of Antiquaries, 7	Augustine/Anselm and Pseudo-Anselm, <i>Meditationes; Orationes. Preces.</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 124; Ker, 74; Mynors, 53
119 †	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 596, fols. 175-214 (SC 2376)	Bede, <i>Vita S. Cuthberti</i> ; <i>Vita S. Cuthberti</i> (verse extract); <i>Historia de S. Cuthberto</i> (incomplete); Lethaldus Miciacensis, <i>Vita S. Iuliani Cenomanensis antistitis</i> (of Le Mans); Office of St Julian	s. xi/xii ?France and Durham, to Saint Augustine's by s. xiv	Gameson, 132; Gullick, 24
120 †	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 819	Bede, <i>In Proverbia Salomonis</i>	c. 1096- c. 1120	Gullick, 27
121 †	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 175	Bede, <i>Vitae S. Cuthberti</i> (missing beginning); <i>Narratio miraculosa de Aedfrido rege</i> ; Bede, <i>Vita S. Cuthberti</i> (verse); <i>Vitae SS. Oswaldi et Aidani</i> (from Bede, <i>HE</i>)	s. xii in	Gameson, 136; Gullick, 24
122	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 52	Ivo of Chartres, <i>De ecclesiasticis sacramentis</i> (1-5); Pseudo-Jerome, <i>Sententie de essentia et inuisibilitate et immensitudine Dei</i> ; Origen (trans. Jerome), <i>In Heremiam</i> (8); Jerome, <i>Epistola 8 (De tribus uirtutibus)</i>	s. xii 1	Gameson, 140; Ker, 74

123	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 277	Collection of short works attributed to Hugh of St Victor.	s. xii 1	Mynors, 56
124 *	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 546	Julian of Toledo, <i>Epistola praefatoria at Idalium</i> ; <i>Prognosticon futuri saeculi</i>	s. xi ex (pre 1096) Normandy, to Durham then Finchale	Gameson, 141; Ker, 74
125	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood Empt. 24 (SC 8612)	Augustine, <i>De quantitate anime</i> ; Ambrose, <i>De bono mortis</i> ; <i>De fuga saeculi</i> ; <i>De uirginitate</i> (incomplete)	s. xii 1	Gameson, 141
126	?Oxford, Trinity College 28	Bede, <i>De tabernaculo</i> ; 'Liber de Trinitate' (Pseudo-Augustine, <i>De essentia diuinitatis</i>); Isidore, <i>De mensuris et ponderibus</i> (Etym. xvi, 25); PseudoAugustine, (Caesarius of Arles), <i>Sermo de decem praeceptis legis et de decem plagis Aegyptii</i> (=sermo App. 21)	s. xi ex, Durham, then Winchester	Gameson, 145
127	Oxford, University College, 165	Bede, <i>Vita S. Cuthberti</i> (prose); plus two chapters from Bede, <i>HE</i> , and 7 miracles	s. xii in (c. 1104-7) Durham, then Southwick	Gameson, 156
128	Shrewsbury School, 21	Gregory, <i>Regula pastoralis</i>	s. xi/xii Normandy, then Durham	Gameson, 155

B.1: Items now unaccounted for:

No.	Shelfmark	Contents	Date	References (with page numbers)
129*	?	Augustine, <i>Ennarationes in Psalmos</i> (I-L) vol. 1 of 3, accompanying above items 36-7	pre-1096	Browne, 154, no. 3
130*	?	Gregory, <i>Moralia</i> : vol. 2 of 2, accompanying item 48	pre-1096	Browne, 154, no. 13
131*	?	? Gregory, ' <i>Liber pastoralis</i> '	pre-1096	Browne, 154, no. 14
132*	?	Bede, <i>Super Marcum et Lucam</i>	pre-1096	Browne, 154, no. 17
133*	?	' <i>Historiae Pompeii Trogi</i> '	pre-1096	Browne, 154, no. 22
134*	?	Julius Pomperius, <i>Prognosticon</i>	pre-1096	Browne, 154, no. 25
135*	?	Tertullian, <i>Apologeticus</i>	pre-1096	Browne, 154, no. 26
136*	?	' <i>Sidonius Sollius Panigericus</i> '	pre-1096	Browne, 154, no. 27
137*	?	Breviary: One of two present, accompanying item 49	pre-1096	Browne, 154, nos. 28-9
138*	?	Antophoner: One of two present, accompanying item 52	pre-1096	Browne, 154 nos. 30-1
139*	?	' <i>Il libri in quibus matutinas legitur</i> ': vol. 1	pre-1096	Browne, 154 nos. 33-4
140*	?	' <i>Il libri in quibus matutinas legitur</i> ': vol. 2	pre-1096	Browne, 154 nos. 33-4
141*	?	Effrem Vitae Egiptiorum monachorum	pre-1096	Browne, 154, no. 36
142*	?	Smaragdus, <i>Diadema monachorum</i>	pre-1096	Browne, 154, no. 37
143*	?	' <i>Enchiridion Augustini</i> '	pre-1096	Browne, 154, no. 38
144*	?	Bede, <i>Super Cantica Cantocirum</i>	pre-1096	Browne, 154, no. 40
145*	?	Gregory, <i>Dialogus</i>	pre-1096	Browne, 154, no. 41
146*	?	Augustine, <i>Confessiones</i>	pre-1096	Browne, 155, no. 45
147*	?	Missal: first of three volumes	pre-1096	Browne, 155, nos. 47-9
148*	?	Missal: second of three volumes	pre-1096	Browne, 155, nos. 47-9
149*	?	Missal: third of three volumes	pre-1096	Browne, 155, nos. 47-9

Appendix C: Index of manuscripts at the monastery of St Evroul during Orderic's period of activity, c.1085-c.1141.

Sources:

François Avril, *Manuscripts Normands, XI-XII^{ème} siècles*, (Rouen, 1975).

Marjorie Chibnall, 'Introduction' in: *HE*, vol. 1, pp. 1-112 and her list of 'Manuscripts copied or annotated by Orderic' in: *ibid.*, pp. 201-203.

Denis Escudier, 'Orderic Vital et le scriptorium de Saint-Évroult', in: *Manuscripts et Enluminures dans le monde Normand (x^e-xv^e siècles)*, eds. Pierre Bouet and Monique Dosdat, (Caen: Caen University Press, 1999), pp. 17-28.

Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture Latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste, eds. Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, 7 vols. (Paris: CNRS, 1959-84).

Jules Lair, 'Matériaux pour l'édition de Guillaume de Jumièges' *Extrait de la Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, (Paris : 1910), pp. 5-26.

H. Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements: 2, Rouen (suite et fin): Dieppe, Eu, Fécamp, Elbeuf, Gournay-en-Bray, Le Havre, Neufchâtel-en-Bray, Bernay, Conches, Gisors, Louviers, Verneuil, Evreux, Alençon, Montivilliers* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1888), pp. 468-9.

Geneviève Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie*, (Paris: Bibliothèque d'histoire et d'archéologie chrétiennes, 1971).

Key:

* Denotes items included on the St Evroul book-list.

† Denotes items featuring the hand of Orderic Vitalis.

C.1: Known Manuscripts

No.	Shelfmark	Contents	Date (if known)	References
1 *†	Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, 1	<i>Volume containing prophetic books of the Old Testament (Omont) 'Libri Prophetarumcum prologis beati Hieromini'</i>		Omont, 468; Escudier, 24 and 27; Chibnall, 202; Nortier, 219; <i>Cat.</i> vol. 7, p. 3
2	Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, 2	Jerome, <i>Opuscula</i>		<i>Cat.</i> vol. 7, p. 3
3†	Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, 6	Collection of <i>Vitae sanctorum</i>		Chibnall, 202; Nortier, 231; <i>Cat.</i> vol. 7, p. 5

4	Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, 10	Donatus' <i>Ars grammatica</i> , with commentary of Servius		Chibnall, 17; Nortier, 231
5	Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, 11	Ambrose, treatises including <i>De fide</i> ; <i>Vita Sancti Ebrulfi</i> .	Pre-1113?	<i>Cat.</i> vol. 7, p. 5
6*†	Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, 14	Collection of <i>Vitae sanctorum</i> , including Orderic's copy of <i>Life</i> of St Æthelwold; his copy of Charles the Simple's diploma for the first monastery at St Evroul; his annotated copy of Amalarius, <i>De officiis</i>		Omont, 469; Chibnall, 202; Nortier, 231; <i>Cat.</i> vol. 7, p. 7
7*	Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, 16	Warin of Les Essarts, <i>Sententiae</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468; Chibnall, 22.
8†	Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, 26	Bede, <i>Commentary on Ezra</i> : possibly item, 105, below		Chibnall, 202; Omont, 468; Nortier, 201; <i>Cat.</i> vol. 7, p. 7
9*	Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, 149	William of Merlerault, <i>Omeliae</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468; Chibnall, 22; Nortier, 213
10*†	Paris, BNF, Latin 5506, I	Orderic's autograph of <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , books 1-6, vol. 1 of 4	c.1113-1141/2	Chibnall, 118-121 and 201; Escudier, 19-21 and 27; Nortier, 222; <i>Cat.</i> vol. 2, p. 273.
11*†	Paris, BNF, Latin 5506, II	Orderic's autograph of <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , books 1-6, vol. 2 of 4	c.1113-1141/2	Chibnall, 118-121 and 201; Escudier, 19-21 and 27; Nortier, 222; <i>Cat.</i> vol. 2, p. 273.
12*†	?(Lost)	Orderic's autograph of <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , books 7 and 8, vol. 3 of 4	c.1113-1141/2	Chibnall, 121; Escudier, 19-21
13*†	Paris, BNF, Latin 10913	Orderic's autograph of <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , books 9-13, vol. 4 of 4	c.1113-1141/2	Chibnall, 118-121 and 201; Escudier, 19-21 and 27; Nortier, 222 <i>Cat.</i> vol. 3, p. 209
14 †	Paris, BNF Latin 6503	Collection containing Latin-Greek vocabulary; homilies; <i>Lives</i> and <i>Passions</i> of saints.		Chibnall, 201; Laird, 16; <i>Cat.</i> vol. 2, p. 349

15 †	Paris, BNF, Latin 10062	‘Chapter-book of St Evroul’, containing: <i>Necrology</i> ; <i>Liber memorialis</i> ; calendar, excerpts from Bede, <i>De temporum ratione</i> ; Annals; St Evroul book-list.		Escudier, 24; Chibnall, 201; Nortier, 222; <i>Cat.</i> vol. 2, p. 151
16† ?*	Paris, BNF, Latin 10508	Tropary: 1 of 12 noted in book-list-see below, items 44-54.		Escudier, 24; Omont, 468; Nortier, 230; <i>Cat.</i> vol. 2, p. 181
17 †*	Paris, BNF, Latin 12131	Collection of works on the Trinity. Possibly the surviving manuscript of either item 78 or 101, below.		Chibnall, 201-2
18	Paris, BNF, nouv. acr. lat. 1824	Priscian, <i>Institutiones grammaticae</i>		Chibnall, 17; Omont, 469; Nortier, 226
19 † *	Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 31	Gospel-book, with <i>Liber Pontificalis</i> partially copied by Orderic Vitalis, including his copy of a Letter from Jerome to pope Damase	s. xii 1	Avril, 70-1; Escudier, 23; Omont, 468; Chibnall, 59; <i>Cat.</i> vol. 7, p. 261
20 ? †	Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 273 (A. 287)	<i>Sacrementary of St Evroul</i>	s. xi ex	Avril, 66-7; Nortier, 223; <i>Cat.</i> vol. 7, p. 279
21	Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 456 (A. 19)	Augustine, <i>Commentary on Psalms</i> I-L, companion to items 22 and 77: vol. 1 of 3	s. xi/xii	Avril, 69-70; Nortier, 200; <i>Cat.</i> vol. 7, p. 295
22	Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 461 (A. 184)	Augustine, <i>Commentary on Psalms</i> LI-C, companion to items 21 and 77: vol. 2 of 3	s. xi ex	Avril, 68; Nortier, 200; <i>Cat.</i> vol. 7, p. 297
23	Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 473 (A. 325)	Various treatises by Augustine	s. xi ex	Avril, 65-66; Nortier, 199
24*	Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 482 (A. 108)	Augustine, <i>De civitate Dei</i> ; Adhémar of Chabannes’ <i>Liber Pontificalis</i>	s. xii 1	Avril, 70; Omont, 469; Nortier, 198
25	Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 486 (A. 259)	Augustine, <i>Sermones</i>	s. xi ex	Avril, 66
26	Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 508 (A. 333)	Cassian, <i>Collationes</i>	s. xi ex	Avril, 66; Nortier, 217
27 *†	Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 1174 (Y. 14)	Angelomus’ commentary on the <i>Book of Kings</i> ; fragment of a text <i>De matrimonio</i> ; Gilbert Crispin, <i>Disputatio Judaei et Christiani</i> , and Orderic’s interpolated but incomplete William of Jumièges, <i>Gesta Normannorum ducum</i> . Listed as ‘Angelomus’ in s.xii book-list	1109-1113	Avril, 71; Escudier, 21, 25; Chibnall, 202; <i>GND</i> , ciii-civ; Omont, 469; Nortier, 212; <i>Cat.</i> vol. 7, p. 319

28 † *	Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 1343 (U. 43)	Bede, <i>Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum</i> ; <i>Lives of saints</i> including: <i>Gesta saluatoris</i> ; Sulpicius Severus, <i>Life of St Martin</i> , et alia.	s. xii 1, (Avril-entirely by Orderic)	Avril, 72-3; Omont, 469; Chibnall, 203 ; Nortier, 201 ; <i>Cat.</i> vol. 7, p. 325
29 †	Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 1376	Gregory of Tours, <i>De gloria martyrum</i>	s. xii 1	Avril, 73; Escudier, 23; Nortier, 224
30 †	Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 1389 (U. 35)	Lives of Saints, including Orderic's copy of the <i>Life of St Nicholas</i> and marginal notations on <i>Life of St Barnabus</i> (fol. 99 v)	s. xi ex	Avril, 68-9; Escudier, 23.

C.2: Items known from the St Evroul book-list alone

No.	Shelfmark	Contents	Date	References (with page numbers)
31 *	?	Book of <i>Genesis</i>	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
32 *	?	<i>Libri Regnum</i>	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
33 *	?	<i>Paralopomenon</i>	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
34 *	?	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
35 *	?	? Eusebius, ' <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> '	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
36 *	?	<i>Historia Clementis</i>	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
37 *	?	' <i>Psalterium Magnum</i> '	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
38 *	?	<i>Antophony</i> vol. 1 of 3	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
39 *	?	<i>Antophony</i> vol. 2 of 3	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
40 *	?	<i>Antophony</i> vol. 3 of 3	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
41 *	?	<i>Gradual</i> , vol. 1 of 3	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
42 *	?	<i>Gradual</i> , vol. 2 of 3	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
43 *	?	<i>Gradual</i> , vol. 3 of 3	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
44 *	?	<i>Tropary</i> , 2 of 12, companion to item 16	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
45 *	?	<i>Tropary</i> , 3 of 12	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
46 *	?	<i>Tropary</i> , 4 of 12	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
47 *	?	<i>Tropary</i> , 5 of 12	present s. xii in	Omout, 468
48 *	?	<i>Tropary</i> , 6 of 12	present s. xii in	Omout, 468

49 *	?	<i>Tropary, 7 of 12</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
50 *	?	<i>Tropary, 8 of 12</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
51 *	?	<i>Tropary, 9 of 12</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
52 *	?	<i>Tropary, 10 of 12</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
53 *	?	<i>Tropary, 11 of 12</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
54 *	?	<i>Tropary, 12 of 12</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
55 *	?	<i>'Gracianus'</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
56 *	?	<i>Rabanus super Matheum</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
57 *	?	<i>'Sententiae Garini Sagii cum sententiis Origenis super Cantica'</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
58 *	?	William of Merlerault, <i>'Apocalypsis'</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
59 *	?	Gregory, <i>Moralia in Job</i> , vol. 1 of 3	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
60 *	?	Gregory, <i>Moralia in Job</i> , vol. 2 of 3	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
61 *	?	Gregory, <i>Moralia in Job</i> , vol. 3 of 3	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
62 *	?	Gregory, <i>Dialogi</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
63 *	?	<i>'Mariale'</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
64 *	?	<i>'Bernardus abbas super Cantica canticorum'</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
65 *	?	?Gregory, <i>'Liber Pastoralis'</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
66 *	?	?Gregory, <i>'Liber XL omelarium'</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
67 *	?	?Gregory, <i>'Registrum'</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
68 *	?	?Gregory, <i>'Expositio super Ezechielem'</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
69 *	?	<i>'Catalogus pontificum, cum Novo Testamento'</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
70 *	?	<i>'Solinus'</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
71 *	?	<i>'Rufinus super omelias Origenis'</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
72 *	?	Augustine, <i>Super Johannem</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
73 *	?	Augustine, <i>Contra Faustum</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
74 *	?	Augustine, <i>Enchiridion</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
75 *	?	Augustine, <i>De verbis Domini</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
76 *	?	Augustine, <i>Soliloquium</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468

77 *	?	Augustine, <i>Commentary on Psalms</i> CI- CL, companion to items 21 and 22: vol. 3 of 3	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
78 *	?	Augustine, <i>De trinitate</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
79 *	?	Augustine, <i>Super sermonem Domini in monte</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
80 *	?	Augustine, <i>De doctrina christiana</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
81 *	?	Augustine, <i>Confessiones</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
82 *	?	Augustine, <i>De devinatione demonum</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
83 *	?	' <i>Decreta Huberti</i> '	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
84 *	?	Hubert, <i>Sententiae ejusdem</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, p. 468
85 *	?	Boethius, <i>De consolatio philosophiae</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
86 *	?	Orosius, <i>?Historia adversus paganos</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
87 *	?	' <i>Regula beati Basilii</i> '	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
88 *	?	Bede, <i>Super Cantica canticorum</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
89 *	?	' <i>Marbodius</i> '	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
90 *	?	' <i>Bernardus abbas super: Missus est Gabriel</i> '	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
91 *	?	Jerome, <i>Contra Jovinianum</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
92 *	?	Jerome, <i>De questionibus</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
93 *	?	Jerome, <i>Super Psalterium</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
94 *	?	Ambrose, <i>De sacramentis</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
95 *	?	Ambrose, <i>De fide</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
96 *	?	Ambrose, <i>Hexameron</i> commentary	present by first continuation of cat.	Omont, 468
97 *	?	Ambrose, <i>Super beati immaculati</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
98 *	?	Isidore, <i>De naturis rerum</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
99 *	?	Isidore, <i>Super Vetus Testamentum</i>	present s. xii in	Omont, 468
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133 *	?	<i>Vita sancte Radegundis</i>	1 st continuation ?	Omont, 469
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164 *	?	Augustine, <i>De genesim ad litteram</i>	6 th Continuation ?	Omont, 469
165 *	?	Smaragdus, <i>Super regulam sancti Benedicti</i>	6 th Continuation ?	Omont, 469
166 *	?	<i>'Liber Hugonis, Rotomagensis archiepiscopi'</i>	6 th Continuation ?	Omont, 469
167 *	?	<i>Vitae sanctorum Herluini et Anselmi</i>	7 th Continuation ?	Omont, 469

168 *	?	<i>'Liber Gunfridi prioris, qui incipit a sententia Gregorii de Pascha, cum aliis diversis sententiis, et cantica Hugonis; in uno volumine'</i>	7 th Continuation ?	Omont, 469
169 *	?	<i>'Liber Elucidarii, cum diversis sententiis'</i>	7 th Continuation ?	Omont, 469

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Alençon, médiathèque de la communauté urbaine

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1 | Collection of Old Testament prophecies, with Orderic's poems on fols. 30v-32r. |
| 6 | Collection of hagiographical texts from Saint-Évroul, featuring Orderic's additions. |
| 14 | Collection of hagiographical texts from Saint-Évroul, featuring Orderic's additions. |
| 26 | Collection of exegetical commentaries from Saint-Évroul, featuring Orderic's additions. |

Cambridge, Library of Corpus Christi College

- | | |
|-----|---|
| 341 | Fragmentary copy of Eadmer's autograph <i>Historia novorum</i> . |
| 371 | Eadmer's autograph 'personal notebook', containing almost all surviving works, except for <i>Historia novorum in Anglia</i> . |
| 452 | Eadmer's autograph <i>Historia novorum</i> . |

Cambridge, University Library

- | | |
|---------|--|
| Ff.i.27 | Late twelfth-century deluxe copy of <i>Libellus de exordio</i> (pp. 122-94) with a list of Durham relics and shorter texts related to Cuthbert's cult and its patrons, alongside Gildas' <i>De excidio</i> , <i>Historia Brittonum</i> , and Bede's <i>De temporibus</i> . |
|---------|--|

Durham Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Muniments

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| Misc. Ch. 556 | King Edgar of Scotland to Durham. |
| Misc. Ch. 558 | King Edgar of Scotland to Durham. |
| 2.1.Pont.1 | Bishop Ranulf to Durham cathedral priory. |
| 2.1.Pont.2 | Bishop Ranulf to Durham cathedral priory. |

Durham Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Library

- | | |
|---------|--|
| A.II.4 | Bible, with Symeon's book-list appearing on front flyleaf. |
| B.II.35 | Bede, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> featuring Symeon's marginal note (fol. 39v). |

- B.IV.12 Collection of commentaries by Augustine, with numerous notes added by Symeon.
- B.IV.22 Annals (Durham, s.xii ½).
- B.IV.24 ‘Durham cantor’s book’, containing martyrology, calendar, liturgical ordinances, Rule of St Benedict in England and Latin, and Lanfranc’s Decreta, part copied by Eadmer.
- C.IV.15 Annals (Durham, s.xii ½).
- Hunter 100 Computistical handbook (Durham, s.xii ½).

Durham, University Library

- Cosin V.II.6 *Libellus de exordio*, with later twelfth-century continuations.

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland

- Advocates 18.4.3 Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, edited by Symeon.

Glasgow, University Library

- Hunterian 85 (T.4.2) Computistical handbook (Durham, s.xii ½), containing *Annales Lindisfarnenses et Dunelmenses*.

London, British Library

- Cotton Domitian vii Durham *Liber vitae*.
- Cotton Faustina A.v *Libellus de exordio* (fols. 25r-97r).
- Harley 491 William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, edited by Symeon.
- Harley 526 *Vita Bedae* (fols. 28-37), part-copied by Symeon.
- Harley 2729 Eutropius’ *Brevarium historiae*, edited by Symeon.

Oxford, Bodleian Library

- Bodley 596 Collection of works related to cults of Northumbrian saints, copied by Symeon.
- Digby 175 Collection of works related to cults of Northumbrian saints, copied by Symeon.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

- Latin 5506, vols. I, II Orderic’s autograph *Historia ecclesiastica*.
and Latin 10913

Latin 6503	Collection of hagiographical texts form Saint-Évroul, featuring Orderic's additions.
Latin 10062	'Chapter-book of Saint-Évroul'.

Rouen, Bibliothèque de la ville

1174 (Y. 14)	Angelomus' commentary on the <i>Book of Kings</i> and Orderic's interpolated but incomplete version of William of Jumièges, <i>Gesta Normannorum ducum</i> .
1318 (U107)	Collection of hagiographical texts form Saint-Évroul, featuring Orderic's additions.
1343 (U43)	Collection of hagiographical texts form Saint-Évroul, featuring Orderic's additions.
1376	Gregory of Tours, <i>De gloria martyrum</i> .
1389 (U35)	Collection of hagiographical texts form Saint-Évroul, featuring Orderic's additions.

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