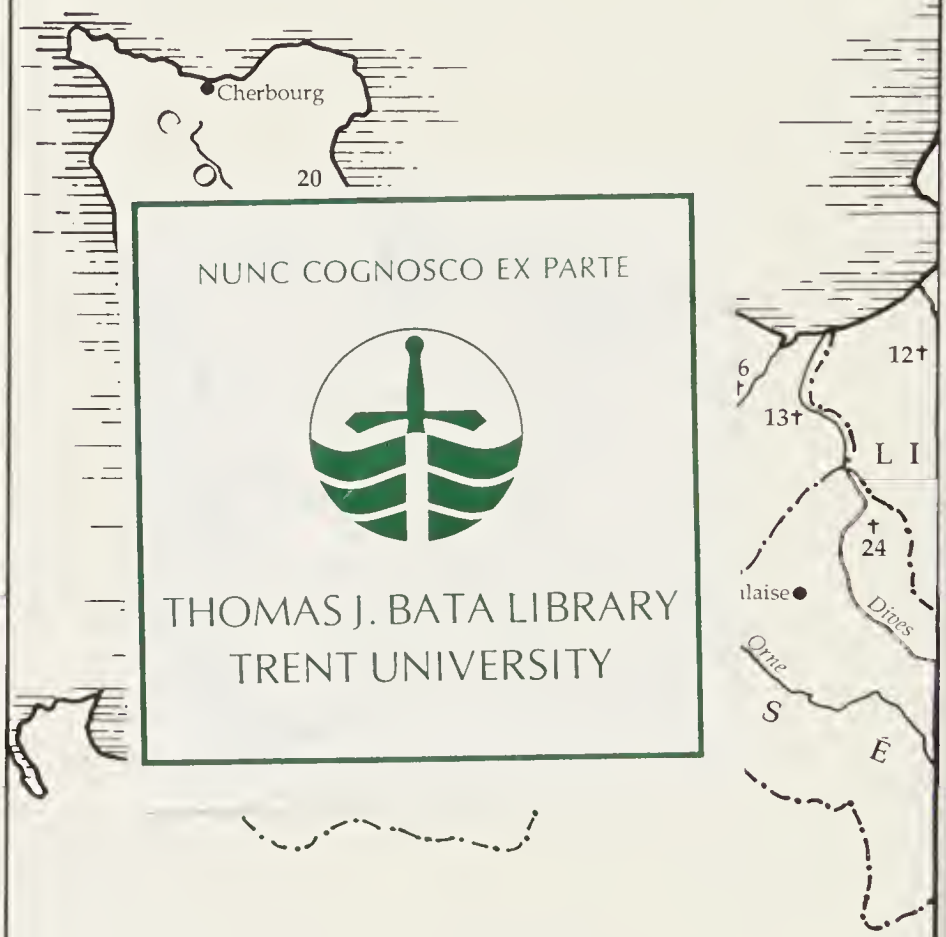
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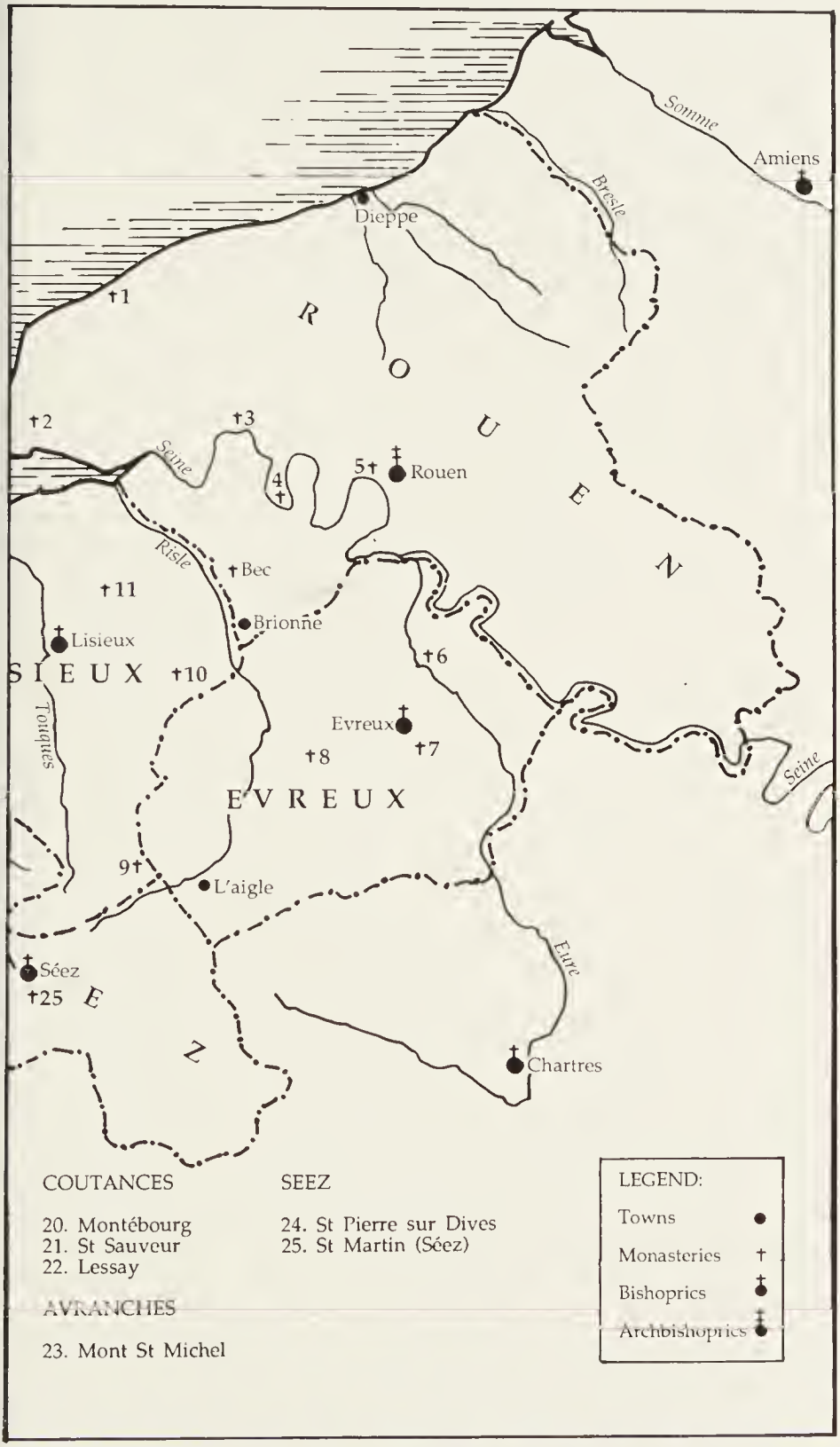
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Cistercian Studies Series: Number Ninety-Six

# THE LETTERS OF SAINT ANSELM OF CANTERBURY

CISTERCIAN STUDIES SERIES: NUMBER NINETY-SIX

# *THE LETTERS of SAINT ANSELM OF CANTERBURY*

Translated and annotated
with an Introduction
by

Walter Fröhlich

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface ..... 1
Introduction ..... 5
Abbreviations ..... 67

The Letters of Anselm ..... 71

Appendix ..... 335
Bibliography ..... 345

# PREFACE

THE ANSELMI OPERA OMNIA were critically re-edited by Dom F.S. Schmitt in five volumes from 1938 to 1963, and to them a volume of *Prolegomena seu Ratio editionis* was prefixed and a volume of indices added. Since then English translations of Anselm's philosophical and theological works and tracts, his prayers and meditations, and his philosophical fragments have been published. The body of Anselm's correspondence, four-hundred-seventy-five items constituting about half Dom Schmitt's edition, has never been translated into English as a whole although various selections of letters have appeared in various publications since the nineteenth century. This present translation fills a major lacuna.

Translation is always in danger of harming or even distorting the original. One language is never completely congruous with another, for they differ not merely in vocabulary and syntax but also in imagery, aspect, pattern of tenses, word order, and sentence cadence. Being aware of these difficulties, a translator is continually forced to choose a certain word, image, or expression from a number of possibil-

ities not all of which may always faithfully render the author's original intentions.

I have tried to make this translation of the Letters of St Anselm readable in modern English while remaining close enough to the original Latin text that the grammatical structure and the rhetorical figures of speech of the Latin original may be followed. I have endeavoured to convey the undertones of humour, criticism, satire, impatience, firm command, the warmth of friendship or the coolness of formal politeness contained in Anselm's brilliant style. Nevertheless I am fully aware that translation can never lay claim to replacing the original and is always to be seen as a helpful crutch for those unable easily to read the original.

During the long period of preparing the translation and annotation of *The Letters of St Anselm* I received help and encouragement from many scholars and friends. It is impossible to thank all of them but I must mention a few.First and foremost I am greatly indebted to Dom F.S. Schmitt who initiated me into the study of Anselm's letters in 1961 and supported my interest in Anselm studies until his death in 1972. It is a pleasure to record my thanks to the late Professor Johannes Spörl and to Professor Frank Barlow for introducing me to the conflict between Church and Crown in the Anglo-Norman period, and to Professor Laetitia Boehm, Dr Majorie Chibnall, and Professors Christopher Brooke, Richard Campbell, and Jasper Hopkins for their constant interest and support. I am most grateful to Professor Sir Richard Southern for fruitful discussions about the genesis of Anselm's letter collections and to Dr David Dumville for offering helpful suggestions on this issue. Professor Bernhard Bischof and Miss A.M. Oakley gave me invaluable information on paleographic details which greatly furthered my research. Professor C. Warren Hollister has shown great interest in my work and supported it by inviting me to speak at several important conferences in America. Great thanks are due to the late Professor R. Allen Brown who invited me to present my findings at various meetings

of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies and to the members of this distinguished circle, who have been a constant stimulus and corrective. Encouragement and help over many years were extended to me by Professors Karl Schnith and Donald Dietrich, who also read drafts of the introduction and suggested many improvements for which I am grateful. My thanks also go out to Dr Helmut Wolff for advising me on the annotations, to my friend Dr Theo Gerke, who clarified certain medical points, and to Professor Richard Heinzmann for permitting me to use the facilities of the Grabmann Institut. To Cistercian Publications and their editor Dr. Rozanne Elder I owe a great debt for overcoming all the difficulties of working with a far-distant author with unfailing patience and tranquillity. She is to be thanked for her choice of correctors and advisors who all handled the project with admirable scholarship and insight.

Since English is not my mother-tongue I was constrained to ask for help from native-speakers whose advice has been profound and ungrudging. First of all, I wish to thank my wife Leonora who has indefatigably corrected and improved my use of the English language for many years; she spent endless hours typing and correcting drafts and proofs, and without her help this translation would never have been finished. For this reason it is gratefully dedicated to her and to my sons, who were deprived of their father's undivided attention for a long time. Moreover, I wish to record my gratitude to Professors Patrick Ryan and Paul Crittenden, and to Dom David Morland for checking the translation, to Dom Philip Holdsworth and Dom Alberic Stacpoole for advice on monastic usage. And last but not least I document my thanks to my father-in-law, Michael J. Ward, who scoured the whole manuscript with unfailing pertinacity and tried to polish my English. Despite the generous help of all above mentioned any remaining errors or weaknesses must be imputed to me alone.

Walter Fröhlich

München, 21 April 1987

# INTRODUCTION

*The Life and Times of St Anselm of Canterbury*

ANSELM WAS BORN AT AOSTA, on the confines of Lombardy, in 1033/34, into a noble Burgundian family of declining fortunes.[1] His father Gundulf, a spendthrift Lombard nobleman, had married Eremberga, related to Count Humbert II of Maurienne and heiress to a small barony situated in the Aosta valley at the southern foot of the Great Saint Bernard pass. While his father involved himself almost totally in secular and business affairs, his mother practised an intense spiritual life. She instilled in her son a deep love of God and the Church. At school he soon displayed a keen intelligence and, early in his boyhood, certainly by the time he was fourteen, he held the ecclesiastical rank of canon and was placed under a private tutor. At this age he attempted to join a monastery but was refused admission because he had not obtained his father's permission. After his mother died, the antagonism between Anselm and his business-minded father decided him to leave home, never to return. After a number of years spent attending various schools in France, he was drawn to Bec in Normandy in 1059 by the reputation of a fellow-

countryman, Lanfranc, the most eminent teacher of his time.[2] Lanfranc had joined the recently established (1034) community of Bec in 1042, and in 1045 had been appointed prior and master of the abbey school by Herluin, the founder-abbot of Bec.[3] After some years of doubt and hesitation, Anselm became a monk at Bec, making his monastic profession to Abbot Herluin in 1060. When, in 1063, Duke William[4] of Normandy chose Prior Lanfranc to be the first abbot of St Stephen's, his monastic foundation at Caen, Anselm was appointed prior despite considerable opposition from various senior members of the community. By his considerate manner, humility, and kindness, Anselm was able in time to overcome this opposition and to conciliate the ill-feeling.

Just as Lanfranc had done before him, Anselm successfully combined the office of prior with that of master of the flourishing school at Bec. His fame as a teacher drew a great number of brilliant young minds to Bec.[5] Encouraged, sometimes even bullied, by his pupils, Anselm committed his insights and teaching to writing and thus began to publish his theological works from about 1076 onwards.[6]

His theological predecessors had been content with merely collecting authoritative statements from Holy Scripture and the Fathers, and then attempting to harmonise conflicting and contradicting statements. Anselm undertook the formidable task of freeing theology from these limitations and laying completely new foundations for it.[7] Anselm did not consider tradition and the transmission of authorities to be the sole basis of his theological thinking; he aimed at achieving the conclusiveness of his argumentation *sola ratione*. Following his motto *fides quaerens intellectum*—faith seeking understanding—, he used reason to investigate faith in the hope of perceiving the truths of faith and of attaining the vision of God. Having laid this foundation, Anselm embarked on the attempt to convince the unbeliever of the reasonableness of the truths of faith. To this end he had to modify his method and adapt his argument. He

developed an original scientific method of his own by using *ratio necessariae* without referring to Holy Scripture or any other authority.

Employing this new method of investigation *sola ratione* and deductive conclusions, yet firmly rooted in Augustinian thought, Anselm presented his findings—originally tested with his students at Bec—in three major works[8]:

In the *Monologion* (1076) Anselm did not in a chain of logical arguments simply prove that God was the Supreme Good, the Supreme Nature, the Supreme Being. In fact he was attempting to show that the existence of good things requires the existence of one highest thing, which is God; that the existence of superior and inferior natures requires the existence of one Supreme Nature, which is God; that the existence of being *per aliud* requires the existence of one being *per se*, which is likewise God.

In the *Proslogion* (1077/78) he presented his long-sought for *unum argumentum*, which, because of its simplicity, can be presented to every man: 'Considering this work [the *Monologion*] to be a chain of many interlinking arguments, I began to ask myself whether perhaps one argument could be found which constituted an independent proof and scuffed by itself to demonstrate that (1) God really exists, that (2) he is the Supreme Good, needing no one else yet needed by all else in order to exist and to exist well, and that (3) he is whatever else we believe about Divine Substance', Anselm writes in the preface of *Proslogion*. He then concludes in chapter 2: 'Hence, without doubt, something than which a greater cannot be thought exists both in the understanding and in reality.' This Anselmian conclusion has divided philosophers into two camps up to the present day: one group (Leibnitz, Hartshorn) regards Anselm's leap from thought to essence as a product of profound wisdom and is able to follow him, whereas the other, opposing, camp (Kant, Russell, Kolakowsky) dreams, like Anselm's contemporary critic, the monk Gaunilo of Marmoutiers, of the most beautiful possible island but is

unable to find it since what can be thought of does not necessarily exist. For this reason this group of philosophers has rejected Anselm's *unum argumentum*—the ontological argument for the existence of God.

In *Cur Deus Homo* (1098) the early christian and early medieval teaching of the redemption of man by ransom is superseded by Anselm's concept of atonement by representative satisfaction (*satisfactio vacaria*). Only Jesus the Christ in whom limited human nature and infinite divine nature are anointed together is able to render satisfaction for Adam's sin of infinite offence to God.

Anselm deals with a number of different issues in *De grammatico, De veritate, De libertate arbitrii* (these three 1080-1085), *De casu diaboli* (1085-1090), *Epistola de incarnatione verbi* (1093), *De conceptu virginali et de originali peccato* (1099/1100), *et alia*. For his *Prayers and Meditations* (about 1070) Anselm required the reader to seek solitude and have his heart stirred to contrition and the love of God.

In presenting his arguments Anselm abandoned the commonly-accepted monological form of the *tractatus* in favor of the dialogue. In this thought he not only drew the individual Christian or unbeliever into his thought but also endeavored to express that thought as an argument, using the interplay of question and answer between master and disciple to advance step by step. Once the initial skepticism towards the novelty of his approach had been dispelled, Anselm's work earned him fame all over Europe. He was generally recognized as the foremost philosophical and theological mind of his time. At the Synod of Bari in 1098, Pope Urban II called on him as the leading authority of the Latin Church to settle the long-standing controversy with the Greeks over the *filioque* clause of the Creed. Anselm convincingly argued the procession of the Holy Spirit from God the Father and from God the Son and refuted as heresy the teaching of the Greeks, who believed in the procession of the Holy Spirit from God the Father. The Synod of Bari followed Anselm's argument and defined the correct

reading with the passage as: 'et (credo) in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem: qui ex Patre Filioque procedit'. Thus the authority of Anselm's teaching and thought had a lasting impact on a number of theological issues.[9]

On the death of Abbot Herluin in 1078, the brethren of the community at Bec unanimously elected Anselm as their second abbot. Protesting violently and weeping, Anselm finally complied with their will, perceiving in their persistent demands the will of God.[10] Following the precedent set by his predecessor, Anselm was blessed on 22 February 1079 as abbot of Bec by Gilbert, Bishop of Evreux, without having first sworn fealty to the Duke of Normandy or made profession of obedience to the Archbishop of Rouen. This procedure, established at the foundation of the monastery and renewed and confirmed by Anselm, conferred on the abbot of Bec a legal position similar to that of the abbot of Cluny. When founding Cluny in 908, William of Aquitaine had relinquished his rights to his *ecclesia propria* and presented his foundation to Saint Peter, thus granting it freedom from all feudal ties and obligations. In a similar way Herluin obtained release from his feudal obligations to the Count of Brionne and founded his monastery on his own property (*allodium*), entrusting his foundation to the protection of Mary, the Mother of God.

As prior and abbot of Bec, Anselm successfully pursued both his secular and spiritual obligations. He maintained and increased the possessions of the monastery; three times he crossed the Channel to inspect Bec's estates in England.[11] His influence in improving the spirituality of his monks, a task to which his sensitive, compassionate nature disposed him, spread beyond the walls of his own monastery and drew many young men to the school of Bec. One hundred twenty-two novices made their monastic profession into the hands of Abbot Anselm.[12] His advice and counsel were also sought by many from far and near, by letter and in person. Thus his humility and kindness, his wisdom and prudence, his writings as well as his administration made

Anselm a prominent figure all over Europe and across the Channel in the Anglo-Norman kingdom.[13]

These qualities recommended Anselm to the bishops and barons of England, who pressed King William II Rufus during his serious illness in March 1093, to fill the widowed see of Canterbury. Fearing imminent death and God's vengeance for having kept Canterbury vacant for nearly four years following Archbishop Lanfranc's death on 26 May 1089, the King consented to the pleas of his crown vassals. Despite Anselm's resistance, a natural distaste for high office and his protestations of his own incompetence and unsuitability, the King forcibly invested him on 6 March 1093, by pressing the staff onto his clenched hand. Anselm was then 'carried rather than led' by the crown vassals to the neighbouring church, where the *Te Deum* was chanted.[14] These unusual circumstances at his investiture notwithstanding, Anselm paid homage to the King in early September and was consecrated primate of all Britain and of the adjacent regions on 4 December 1093, by Archbishop Thomas of York, supported by all the bishops of England. Anselm had given in to their persistent demands because he recognised in them the will of God.[15]

For sixteen years Anselm administered the office of archbishop of Canterbury. These years were troubled by four major problems: the dispute with William II over the constitutional law of *usus atque leges* (1094-1097); the later controversy with Henry I on the investiture of clerics (1100-1107); the reform of the Church and moral conduct in England; and finally, the renewed outbreak of an old quarrel concerning the supremacy of Canterbury over York (1108-1109). (For an account of the Normanisation of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, see below, pp. 20–23.)

Anselm considered the reform of the Church and the improvement of moral conduct within the Anglo-Norman kingdom his prime task. In pursuing this reform, he came into bitter conflict with William Rufus who, like his father, considered himself *advocatus et protector ecclesiae* and there-

fore claimed absolute control over the Church within his realm and prevented the convening of any reforming synods. He did this partly for personal reasons, for he himself and several members of his court were said to be involved in homosexual practices.[16] William Rufus based his claim on the Norman *usus atque leges* which his father William the Conqueror had transferred as constitutional law from the duchy of Normandy to the kingdom of England.[17] *Usus*, customs, exalted the king above the Church and insulated the Anglo-Norman kingdom from alien or hostile influences. They enabled the king to control the entry or exit of any individual or of any written or verbal information; they placed him as guardian and protector above the Church, and gave him alone the right to acknowledge any pope, to call synods, and to ratify the canons.

Anselm's conflict with William II grew out of the archbishop's repeated request for royal leave to visit Pope Urban II, whom he had acknowledged as rightful pope while still abbot of Bec. He needed to go in order to obtain the pallium confirming his archiepiscopal consecration and to seek papal advice for the reform of the *ecclesia in Anglia*. The king refused, since he had not yet decided whether to recognise Urban II or Clement III as rightful bishop of Rome. By delaying he could hold back the 'romascot', or Peter's pence, which he had been collecting in the pope's name. This led Anselm to question the lawfulness and rightfulness of these *usus atque leges*. In his opinion they were the arbitrary law of a mortal man, and, when confronted with the eternal law of God and his Church, he felt himself bound to oppose them. When, relying on *rectitudo* and in obedience to the law of God and the Church, Anselm openly resisted royal *usus atque leges* at the *curia regis* at Rockingham in February 1095[18] and again at Winchester in October 1097,[19] nearly all his episcopal colleagues[20] deserted their primate. They rallied around the king to defend him and those Norman customs which supported their own position. The quarrel with the king and episcopal antagonism drove

Anselm into exile from November 1097 to September 1100. He spent his first exile partly in Rome and in Bari as the honoured guest of Urban II, partly at Sclavia as the guest of a former pupil, John, the abbot of San Salvatore at Telese and later Cardinal and Bishop of Tusculum/Frascati. But he spent the longest part of it, from June 1099 to August 1100, with his friend, Archbishop Hugh at Lyon, making visits from there to Cluny in spring 1100 and to La Chaise-Dieu in early August of the same year.[21]

Anselm's return to England in September 1100 precipitated the second serious conflict of his pontificate: the controversy over the investiture of clerics by 'lay' nobles and the oath of fealty such clerics made into the hands of laymen.[22] On 2 August 1100, William Rufus was killed while hunting in the New Forest near Winchester. His younger brother Henry succeeded him the following morning and was crowned King Henry I at Westminster two days later. To strengthen his position—for his elder brother Robert, Duke of Normandy, one of the gallant and renowned leaders of the first crusade, was returning from Palestine and already quite close to home—the new king immediately recalled Anselm from exile to his see. When Anselm returned to England he was joyfully welcomed by King Henry and asked for the customary renewal of *homagium*. Having brought with him and being determined to impose the papal decrees forbidding lay investiture and homage by clerics to laymen, Anselm refused this oath of fealty. By this he introduced these decrees into the Anglo-Norman kingdom which had hitherto been effectively protected against unwelcome outside influences by the Norman *usus atque leges* of William I. But as Anselm had been present at the promulgation of these decrees at the lenten synod in Rome in March 1099, he considered himself absolutely bound by them in obedience to the pope.[23]

During the ensuing dispute with King Henry over the enforcement of these papal decrees in England, the Archbishop of Canterbury regarded himself as vicar of Pope

Paschal II,[24] the successor of Urban II, and not as the opponent of the King in an issue of his own concern, as had been the case with William Rufus. For this reason, as far as Anselm was concerned, a mitigation or an annulment of the papal decrees and a solution to the investiture controversy between king and pope could not be granted by him, but could only be obtained from the pope himself. Three embassies travelled from England to Rome to win this mitigation or annulment.[25] None achieved the results hoped for. Finally, at the Easter court of 1103, the king, supported by his barons and bishops, persuaded Anselm, already aged seventy, to undertake the strenuous journey to Rome in order to bring about a satisfactory solution. Anselm complied to the royal wish; he stated, however: 'if I succeed in reaching the Pope, you must understand that I shall not ask or advise him to do anything which might be prejudicial to the liberty of the Church or to my own credit.'[26] Given this attitude, it is not surprising that Anselm did not achieve the purpose for which the king had sent him to Rome. In December 1103, therefore, Henry I forbade him to return to England. Anselm was forced to bear the hardship of a second exile.

The banished Archbishop of Canterbury spent most of this, his second exile, again at Lyon and the rest at Bec. Papal excommunication in March 1105 of Henry's chief counsellor, Count Robert of Meulan,[27] Anselm's threat to excommunicate the King himself and to place England under interdict,[28] and Henry's fervent desire to remain in the good graces of the Church in order not to jeopardise his chances of winning the duchy of Normandy, eventually led to a reconciliation between archbishop and king. On 22 June 1105, the eve of Henry's successful campaign to wrest the duchy of Normandy from his brother Robert, Anselm and the King reached the 'compromise of L'Aigle' to end the controversy on the investiture of clerics for the Anglo-Norman kingdom. It allowed Church elections to ecclesiastical offices to be carried out within the *curia regis* and

left the king control of ecclesiastical fiefs.[29] In this conflict, as before, nearly all Anselm's episcopal colleagues first rallied in defence of the King and supported him against papal claims which they regarded as damaging to the *auctoritas regis* and, in turn, to their own position, which rested upon royal power. In due course, however, some of the bishops[30] perceived changing trends and supported Anselm and the 'compromise of L'Aigle'. After Paschal's consent to the compromise of March 1106, these bishops made its acceptance possible at the stormy meeting of the *curia regis* at Westminster in early August 1107.[31] The pattern set by this 'Concordat of London'—the separation of spiritual office from ecclesiastical fiefs—also contributed to the solution of the dispute on investitures between pope and emperor in the Concordat of Worms in 1122.[32]

Anselm's conflicts with William II over the *usus atque leges* and with Henry I over lay investiture of clerics had hindered him from carrying out the prime tasks of his pontificate: the reform of the Church and the improvement of moral conduct in the Anglo-Norman kingdom. At last, in September 1102 and again at Whitsun 1108, Henry granted him permission to convene reforming councils.[33] While the council of 1108 was solely devoted to the enforcement of clerical celibacy, the earlier one had dealt with the public conduct of the clergy, monastic issues, marriage and consanguinity, men with long hair, and sodomy as well as celibacy. Since a number of Anselm's fellow-bishops themselves contravened the intentions of the canons of these synods by their example, and, since the lower clergy resisted them stubbornly, however, their enforcement was not entirely successful. Later synods, of 1125 and 1127, had to deal with the same issues again.

In the long drawn-out supremacy dispute between Canterbury and York,[34] Anselm secured a wider recognition for the primacy of Canterbury than his predecessor Lanfranc had achieved.[35] The sees of Wales, Ireland, and parts of Scotland acknowledged it,[36] while York was forced to

accept a papal decision favouring the supremacy of Anselm and Canterbury.[37] Nevertheless, the last year of Anselm's life was overshadowed by a new outbreak of the dispute.[38] It flared up when Thomas II, Archbishop-elect of York, three times evaded Anselm's invitation to come to Canterbury to make his profession of obedience to the primate and receive his consecration at the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury.[39] In this dispute Anselm enjoyed the wholehearted support of all the bishops of the realm, save that of Durham.

On the Wednesday of Holy Week, 21 April 1109, Anselm died at the age of seventy-six. He did not live to hear and see Thomas's profession of obedience and his consecration at London on 27 June in the same year. An outstanding philosopher and theologian, Anselm was also a competent administrator and a gentle and humble teacher with a sensitive and intuitive mind who inspired his monks and encouraged many outside his monastery. As archbishop of Canterbury he staunchly defended the rights of the Church and upheld papal demands for the *libertas ecclesiae*. Soon after his death Anselm was venerated as a saint and in 1720 named a Doctor of the Church, the most important christian thinker and writer between Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas Aquinas.

## *The 'Pontifical Kingship' of the Salian Emperors and the Struggle for 'libertas ecclesiae'.*[40]

Anselm and his younger sister Richeza[41] grew up in an epoch of increasing spiritual and political tension. In 1032 King Rudolf III of Burgundy bequeathed his kingdom, the Aosta valley being part of it, to Emperor Conrad II (1024-1039). Burgundy thus became part of the Holy Roman Empire. Renewed during the reigns of Charlemagne (768-814) and Otto I (936-973), the Empire reached the pinnacle of its authority and power when, in 1046 at the synods of Sutri and Rome, Emperor Henry III (1039-1056), Conrad's

successor, deposed three popes and appointed Bishop Suitger of Bamberg as Pope Clement II (1046-1047). In pursuit of the welfare of the Church, the reform-minded Henry III then acted as *protector et advocatus ecclesiae.*

The Emperors had risen to this position of dominance within the Church during a period of papal decline in the tenth century. During his reign Otto I had incorporated the Church into the governance of his German kingdom by employing bishops as trusty administrators of fiefs, for which they had done homage and sworn an oath of fealty. When he began to extend his rule to Italy in 951 he introduced his 'Ottonian Church' system of government—later adapted and perfected as the 'Ottonian-Salian-Church'—there as well. Christian spirituality,[42] Roman tradition[43] and Germanic law and custom[44] had fused into a uniquely medieval institution. Christian spirituality had already transformed Germanic kingship when, in the year 751, Pipin, Charlemagne's father, was anointed, as is a bishop at his consecration, as the first *rex Francorum* in biblical and Spanish tradition by Saint Boniface at Soissons. Made king 'by the grace of God', Pipin was therefore like Melchisedek or David 'the Lord's anointed' (*christus Domini*). In 754, Pope Stephen II (752-757) travelled to the abbey of Saint Denis near Paris, and repeated this unction by anointing Pipin and his sons Charlemagne and Carloman as *dei gratia regis Francorum* and creating them *patricii Romanorum,* thus entrusting them with the responsibility of protecting Rome, its citizens and Church. Their successors regarded themselves as *vicarii Christi* because of this unction, repeated during the liturgy of each king's coronation. At the coronation of *Carolus rex Francorum* with the imperial crown by Pope Leo III (795-816) at Rome in 800 and of *Otto I rex Francorum et Saxonicorum* by Pope John XII (955-964) at Rome in 962 the *translatio Imperii Romanorum* was carried out; the Roman Empire was renewed and grafted onto the office of *rex Francorum*; as the poetess Roswitha of Gandersheim wrote: 'God commanded that the noble Empire of the Franks be trans-

ferred to the renowned people of the Saxons just as the Empire had earlier been transferred from the Romans to the Franks.'[45] By this translation of the Empire, the Saxon Otto I was entrusted with the protection of the Church and Rome. In due course the Emperor managed to subject Rome and its bishops to his imperial power. Moreover the king upheld and maintained the Germanic law of *ecclesia propria*: the founder of a church remained in full possession of the church and was responsible for the proper maintenance and control of its clergy and services.

The emperors, as the 'Lord's anointed', *patricius Romanorum* and *advocatus ecclesiae* considered themselves responsible for the protection, administration, and reform of the Church. This concept of pontifical kingship formed the basis of the Salian emperor's action in the year 1046/47.

In 1048 Henry III found the pope he had been seeking to reform the Church in his cousin Bruno, count of Egisheim/Alsace. Through the marriage of Bruno's brother, Conrad of Egisheim, to the sister of Anselm's mother, Eremberga, this pope, Leo IX, was Anselm's uncle. After being trained at the court and chancery of Conrad II, Bruno had been made bishop of Toul in 1026. In this office he was a loyal supporter of the Emperors Conrad and Henry III within the Ottonian-Salian imperial church system. In 1048 Henry made him pope at Worms. When Bruno received the acclamation of the clergy and people of Rome, he accepted consecration and styled himself Leo IX (1049-1054). As bishop he had become familiar with the ideas of the church reform which had sprung up in Burgundy (Cluny) and in Lorraine (Gorze)[46] and had endeavoured to apply them in his diocese through reforming synods. He brought these ideas with him to Rome and adapted them to the demands of the papacy which under his rule embarked on a process of purifying and reforming the Church, not in opposition to but in cooperation with the emperor. A few years later, under Gregory VII (1073-1085), however, the papacy emerged as the champion of the struggle for

the Church's emancipation from lay influence and lay control at all levels by propagating *libertas ecclesiae*. The Gregorian reform of the Church initiated the bitter conflict of the investiture controversy which occupied the last three decades of the eleventh century and the first two of the twelfth century. It was brought to an end by the Concordat of Worms in 1122.

The quarrel between emperor and pope as to who should hold supreme authority within the *ecclesia* and who could therefore legally and rightfully invest a bishop with ring and staff flamed into a revolutionary upheaval within western society and brought about a fundamental functional realignment of the religious and secular powers.

The struggle was sparked off by severe moral abuses in the prevailing *ordo*. The Gregorian reformers regarded the influence of men they considered laymen in the appointment to ecclesiastical offices and the administration of sacraments as simony. Led by men like Hildebrand (later Gregory VII), Humbert of Silvia Candida, and Peter Damian, they condemned simony as heresy and fought for the abolition of clerical marriage. In seeking to put an end to both abuses, they relied on the support of the emperor and the *reges justi*, such as William the Conqueror.

Yet radicals among the Gregorian reformers were not satisfied with achieving these goals. They complained about the domination of the Church by laymen and the Church's involvement in feudal obligations. Under the guise of the orthodox reform of the Church, some of them (Hildebrand and Humbert) worked for the overthrow and destruction of the old *ordo* and its replacement with a new one. They sought to shake off the crown's tutelage of the Church and win freedom from any royal control for the Church. They negated the sacramental character which the unction of their coronations had bestowed on kings since Pipin, and they demanded recognition of the pope as *caput ecclesiae* over emperors, kings and princes. Put into practice, these new ideas would create a new—and in the view of the radical

reformers—ideal order by restoring what they believed was the ancient and good order and by destroying the present one.

This is why the revolution of the Gregorian reformers provoked fierce and persistent opposition from, on the one hand, those with vested interests and, on the other hand, from sincere supporters and defenders of the prevailing *ordo*. In a flood of polemical literature, the Gregorian reformers as well as the defenders of the old order,[47] although bitter enemies, both clung to the classical concept that God had divided the governance of the *ecclesia* between his spiritual representatives, the bishops, and his temporal representatives, the secular rulers. Both offices, that of *rex* as well as *sacerdos* had a spiritual as well as temporal character. A clear division of their tasks, however, could not be put into practice. Emperors and kings, because of their power, their unction and their spiritual responsibility, demanded the right to appoint and invest *sacerdotes* and to control the administration of their offices. As a result of their spiritual authority and large possessions, however, popes and bishops claimed supremacy over emperors and kings even in temporal matters.

Partisans of the papal claim introduced a shift into the classical image[48] that Christ, or in his place Saint Peter, had handed the sword of secular power to emperors and kings and the sword of spiritual power to popes and bishops, in favour of the *sacerdos*. They argued that God does indeed bestow secular power on secular rulers but the *potestas regalis* was bestowed onto emperors, kings, and princes only indirectly through the *auctoritas sacra pontificum* of popes and bishops. Consequently, they maintained, all secular christian government was subordinate to priestly control and leadership. Such arguments fundamentally undermined the old order and the conceptual support for the position of secular rulers—emperors and kings alike. 'According to this concept the worldly ruler at the same time held the offices of bishop and king within the *ecclesia*: he was *rex sacerdotalis*

and *caput ecclesiae'*. Within the constitutional framework of the Ottonian-Salian church system, this concept of kingship had provided secular rulers with the right to interfere in nearly all church affairs with the exception of administering sacraments. This concept of royal office, upheld by Ottonian and Salian emperors, the Norman dukes and the Anglo-Norman kings, had been radically called into question.

There was no common ground for agreement between these two opposing concepts of the Salian *rex sacerdotalis* and the Gregorian *sacerdos regalis*. When, after a bitter struggle which had lasted for nearly fifty years, the practical moderates took over from the radical theorists, they were able to achieve the 'Compromise of L'Aigle' (1105) which led on to the 'Concordat of London' (1107) and then to the Concordat of Worms (1122). This compromise brought about the secularisation of the royal and imperial office. The divestment of the king of all spiritual and sacred authority led to the irreparable weakening of royal power and dignity. The Church benefited by gaining considerable freedom from lay control. This situation, however, misled the Church to the pursuit of *temporalia* during the high Middle Ages and resulted in the popes becoming rivals of the secular rulers for worldly power and wealth. Through this revolutionary upheaval in western society the Church became a powerful state governed by a papacy endangered by the risk of losing sight of its spiritual task.

*Church and State in the Anglo-Norman Realm.*

It was in 1093, in the midst of the struggle between *rex* and *sacerdos*, that Anselm was made Archbishop of Canterbury by William II Rufus, with the consent of all the spiritual and temporal crown vassals of the Anglo-Norman realm. William Rufus's father, William the Conqueror, had worked symbiotically with Lanfranc, monk of Bec (1042-1063), abbot of St Stephan's monastery, Caen (1063-1070), and Archbishop of Canterbury (1070-1089), like 'two oxen under the

yoke in a plough team', Eadmer says, in the organisation and Normanisation of the *ecclesia in Anglia*.[49]

Before 1070 the church in England had been organised into two provinces:[50] the archbishopric of Canterbury with ten suffragans; and the metropolitan church of York with two suffragan sees. The reforms of 1070-1072 and 1074-1076 transformed this dual pattern of the *ecclesia in Anglia* into the monolithic ecclesiastical structure of the Norman duchy, with its head at Canterbury.

After years of strife William, *dux Normannorum*, had achieved undisputed control of the duchy and acquired a king-like position in it because he had been able to disregard, sometimes acrimoniously, his feudal obligations to his liege lord, the king of France. The political power of William as Duke of Normandy was extended into the spiritual field by the subjection of the archbishop of Rouen to the Duke. The pinnacle of *temporalia* and *spiritualia* was the duke; in both fields initiative and decision rested solely with him. The archbishop of Rouen was responsible for the implementation of ducal decisions regarding the appointments to vacant sees and abbeys as well as the convening and organising of the synods summoned for the reform of clergy and monasteries.[51] The bishops of the Norman province of the church were subject to their metropolitan in Rouen who in turn received his orders from the duke. This Norman pattern was in accordance with the ideal of the *rex justus* of the pre-Gregorian reformers: *cuncta ergo divina simul humana regis nutum expectabant*.[52] Thus *regnum* and *sacerdotium* merged in the *rex justus* who was responsible for the welfare of both state and church.

After the conquest of England, William the Conqueror together with the loyal cooperation of Archbishop Lanfranc worked to transfer this Norman pattern to the kingdom of England. Since this required the establishment of only one ecclesiastical province in the whole Anglo-Norman kingdom the metropolitan of York had to be subjected to the primacy of the archbishop of Canterbury. Thus the close unity

of church and state grew under the joint leadership of the Conqueror and Archbishop Lanfranc who shared the King's views in this matter. In the course of this process a number of sees were translated to more important cities.[53] The building of new cathedrals and the reconstruction of old ones demonstrated the vitality of Norman rule.[54]

As constitutional law for the relations between church and state, between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the King, William I introduced to his English kingdom the *usus atque leges* which he had established in his Norman duchy. Eadmer, Anselm's secretary, chaplain, admirer and biographer says of these *usus atque leges*:

> . . . I will set down here some of the usages which William introduced to be observed throughout England. From a few examples the rest may be inferred. He would not, for example, allow anyone in all his dominion, except on his instructions, to recognise the established Pontiff of the City of Rome as Pope or under any circumstances to accept any letter from him, if it had not first been submitted to the King himself. Also he would not let the primate of his kingdom, by which I mean the Archbishop of Canterbury, otherwise Dorobernia, if he were presiding over a general council of bishops, lay down any ordinance or prohibition unless these were agreeable to the King's wishes and had been first settled by him. Then again he would not allow any one of his bishops, except on his express instructions, to proceed against or excommunicate one of his barons or officers for incest or adultery or any other cardinal offence, even when notoriously guilty, or lay upon him any punishment of ecclesiastical discipline.[55]

In this way the *usus atque leges* created a 'glass house' which protected the Anglo-Norman kingdom from any influences which could have endangered the absolute position of the

*rex* within the realm. This was the realm into which Anselm was placed as Archbishop of Canterbury. The constitutional framework which Lanfranc had helped to establish in the plough team with William I became a burdensome yoke for Anselm when, as he had warned the crown vassals before they had proposed him for the primacy, 'an untamed, young bull and an old feeble sheep were yoked together'.[56] The previous harmony between king and archbishop of Canterbury turned into discord and bitter strife between Anselm and his liege lords, William II and Henry I. Anselm's controversy with William II over the lawfulness of the *usus atque leges* and his conflict with Henry I over the papal claim forbidding lay investiture were each followed by a period of about three years of exile.

*Medieval Letter-Writing and Collections of Letters.*

The medieval letter has, as C. Erdmann has conclusively demonstrated, primarily a literary character.[57] It differs fundamentally from charters, official and business correspondence, and writs. Documents of the latter kind contain legal definitions and are therefore intended to serve as witnesses for later times; they are not merely directed to a specific recipient but are designed to have lasting duration. The medieval private letter, on the other hand, contains communications of a private or semi-public character as well as information of a scientific, literary, or artistic nature. It is intended for a recipient at a distant place. Its basic dimension is primarily a regional and contemporary one. It is an exchange of a written communication from one place to another.

Popular during the Carolingian era,[58] the custom of writing letters, and of collecting and publishing them in letter collections, reappeared towards the close of the tenth and at the beginning of the eleventh century. The continuous development of medieval epistolary literature started with Gerbert of Aurillac, Pope Sylvester II from 999-1003. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries letter collections as

a literary form gained great popularity in western Europe. In fact, the wealth of large letter collections is one of the striking features which distinguish the intellectual life of these centuries from those immediately preceding and following them.[59] Letter collections were compiled, edited, and circulated in France, Germany, Italy and at the papal court as well as in the Anglo-Norman kingdom.[60] Outstanding examples in the last-named area are the collections of Lanfranc and Anselm of Canterbury and Herbert Losinga of Norwich.

Letter-writing was closely linked to writing didactic verses. Both exercises were conscientiously practised in the schools of monasteries and cathedrals. The two activities were expressed by the same verb, *dictare*, which can be rendered as 'to write according to dictation' or 'to write poetry'. The art of letter-writing which blossomed in these schools became an important and self-conscious genre for the culture of the age and displayed the learning of the writers. Among the most important medieval letter-writers were the teachers and scholars from these schools. Their learning recommended them for promotion to abbacies and episcopal sees, and thus they came to occupy important political positions. The letter, one of the historical sources which has survived events and personalities concerned, gives later generations the opportunity of capturing the atmosphere of that time. While its value can be distorted if the letter is altered when copied, the letter can enable the modern historian to perceive the author and his spiritual world within the medieval *ordo*.[61]

The basic form of the medieval letter was inherited from the schools of the Roman rhetoricians.[62] It followed the pattern of salutation, introduction, narration, request, and conclusion. The salutation at the beginning of the letter contained the name of the sender—not necessarily identical with the writer—in the nominative case and that of the recipient in the dative, as well as a greeting. Because the order of the names was carefully observed, any deviation

from the usual practice indicated a change in relationship. Thus, for reasons of status or courtesy, the order of the names of the sender and recipient could be reversed. At the end of the letter there was often a final wish but no signature or any other closing formula as is found in charters or other legal documents. The custom of dating documents, which continued throughout the eleventh century in charters, was almost completely abandoned in private letters during this period. Towards the end of the century, however, papal letter-writers readopted dating, and in imitation of this practice the dating of letters was generally reintroduced, although slowly, during the course of the twelfth century.

Various forms of polite address within the body of the letter continued to demonstrate the relationship between the sender and the receiver of the letter. The former might address the latter in the second person singular or plural or a mixture of both. The writer might refer to himself in what are called 'formulas of humility', such as *parvitas mea, nostra humilitas, nostra pauper parvitas,*[63] while he addressed the receiver in such lofty abstract terms as *vestra reverenda fraternitas, sublimitas vestra, beatitudo vestra, caritas vestra, vestra dives nobilitas, paternitas vestra.*[64] By so doing the writer emphasised the recipient's status or the qualities he wished to stress. Literary conventions further required the writer to adorn his composition with appropriate rhetorical figures and commonplaces, allusions to classical authors, quotations from Holy Scripture and the writings of the Fathers, but without losing sight of the traditional ideal of epistolary brevity.[65]

Moreover, the medieval letter was intended to be read aloud.[66] Careful attention was paid therefore to the sound of words, and it was for this reason that the art of rhyme and metrical patterns was adopted to set off the ends of clauses and sentences. Writing a letter was an arduous task, and a well-written letter was regarded as a fine gift to send a friend. Therefore, even personal letters might be widely circulated. A writer conscious of his literary reputation kept

copies or asked for the return of his letters, and he himself revised, edited and arranged them and saw to their publication within a collection.[67]

The preservation of medieval letters, then, occurred, not primarily for documentary, but almost exclusively for literary purposes. Original letters of this period are very rare but the texts of thousands of letters were preserved because of their literary value. They were collected in codices which were often copied and placed into libraries in the literature section. A large number of individual letters and small groups of letters as well as the letter collections of authors have survived in this way. They were the fruit of a conscious policy aimed at preserving material to promote the *ars dictandi*;[68] this practice of cultivated poetic and epistolary composition was to be handed on by demonstrating the achievements of past writers and by providing patterns for reading and imitation.

### *The Growth of Anselm's Collection of Letters**

Anselm's collection of letters has been handed down to us in about a dozen manuscripts of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.[69] Since the collection of letters grew larger over the years and the chronological sequence of the letters was continually being corrected, it is possible to see how the manuscripts are interrelated and interdependent one on another.

The order[70] in which the manuscripts containing collections of letters seem to have been written is as follows:

a) The oldest manuscript to include a collection of Anselm's letters is 'N',[71] for it is the only manuscript to style him merely as prior and abbot of Bec.[72] It contains ninety-nine letters on one hundred forty two pages. Some pages are missing at

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the end but these lost letters can be reconstructed, in part, from William of Malmesbury's autograph of Anselm's works, for which 'N' was a source.[73] His manuscript, 'M', will be discussed below.

'N' represents the first collection of Anselmian letters. Eight letters which Anselm wrote to Maurice are not included.[74] The letters follow no strict chronological order, apart from the clear division between the letters written as prior and those written as abbot of Bec.

b) The next stage in the development of the collection can be established to have occurred a few years later. This is in the first part of 'E', and includes the letters of the prior and the abbot of Bec respectively. This first part of 'E' contains the same letters as 'N' with the addition of new letters, including the eight to Maurice. All the letters in 'E' are in chronological order, showing that the first part of 'E' is later than 'N'.

c) From this point, the letters first of the prior and later of the abbot of Bec show a different development in Bec and in Canterbury. These developments are to be found in the first parts of 'V' and 'L'. They differ from 'N' and 'E' and from each other by the addition of further letters and in the chronological sequence of the letters which they contain. The first part of 'L' contains 130 letters, while the first part of 'V' contains 156, of which twenty-seven are duplicates.

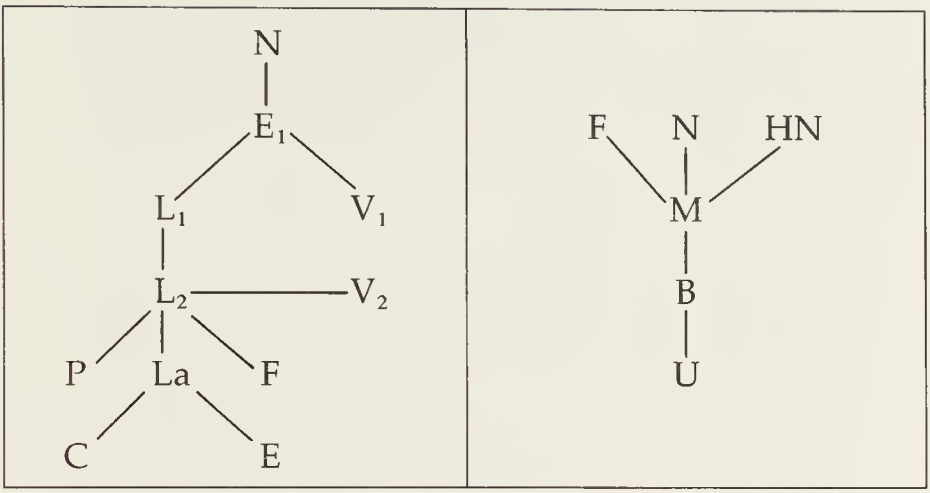
In this first part of the collection of Anselmian letters, the contents of 'E' are dependent on 'N' which is the earliest, and the contents of both 'L' and 'V' seem dependent on 'E'.

d) The earliest collection of the letters written by Anselm as archbishop of Canterbury is to be found in the second part of 'L', since all other manuscripts containing letters written during the archiepiscopal period depend on the second part of 'L'. It contains 259 letters from the time when Anselm was archbishop; an appendix, 'La', of 31 pages, containing letters, tracts, poems, and other documents, is added to this.

e) Two manuscripts depend on 'L'. These are 'P', which appears to have been written at Christ Church, Canterbury, and the second part of 'E'. They differ from each other only in respect of the appendix, 'La'. 'P' does not contain this appendix, whereas in 'E' the letters contained in the appendix of 'La' have been fitted into the chronological order marked by the symbols in 'L'. This would indicate that 'P' is earlier than 'E' and that there is obviously a lapse of time between 'L' and 'La'.

f) The manuscript containing the greatest number of letters—415—is 'C', which also appears to be a direct copy of 'L'.

g) In addition to the manuscripts referred to in sub-paragraphs a) to f) above, there are a few manuscripts containing further letters of Anselm, differing in the order and the number of the letters they contain. The main manuscript of this group is 'M', the autograph of William of Malmesbury.[75] William used three sources: 'N'; Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*; and 'F', which appears to be a copy of 'L'. Manuscripts 'B' and 'U' are dependent on 'M'.




It is possible to determine the date and provenance of the various stages of the collections of Anselm's letters.

1. Several indications suggest that 'N' was written at Bec in 1090.

a) 'N' contains letters of Lanfranc as well as of Anselm. They appear to be written by the same hand. This observation is confirmed by the fact that *AEp* 30 and 31—Lanfranc to Anselm and Lanfranc to his nephew—do not appear in the collection of Anselm's letters because they are already among Lanfranc's letters.[76]

b) Two rubrics refer to Anselm as prior or abbot only.[77] As the second rubric is written on an erasure it must be the work of the original scribe and not of a copyist. This would indicate that the scribe knew Anselm only as abbot and not yet as archbishop. In the absence of conflicting evidence this would strongly support the view that 'N' not only contains the first stage of the collection but that it is also the oldest manuscript containing any collection of Saint Anselm's letters.

c) In *AEp* 104 Anselm complains that Maurice has not yet returned the eight letters which he had written to him while at Canterbury. As these letters are missing from 'N', 'N' must have been completed before they were returned.

d) In letters *AEp* 104 and 106, Anselm refers to his recent illness.[78] In *AEp* 106 he congratulates his former fellow-monk Gilbert Crispin on the occasion of his promotion as abbot of Westminster Abbey. As this occurred in 1085, the writing of 'N' must have taken place after that date.

e) It is possible to date 'N' even more closely: two letters, *AEp* 145 and 146, which are no longer found in 'N', can be assigned to 'N' on the evidence of 'M' whose scribe, William of Malmesbury, used it as a source. Anselm sent *AEp* 145 to Abbot Ralph of Séez, who was promoted to this office in 1089. Thus the writing of 'N' seems to have taken place during 1089-90. As the Itinerary of St Anselm does not show any absence of the abbot of Bec from his monastery at that time, and he asks Maurice, who was in Conflans, to return the letters to him, it would seem that 'N' was compiled and written at Bec.[79]

f) Thus 'N' must have come into existence under Anselm's supervision and with his help. The death of Archbishop Lanfranc, in May 1089, and the compilation of the collection of his letters could have been an incentive to Anselm to do likewise.[80] *AEp* 104, however, written to Maurice in about 1085, seems to point to the probability that Anselm had been thinking about collecting his letters for some time, for this letter closes with the following sentence: 'We are still waiting for our

letters which Dom Maurice is supposed to have sent us.' An edition of Anselm's philosophical and theological writings completed up to that time can be found in two manuscripts of the late eleventh century.[81] This would further support the likelihood of his interest in publishing his letters.

g) 'N' is a small book, measuring 11.8 x 15.0 cm. The collection of Anselm's letters in 'N', folios 41/r/-112/v/, covers 142 pages and contains about 29,000 words. A careful count of the number of corrections, omissions, and repetitions in the part of the manuscript containing Anselm's letters gives an average of one mistake per 290 words; in all, about 100 corrections, less than one per page. Letter *AEp* 6 appears twice in the collection: as N5, fol. 44/v/, and as N30, fol. 60/v/. In 25 letters of the 99 letters contained in 'N' the names of the writer and of the recipient are reduced to the first initial.[82]

2. The first part of MS 'E' appears to represent the next stage in the compilation of Anselm's letters.

a) In this manuscript, as in 'N', Anselm is mentioned only as prior or abbot. Therefore, this collection must have been completed before 6 March 1093.

b) In *AEp* 147 Anselm writes to Prior Baldric, asking for certain writings and letters, because King William II is making him stay in England: 'Send me the ''Prayer to St Nicholas'' which I wrote, and the ''Letter'' which I had started writing ''against the propositions of Roscelin'', and if Dom Maurice has any other letters of ours which he has not sent, send them as well.'[83] It would appear that Anselm intended to use this period

of enforced leisure to improve the first collection of his letters. Accordingly, he asked for all the letters which had been collected at Bec since the completion of 'N' to be sent to him at Westminister. He improved the rough chronology of 'N', which had only divided the letters into those written as prior and those as abbot, by rearranging all the letters in their proper order. He also inserted in the order of their writing, five of the letters to Maurice, which had meanwhile been returned to him.[84]

c) Abbot Anselm's enforced sojourn in England took place in the winter of 1092-93. He stayed with his friend, Abbot Gilbert Crispin, at Saint Peter, Westminster.[85] Therefore, this second edition of his letters would seem to belong to this period and to have been executed at Westminster.

3. A number of criteria can be gathered to determine the date and provenance of 'L'.

a) Apart from manuscript Oxford Bodleian Bodley 271, manuscript 'L', measuring 35 x 25 cm., is the largest of the early manuscripts containing writings of Saint Anselm. The script, the colouring of the capitals, and the shelf marks indicate that it was written at Christ Church, Canterbury, and was originally kept in the library there.[86]

b) It is more difficult to determine the date when it was written. M.R. James classifies the script used in this manuscript as the same as that Lanfranc brought over from Bec, and calls it the 'Lanfrancian' or the 'Christ Church, Canterbury' script.[87] This enables us to date it either at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century.

c) A comparison of the script of 'L' with the scripts found in the manuscript of the Canterbury Roll of Professions[88] might seem useful in dating this manuscript, but may also lead to false conclusions since, according to A.M. Oakley, librarian of Canterbury Cathedral Library, 'it would appear that the archaic hand was deliberately retained for some reason after it ceased to be used in practice'.[89] Any attempt at dating 'L', relying solely on the script of the Roll of Professions, may therefore result in assigning a later date than was actually the case. Since the method of comparing scripts can achieve only a limited degree of accuracy, it would seem advisable to collect other evidence.

d) 'L' consists of two parts. The first part runs from fol. 1/r/-fol. 160/v/, which we call 'L'; the second part from 160/v/-190/r/, which we call 'La'. 'L' contains 389 letters of Anselm's collection divided into two books according to the time when he was (1) prior and abbot of Bec and (2) archbishop of Canterbury.[90]

e) Originally, there were no additions to or misplacements of letters in 'L'. This can be shown first by the comments and directions for inserting additional letters in 'La', and secondly by examining 'P' and 'F', copies of 'L' which do not contain any of these letters, which were added later.[91]

f) Erasures are corrections made by the scribe or by a corrector working at the same scriptorium at the same time[92] in order to preserve a sound text. There is a total of 200 corrections and omissions in 'L'. In a manuscript of 320 pages, or roughly

100,000 words, this comes to considerably less than one correction or omission per page, or one mistake per 500 words. This incidence classifies 'L' as a very good, if not excellent, scribal achievement.

g) 'La' comprises fol. 160/v/ to fol. 190/r/,[93] and is split into two parts by nine and a half empty pages.[94] The first part of 'La' consists of a letter,[95] a tract,[96] a deathbed confession,[97] a sermon,[98] three other tracts,[99] two poems in praise of Anselm,[100] Anselm's covering letter for *Cur Deus Homo* to Urban II,[101] another letter,[102] the canons of the synods of London of 1102 and 1108[103] and, finally, seven other letters.[104] Three of these ten letters were written by Anselm and seven received by him. All the letters, except the one to Urban II, are marked in the margin with symbols and instructions to show where they should be inserted into the main collection of 'L'.[105] The remaining folios after the gap of nine and a half pages contain, in a different hand, a miscellaneous collection of writings as follows: two letters,[106] two tracts,[107] one a repetition of those written before the gap, a repetition of the deathbed confession,[108] another letter,[109] a draft of a part of Anselm's tract *De concordia*,[110] Anselm's epitaph on Hugh,[111] a fragment of a tract on the presence of God in the Blessed Sacrament,[112] a distich of two lines,[113] a legal document[114] and a repetition of the first poem in praise of Anselm.[115] This detailed listing of the contents of the two parts of 'La' conveys the impression that the guiding hand of the author was not available to the scribe of this literary heritage. Could it be that all the literary works left by Anselm at his death were copied at random, regardless of whether they were half-

finished or completed philosophical or theological tracts, documents regarding his disposition of certain lands, poems of praise, or even letters to and from him? The fact that there are no coloured initials[116] at the opening words of the items in the second part of 'La' strengthen the feeling that the work was not carried out in a very accurate fashion.

All this emphasises that the order, accuracy and clarity which mark 'L' are missing in the disorder, untidiness, and repetitiousness of 'La'. Indeed 'La' is the 'carelessly written' part of 'L', 'with many corrections, misplacements, omissions and later additions', as R.W. Southern has described it.[117]

These observations can guide us to the date of the manuscript, for it would appear that 'L' was written before Anselm's death, whereas 'La' shows many signs of having been written after this event. This impression is further strengthened by the fact that 'P' and 'F' are copies of 'L' but contain none of the additons which occur in 'La'. Therefore some time must have passed between the writing of 'L' and the writing of 'La'.

4. Certain findings relating to internal criteria seem to support even further the evidence collected in the evaluation of the external criteria.

a) Between the end of the text of 'La', the repetition of the first poem on St Anselm, and the signature-phrase[118] of the 'La' scribe, there is a hexameter in the hand of the 'L' scribe: *Que restant modici sunt scripta manu Thidrici*. The meaning of *Que restant*... has puzzled many. As they are the initial words of the penultimate line of 'La' they appear to refer to what has gone before. It could therefore be argued that the hexameter

points to a similar explanation as that derived from the examination of the contents of 'L' and 'La' discussed above. Did the 'L' scribe, that is, Thidricus, write 'The other things were written by the hand of the humble Thidricus' in order to free himself from any accusation of being the scribe of the untidy work found in 'La'?

b) That Thidricus was a monk and scribe in Christ Church, Canterbury, can be proven from manuscripts and catalogues,[119] although he does not appear in Searle's list of 'Deans, Priors and Monks of Christ Church, Canterbury'.[120] Yet another scribe of Christ Church, Canterbury, the monk Eadwine, who signed his name at the end of his work and also drew a full-page sketch of himself, and who is known to have been the scribe and artistic creator of the magnificent Psalter of Canterbury,[121] is not listed there either. M.R. James is of the opinion that Thidricus was among the monks of Bec who went to Canterbury, via Caen, with Lanfranc. According to James, Thidricus exercised a formative influence on the scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury.[122]

c) Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.3.32, is an excellent example of Thidricus' work. On fol. 1/r/ he identifies himself as scribe. The script, coloured capitals, and brilliantly executed initials make this manuscript one of the most beautiful of its kind. Thidricus displayed certain marked characteristics in his writing and drawing. For example, he used different types of the same capital alternately, sometimes in the same word; this also occurs in 'L' and also in Oxford Bodleian, MS Bodley 271.[123] He also seems to have had a particular affection for dogs, four of which twist themselves around

an initial *L* in MS B.3.32.[124] In 'L' there is only one such initial: on fol. 64/r/, a winged dog with typically Thidrician long ears climbs around the initial *S*.

d) 'L' contains two letters addressed to Thidricus,[125] both neatly fitted into the sequence of 389 letters. In them Anselm gives Thidricus instructions about the work on *De Conceptu* and tells him that certain letters should not be preserved. Since the Archbishop was absent from Canterbury from December 1103 to September 1106 on his second exile, it would seem reasonable that these letters, *AEpp* 334 and 379, were then sent to the scribe working on the final edition of his works[126] and letters at Canterbury. This would place the execution of Oxford Bodleian, MS Bodley 271 and London Lambeth, MS 59, which contain this final edition of Anselm's works and letters, between the years 1104 and 1108.

e) Work on 'L', which consisted first of copying old letters (during the years 1105 and 1106) and then of writing down recent letters, seems to have been carried on right into the late autumn of 1108, since correspondence dealing with the renewed outbreak of the supremacy controversy between Canterbury and York constitutes the last entries in 'L' before 'La' was added.

The supremacy dispute broke out anew after the death of Archbishop Gerard of York on 21 May 1108 and the election of Thomas of Beverly as his successor. Three times Anselm invited Thomas to come to Canterbury, make his profession of obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury, and receive consecration at his hands.[127] Each time, however, Thomas and the Chapter of York tried

to delay the consecration and the profession linked with it, expecting Anselm to die at any time and hoping to gain advantages for York during the ensuing vacancy at Canterbury.[128] Anselm's third invitation requested Thomas to come to Canterbury on 8 November 1108. When the elect of York again found reasons for delay, Anselm forbade him, in *AEp* 472, to perform his priestly duties until he had made his profession and received consecration. He also ordered the Bishop of London to ensure that Thomas make this profession at all costs (*AEp* 471). Eight of the twelve extant letters dealing with the supremacy dispute are contained in 'L'.[129] Letters *AEpp* 471 and 472, written at the end of 1108, are L 388 and L 389. They are the last entries in 'L' before 'La' was added. All eight letters are also in 'P', which copied nothing from 'La'. Does this not suggest that 'P' was copied from 'L' during the last six months of Anselm's life? *AEpp* 471 and 472 are repeated in the untidy second part of the manuscript, as La 399 and La 400, on fol. 187*r*. This points to the likelihood that the 'La' scribe did not know what had already been copied into 'L' and was without the author's guiding hand.

f) In the first part of 'La', we find two poems, on fol. 175/r/ and fol. 176/r/, praising Anselm, and in the second part of 'La' we discover a repetition of the first poem on fol. 189/v/. About the year 1100, Anselm had forbidden his secretary Eadmer to collect any material or to write any biography of him, and had ordered the destruction of any such existing writings.[130] For this reason it can be assumed with great certainty that these poems were written into 'La' after Anselm's death. How long after Anselm's death is suggested by the

rubric for the second of these poems. This rubric must have been written by the scribe just before he copied the poem. It reads: '*Item versus de eodem Praesulis Anselmi quem nuper obisse dolemus*'. If *nuper* can be translated as 'recently', as Anselm himself had used it in *AEp* 104,[131] all the evidence seems to converge in support of the view that 'La' was written shortly after Anselm's death on 21 April 1109, but that 'L' (and very likely 'P' and 'F') were written during his lifetime.

On the basis of these findings we conclude that all copies of Anselm's collection of letters which depend on 'L' and 'La' were made after his death. For this reason they cannot lay claim to the authority which the first three editions possess.

*The Design of Anselm's Collection of Letters**

The final edition which Anselm made of his letters is to be found in 'L'. It contains 389 letters. The most recent edition of *Anselmi Opera Omnia* by F.S. Schmitt contains 475 letters. Dom Schmitt excluded a considerable number of spurious letters which had found their way into the collection of Anselm's letters during the course of the centuries.[132] This leaves a difference of 86 letters. Had Anselm kept all the letters written to him requesting a reply, his collection would have been much larger still, since in at least 120 letters he refers to some written supplication as the cause for his written reply.[133] In all there are some 206 letters that did not find their way into 'L'. This would amount to about 30% of Anselm's total correspondence or nearly 53% of the collection entered into 'L'. A detailed examination of these omitted letters will provide reasons for their ommission and may point to Anselm's method and intention in compiling his collection.

*This section is an adapted version of the paper read at the Sixth Battle Conference in 1983 and publshed as 'The Letters Omitted from Anselm's Collection of Letters', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 6 (1984) 58-71.

The eighty-six letters[134] not found in L can be divided into two groups: twelve date from the period while Anselm was prior and abbot of Bec,[135] the remaining seventy-four to the time of his archiepiscopate.

THE FIRST GROUP OF TWELVE LETTERS. One was received from, and all the others sent to, ecclesiastics. Two went to Archbishop Lanfranc and two to Pope Urban. Ten letters deal with pastoral problems and contain advice to abbots and other monks on how to deal with excommunicates, with married priests, or with secretly penitent priests. Anselm also interceded with monastic superiors on behalf of monks and advised monks on day-to-day problems. These letters were most likely omitted from 'L' because of their relative unimportance, their purely local relevance, some criticism Anselm may have made or let slip about Archbishop Lanfranc, or their rather lenient treatment of transgressing priests, which clashed with Anselm's rigorous attitude of later years.

The two letters sent to Pope Urban (*AEpp* 126, 127) deal with Bishop Fulk of Beauvais, who had been a monk of Bec. As abbot, Anselm had consented to Fulk's uncanonical promotion by appointment by King Philip I of France in 1088. Having been pardoned by Pope Urban and reinstated as bishop of Beauvais, Fulk found himself unable for various reasons to administer his diocese. In *AEp* 126 Anselm begs Urban's help on Fulk's behalf, and in *AEp* 127 he implores him secretly to relieve Fulk of the burden of episcopal office which he is too weak to bear. He ends this letter: 'If it pleases you, I wish and beg that this letter be for your eyes alone'. It seems likely that this embarrassing affair caused the exclusion of these letters from 'L'. A third letter dealing with this problem—written when Anselm was Archbishop of Canterbury—*AEp* 193, was also omitted from 'L', probably for the same reason. The deliberate suppression of these letters is confirmed by evidence supplied by the manuscript itself. Not only would there have been enough

space for both letters on fol. 54 of 'L', but the folio between the present folios 53 and 54, that is to say, the original fol. 54 probably bearing these two letters, has been removed, possibly on Anselm's instructions. *AEp* 193, also omitted from 'L', was later added as the first item in 'La'.[136]

THE 74 LETTERS ANSELM WROTE AS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY but which are not to be found in 'L' are too numerous to be examined individually. These letters can be divided into 9 groups; this will account for 57 of them while 17 will be left undiscussed.

1) A large batch of nineteen letters were all sent to the monks of Bec as a community or to individual members of it.[137] Some were forwarded via Bec to other individuals, e.g.*AEp* 159 went to Bishop Gilbert of Evreux, *AEp* 167 to Countess Ida of Boulogne and *AEp* 176 to Archbishop Hugh of Lyon, and, for this reason, were preserved in 'V', forming the Bec tradition of Anselm's letter collection.[138] This does not, however, explain why they were not preserved in 'L' at Canterbury, since they were written there. Having collected his letters for some ten years up to that time and having compiled them into 'N' in 1090 and the later '$E_1$' in 1092/93, Anselm almost certainly kept drafts and copies of the letters he sent to his old monastery following his investiture as archbishop of Canterbury on 6 March 1093.

A review of the subject matter of these letters may provide some clue to the reason for their omission from 'L'. A few (*AEpp* 156, 159, 160, 164) were written in reply to the widespread gossip about Anselm's cupidity for the archbishopric. This gossip seems to have been common in and around Bec, in the diocese of Evreux, and throughout the duchy of Normandy. Anselm felt repeatedly forced to protest his innocence and lack of cupidity when he travelled to England in summer 1092 and to emphasise his surprise at being made archbishop in March 1093 by King William II, by the clergy and people, the bishops and barons of the Anglo-Norman kingdom.[139] In their persistent demand that he accept the burden of archiepiscopal office, he perceived

the will of God which he was obliged to obey. Despite Anselm's assurances a number of the community of Bec were not convinced and refused their consent to his relinquishing the abbatial office in order to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury (*AEpp* 150, 155). They pointed out that they were bound to him in obedience and he to them for ever. Anselm replied that his obedience to God transcended his commitment to the community but, on the other hand, he demanded their obedience in accepting his choice in the election of his successor. Moreover, he expected their continued obedience to him for the rest of his life, even after the election of a new abbot. And in fact, the monk Boso, disregarding the authority of his new abbot, obediently followed Anselm's call to Canterbury (*AEpp* 174, 209).

In order to assure that William of Beaumont was elected abbot of Bec, Anselm suggested him as candidate in *AEp* 157, which is included in 'L'. Two letters, however, are missing from 'L', in which he assures the monks of the duke's (*AEp* 163) as well as the king's protection (*AEp* 164) and requests the help of his old friend Odo (*AEp* 163) in the election of his candidate. Did he suppress these in order to conceal the extent of his interference? His behaviour contravenes the Rule of St Benedict, which does not allow for any bond of obedience between an abbot and members of his community after the abbot's departure from the monastery, and postulates the free election of an abbot by the members of the community. The procedure of electing William of Beaumont as Anselm's successor, drawn out from August to October 1093, amply demonstrates the community's resentment at Anselm's intrusion in this matter.

Anselm's exclusion of these letters from 'L' could point to the damage he felt his reputation might suffer from their publication or the realisation that his too-frequent disavowals of greed for the archbishopric might raise suspicion that he did indeed protest too much!

2) The next group of eight letters, not preserved in 'L', were written to Bishop Osmund of Salisbury and various nuns at monasteries in his diocese: two to Gunhilda, daughter of King Harold and nun at Wilton (*AEpp* 168, 169), two to Abbess Eulalia of Shaftesbury (*AEpp* 183, 337), one to the nun M., the daughter of Earl Richard Clare (*AEp* 184), and three to Bishop Osmund (*AEpp* 171, 190, 195).[140]

At first sight it is surprising that these letters to nuns were not entered into 'L'. They abound in advice and encouragement to persevere on the path towards the celestial kingdom by leading a good life as a spouse of Christ, abandoning the secular world of sin and misery. Yet Anselm's first letter to bishop Osmund in spring 1094 might hold the reason for their exclusion. Anselm intimates to the bishop of Salisbury that pastoral care and canon law ought to have moved him to act on behalf of a certain *filia perdita*. The lady here referred to is Eadgyth, *filia regis Scotorum*, the daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland, and Margaret, the kinswoman of Edward, of the royal family of England, and neice of Edgar the Atheling.[141] Possibly Eadgyth had gone to England with her aunt Christina in 1086. In 1093 both were at Wilton, where Christina was a nun. King Malcolm had never intended his daughter to become a nun. In fact, since she was at the marriageable age of about fifteen, she played an important part in his political plans and was to be married to Count Alan Rufus, Lord of Richmond and most powerful baron in the North of England. This marriage plan came to nothing, however, since Alan Rufus became involved with a nun, Gunhilda, whom he abducted from Wilton, and he died on 4 August 1093. His brother, Count Alan Niger, who succeeded not only to his estates but also his matrimonial plans also died soon afterwards.[142] Gunhilda seems to have returned to Wilton as she was later remembered there with honour.[143]

When King Henry I ascended the throne in 1100 he proposed marriage to Eadgyth, known as Matilda, as a calculated political move. To open the way for the marriage,

Anselm had to conduct a complicated procedure designed to prove that Matilda/Eadgyth had never been a nun although she had worn the veil. For his part in all this Anselm was harshly criticised; Eadmer reports that many people maligned Anselm, saying he had not kept 'the path of strict right in this matter'.[144] After Matilda's marriage to King Henry, on 11 November 1100, Anselm became her spiritual advisor, and a number of letters bear witness to their subsequent relationship.[145] That he had referred to the queen as a *filia perdita* in the early stages of his episcopate may have been embarrassing for Anselm in later years. Moreover, the inclusion of this letter and others connected with it might have stirred the sleep of dormant critics and blown about the dust of past scandal. Such considerations would explain the omission of these eight letters from 'L'.

3) The complete collection of Anselm's letters contains fifty-four missives which name King Henry or Queen Matilda as sender or recipient. Eight of these which bear not only the names of the king or queen but also that of Pope Paschal II are omitted from 'L'.[146]

King Henry initiated this correspondence in January 1101 by congratulating Pope Paschal on his election (*AEp* 215) and offering friendship, obedience, and payment of Peter's Pence as his predecessors had done. In return he, like his predecessors, expected to hold his kingdom unimpaired. At the end of the same year he requested the pallium for Archbishop Gerard of York (*AEp* 221). In reply, Paschal praised Henry for the good beginning of his reign and admonished him to abstain from investitures for the sake of the liberty of the Church (*AEp* 224). By the authority of Holy Scripture and the Fathers the pope demonstrated that the right of investing bishops and abbots belonged to the Church and not to kings. He promised to grant the King whatever he asked, provided he gave up investitures (*AEp* 216).

In November 1103, after four royal embassies to Rome had failed to obtain a mitigation of the papal decrees on lay investiture and the homage of clerics, the pope resumed direct relations with the king, congratulating him on the birth of his first-born son and heir, William. Once more he admonished the king to abandon investitures (*AEp* 305). A year later Paschal assured Henry of his concern for his salvation (*AEp* 348). He informed him that he was detaining his royal messengers until the approaching lenten synod (1105) so that Henry's queries on homage and investiture might be answered according to the will of God. He chided the king for having sent Anselm into exile once again and for having despoiled him of his possessions. The pope praised the king, however, because the decrees of the Westminster Council of 1102 were being implemented. A few months later, in January/February 1105, the pope admonished the king yet a third time not to despise the Church, to receive Anselm back in accordance with the papal decrees, and to allow Anselm to publish them, to protect the Church in her lawful liberty, and to give up his evil advisors, two of whom he was planning to excommunicate (*AEp* 351). At the same time the pope urged Queen Matilda to persuade her husband to foreswear investitures and to obey the will of God so that he might not lose what God had given him. He warned her as well about the King's evil advisors and their imminent excommunication (*AEp* 352). These letters represent the entire preserved correspondence between the king/queen and the pope. They are all omitted from 'L'. Yet other letters in 'L' hint at even further items of this correspondence which have not yet come to light.[147]

The fact that the pope's correspondence with King Henry and Queen Matilda was excluded from 'L' recalls Anselm's letter from exile in 1105 to Thidricus. There he explained that he was not sending the scribe the king's letters to the pope because he did not see the usefulness of preserving them: 'Litteras quas quaeris regis ad papam, non tibi mitto, quia non intelligo utile esse, si serventur' (*AEp* 379). This letter most likely refers to Thidricus's work,

begun about 1105, of collecting the archbishop's letters and copying them into 'L'. Thidricus obediently followed Anselm's instruction by omitting from 'L' all but one (*AEp* 323) of the letters in the correspondence between the king, the queen, and Pope Paschal II.[148] This correspondence was not entirely suppressed, however, for six of these eight letters are found in a separate integral collection of 23 letters from Christ Church, Canterbury.[149]

The pope's cautious negotiations with the king and his lenient treatment of him while Anselm was suffering the hardship of exile for having upheld papal decrees might well explain Anselm's exclusion of this correspondence from 'L'.

4) Also missing from 'L' are the two letters of December 1102 from the pope (*AEp* 282) and Cardinal John (*AEp* 284). Paschal reminded Anselm of the condemnation of simony by the Council of Bari and restated his advice on dealing with married priests and deacons. Cardinal John thought it necessary to encourage Anselm to defend the right of the Church against the king and the false bishops. In view of the second exile which Anselm was suffering because of his defence of the liberty of the Church in England and the propagation of its reform, these letters must have irked him somewhat, which would explain their exclusion from the main collection of his letters.[150]

5) A small group of three very short letters representing the correspondence between Bishop Lambert of Arras and Anselm is also omitted from 'L'. In the first of these letters Anselm asked Lambert for safe conduct for a papal cleric through his diocese (*AEp* 437). In reply Lambert enquired about Anselm's health and sent greetings to Dom Baldwin (*AEp* 438). Anselm replied very briefly that he was himself healthy in body but getting steadily weaker (*AEp* 439).

Anselm's contacts with Flanders, and Arras in particular, had been intensive ever since Girard, the moneyer of Arras, and Baldwin had entered the monastery at Bec.[151]

Bishop Lambert, together with the exiled Anselm, was present at the synod of Rome in 1099 when Urban pronounced sentence of excommunication on 'all lay persons who conferred investitures of churches, all persons accepting such investitures from their hands, and all persons administering consecration to anybody accepting such' preferment.[152] During his stay in Rome, moreover, Anselm, in the face of some opposition, had helped secure papal promotion for John, the archdeacon of Arras, to the see of Thérouanne. Anselm and the bishop of Arras had become close friends, as Anselm's letter of summer 1103 to Dom Conus, included in 'L', testifies (*AEp* 285).

The intimate friendship between Anselm and Lambert can be perceived in the fact that after Anselm's death the monks of Christ Church Canterbury sent their late archbishop's personal manuscript of his works to Arras, where it is still kept.[153] Despite this close connection, these three short letters were omitted from 'L', probably because they seemed to be of no moment.

6) Shortly after the Council of Westminster at Whitsun 1108, Anselm wrote to Pope Paschal requesting confirmation of the Council's decision to divide the diocese of Lincoln to create the new bishopric of Ely (*AEp* 441). Ely Abbey was to be the see and the monks were to form the bishop's cathedral chapter.[154] Paschal's letters to King Henry and Archbishop Anselm granting and confirming the creation of the new see and the nomination of Hervey of Bangor as first bishop are not included in 'L'. These four letters (*AEpp* 457, 458, 459, 460) were all issued at Troia on 21 November 1108. Allowing at least eight weeks for a winter journey from Troia near Foggia in Southern Italy to England, they would not have been delivered until January or February 1109, after work on manuscript 'L' had been completed and was in its turn being copied. They might not even have arrived before Anselm's death in April. They were never incorporated into any copy of the Anselmian letter collection.[155]

7) Another group of five letters is missing from 'L'. These are part of a correspondence dealing with the renewed outbreak of the primatial controversy between Canterbury and York following the promotion of Thomas of Beverley to the see of York in autumn 1108.

The complete correspondence on this issue numbers thirteen letters, eight of which are in 'L'.[156] Three of the missing letters are from Thomas, the elect of York, and the Chapter of York to Anselm at Canterbury. They dispute the archbishop's right to demand a profession of obedience from the elect before his consecration at the primate's hands (*AEpp* 453, 454, 456).[157] Another letter (*AEp* 470) from the king requests Anselm to defer the consecration of the elect of York until Easter 1109, so that he could return to England and himself settle the case between the two metropolitans.[158] Because the letters from York demonstrate the local opinion in this dispute and the king did not side wholeheartedly with Canterbury, it seems that the open and veiled threats to the primatial claim of the archbishop of Canterbury were the reason these letters were omitted from 'L'. In light of this, it is surprising that Anselm's letter to Ranulf of Durham, representing the Canterbury point of view in this controversy (*AEp* 442), is also missing from the collection.[159] In this letter Anselm states that Turgot, the elect of Saint Andrews in Scotland, could not be consecrated by anybody but the archbishop of Canterbury as long as Thomas had not yet received his consecration at Canterbury.

8) Five of the thirteen letters which constitute the correspondence with Archbishop Gerard of York are omitted from 'L'.[160] The first of these (*AEp* 255), written by Gerard to Anselm after the Council of Westminster 1102, informed Anselm that clerics were ignoring the statutes of the Council and sought his help against those who evaded the canons through sophistry. Gerard also confessed to a sin of simony he had once committed, and demonstrated his zeal for church reform and his personal repentance.

After Gerard and the bishops of Norwich and Chester returned from Rome in the summer of 1102, however, the relationship between Anselm and Gerard deteriorated considerably. The royal envoys delivered a report on their negotiations with Pope Paschal about the mitigation of the decrees forbidding lay investiture which was vehemently contradicted by Anselm's messengers. The Pope refuted the bishops' report as a lie, and excommunicated the royal envoys and anybody who had received investiture or had consecrated those thus invested since August 1102. Gerard precipitated further disagreement when, at the king's command, he was prepared to consecrate the recently invested bishops of Winchester, Hereford, and Salisbury after Anselm had refused their consecration on the ground of the papal decrees of 1099, confirmed by Paschal in 1101 and 1102.[161] Paschal's letter to Gerard in spring 1105 (*AEp* 354) reprimanded him for his wrongdoing and for not having been a support to Anselm, and it is indeed included in 'L'. Gerard's reply (*AEp* 362), not included in 'L', points out that the papal charge was based on false reports and that he had always favoured Anselm's cause. In summer and winter 1105/6, Gerard sent two letters to Anselm informing him that, since he had realised the validity of the papal decrees, he and many others would be obedient to the archbishop (*AEp* 363) and admitted that he now perceived the danger of lay investiture (*AEp* 373). He begged Anselm's prayers to assist him in his good intentions. In spring 1108, Gerard sought Anselm's help at the recommendation of Pope Paschal (*AEp* 440). These last four letters, demonstrating Gerard's conversion to the pope's and Anselm's position on investiture and his renewed harmony with the Pope are missing from 'L'. They and the letter of 1102 all show Gerard in a favourable light.

The remaining seven letters of this correspondence, included in 'L', present a negative image of Archbishop Gerard of York as a wicked, bickering, and obstinate man. Only one letter (*AEp* 386) somewhat mitigates this picture:

together with other bishops, Gerard beseeched Anselm late in 1105 to return to England and promised him their help.

It would appear that Anselm omitted this correspondence with Gerard, his ecclesiastical opponent in the investiture dispute, even though its inclusion might have improved the bad impression conveyed by the other letters from Gerard retained in 'L'. This supports the contention that Anselm intentionally omitted these letters. No doubt the injury inflicted by Gerard's behaviour and actions during the controversy still rankled.

9) Three more omitted letters level harsh criticism at Anselm for his prolonged absence from the see of Canterbury and the Church in England during his second exile from December 1103 to September 1106.[162] A member of the community of Christ Church Canterbury, possibly Prior Ernulf himself, informed the Archbishop that evil had increased because of his long absence from England (*AEp* 310). He declared Anselm's absence unbearable and his presence essential to any improvement. He entreated him urgently to return to England to resume his duties. Another anonymous person judged the long-drawn-out quarrel between King Henry and Archbishop Anselm as nothing but the illusion of diabolic tricks and complained that it was causing the destruction of the whole Church of the English. He blamed all England's misery on Anselm's failure to return (*AEp* 365). Moreover, in a long poem, Gilbert Crispin, abbot of Westminster and Anselm's friend, displayed to the absent archbishop the evils which had invaded the Church of England because of the pastor's absence and beseeched Anselm to return to his flock (*AEp* 366). Apart from these three voices, many people did not understand the reason for Anselm's refusal to return to England. Even after the agreement of L'Aigle (21 July 1105) Anselm delayed his return because he had not yet received the pope's endorsement to the compromise agreed on there, nor his explicit permission to absolve excommunicated persons and to associate with them,

even though he was aware that the English churches were suffering hardship because of his absence. In their ignorance of the dealings between the pope, the king and the archbishop, a number of Anselm's friends and episcopal colleagues (*AEpp* 386, 387) and many other people criticised the absent archbishop and informed him that his absence was causing more evil than good.[163] Since in Anselm's eyes this criticism was unjustified, it would appear that he excluded these letters in order not to mar the image of himself which he wanted to convey and preserve.

This survey of letters omitted from 'L' has covered the contents of sixty-nine of the missing eighty-six letters.[164] Why did Anselm omit certain letters from the final edition of his letter collection in 'L'? Apart from those left out because of their triviality or lack of general interest, these omissions on the one hand suggest that everything was suppressed which might have caused embarrassment (criticism of Lanfranc, the case of Bishop Fulk of Beauvais, Anselm's part in arranging the king's marriage with Eadgyth/Matilda) or revive criticism of Anselm's supposed cupidity for the wealthy archbishopric or of his long absences from England. In addition, letters which might have challenged Anselm's claim to be the sole advocate of the reform and freedom of the Church (not allowing any credit to Henry I or Archbishop Gerard) and the mighty defender of the primatial claim of Canterbury were also omitted.

On the other hand, in the compilation of the last edition of his letters Anselm seems to have wished to create a compendium of his thought on a great variety of spiritual matters as well as the theories underlying his disagreements with the kings of the Anglo-Norman realm on the issues of *usus atque leges* and lay investiture.

Even more important, the letter collection displays Anselm as a faithful monk and ardent soldier of Christ who devoted his life totally to God and his service. He appears as a zealous labourer, creating a loving and truly Christian

community of monks, and as an active reformer of the Church of God in unity with the pope and in agreement with papal ordinances. Thus he set the example of the impeccable Christian prelate whose faultless public conduct was to serve as a model and a precedent for others to act in the same way. The image of his behaviour was intended to create binding customs and eventually good laws. Anselm's letter collection was to be a manual of examples for his own day and for the future.

Therefore manuscript 'L' containing this letter collection is a deliberate monument to Anselm's righteousness and firm demeanour as a churchman vigorously pursuing the demand for *libertas et reformatio ecclesiae* and defending the Church of God resolutely in the face of threats and isolation as well as personal suffering and disadvantage. This survey of the letters omitted from this manuscript would make it appear that Anselm took great care to suppress any correspondence which would have damaged the picture of himself which he intended for posterity.

## NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. See VA 3-11; Rule I, 1-68; B. Secret, 'Saint Anselme, Bourguignon d'Aoste', *Spicilegium Beccense* I: 561-566; Southern, Anselm, 3-12; see also Select Bibliography below.
2. *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and transl. by H. Clover and M. Gibson (Oxford, 1979); M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978).
3. Herluin, see S.N. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State 1034-1136* (Woodbridge, 1981) 9-21, 67-86; A. Porée, *Histoire de L'Abbaye du Bec*, 2 vols (Evreux, 1901) vol. I: 30-45 and *passim*; C. Harper-Bill, *Herluin, Abbot of Bec and his Biographer, Religious Motivation* (Oxford, 1978) 15-25.
4. D.C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London, 1964).
5. Among those who studied at Bec when Lanfranc and Anselm taught at the school were Pope Alexander II, Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, Guitmond, archbishop of Aversa, William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen, Ivo, bishop of Chartres, Ernost, Gundulf, and Ernulf, bishops of Rochester, Paul, abbot of St Albans, William of Merseburg, Richard and Geoffrey, bishops of Evreux, William, abbot of Cormeilles, Ralph, abbot of Battle, Richard, Michael, and Vincent, abbots of Préaux, Robert, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, Nicholas, prior of Rochester, Hamelin, prior of St Albans, John, abbot of Telese and cardinal bishop of Tusculum, Fulk, bishop of Beauvais, Richard, bishop of Ely, Richard, abbot of St Wandrille, Elmer, prior of Christchurch Canterbury, Ralph d'Escures, bishop of Rochester and then archbishop of Canterbury. *See* S.N. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State 1034-1136*, 148-49; the most complete list is in T. Maze, 'L'Abbaye du Bec au XI Siècle', in *La Normandie Benedictine au temps de Guillaume le Conquerant* (Lille, 1967) 234; see also A.J. Macdonald, *Lanfranc* (London$^2$, 1944) 26, and A. Porée, *Histoire de L'Abbaye du Bec*, I: 102.
6. See the Prologue of the *Monologion* in *AOO* I, p. 7; *Prooemium* of the *Proslogion* in *AOO* I: 93; *Praefatio* of *Cur Deus Hŏmo* in *AOO* II, 42; Also *AOO*, pp. 40*-63* and 132*-203*.
7. F.S. Schmitt, 'Die wissenschaftliche Methode Anselms in *Cur Deus Homo*', in *Spicilegium Beccense* II: 349-70.
8. For a careful analysis of these works see J. Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of Saint Anselm* (Minneapolis, 1972) 67-89; 187-212.
9. *HN* 104-110, *AEpp* 72, 77, 83; *AOO* II:177-219; R. Heinzmann, 'Anselm von Canterbury', in *Klassiker der Theologie* (München, 1981) 163-180.
10. VA 44-45 and *AEp* 52.
11. Anselm went to England to inspect the English dependencies of Bec in 1080/81 (*AEp* 90), again in mid-lent to shortly after Whitsun 1086 (*AEp* 118) and from September 1092 to 6 March 1093, when he was made archbishop of Canterbury (*AEp* 147).

12. 'Nomina Monachorum Becci', in M. Rule, I, 394-396 and A. Porée, *Histoire de L'Abbaye du Bec*, 1, 629-645.
13. *HN* 29-30.
14. *HN* 31-37, *AEp* 148 and also *AEpp* 149, 150, 151, 156.
15. *HN* 41-43, *AEp* 148; *AEpp* 156, 157, 159.
16. *HN* 47-52.
17. *HN* 10, see below, p. 22; for the development in the Norman duchy before the conquest of England, see D. Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London, 1982).
18. *HN* 52-67.
19. *HN* 79-87.
20. For the stand Anselm's episcopal colleagues took in the four major issues of Anselm's pontificate, see W. Fröhlich, 'Die bischöflichen Kollegen Erzbischof Anselms von Canterbury', in *Analecta Anselmiana* I (1969) 223-267 and 2 (1970) 117-168; and an enlarged version of these articles (München, 1971); F. Barlow, *English Church*, 54-103, 268-310 and *passim*; W. Fröhlich, 'Anselm and the bishops of the province of Canterbury', *Spicilegium Beccense* II: 125-145.
21. See the itinerary, below p. 340. For Anselm's relationship with Hugh, Archbishop of Lyon, see *AEp* 100.
22. *HN* 118-187.
23. *HN* 114.
24. *Reg* 549.
25. William de Warelwast went to Rome, late in 1100, hoping to return for Easter 1101, but he was delayed till September (*HN* 120, *AEpp* 214, 215, 216); Archbishop Gerard of York and bishops Herbert Losinga of Norwich and Robert of Chester, together with the monks Baldwin and Alexander, went to Rome late 1101 or early 1102; they were in Rome for Easter and returned in August (*HN* 132-138, *AEpp* 222, 224, 226); Anselm sent a messenger in October/November 1102 to clarify the conflicting reports of the bishops and monks (*HN* 139, 146-47, *AEpp* 281, 282).
26. *HN* 148; for Anselm's itinerary see below p. 341.
27. *AEp* 353; see S. Vaughn, 'Robert of Meulan and Raison d'Etat in the Anglo-Norman State, 1093-1118', in *Albion* 10 (1979) 352-373; *idem.*, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan, The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent* (Berkeley, California, 1987).
28. *HN* 164-167.
29. *HN* 165-168, *AEpp* 364, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 376, 377, 378, 388, 389, 390, 396, 397, 430.
30. *AEpp* 373, 386, 387; *HN* 171-75.
31. *AEp* 397;*HN* 186-87, HC 14. The presence of the above-mentioned bishops at the meeting of the *curia regis* at Westminster in early August 1107 can be inferred from a synopsis of royal charters, *Reg* 825, 826, 827, 828, 831, 832.
32. See A. Hofmeister, 'Das Wormser Konkordat', in *Festschrift D. Schäfer* (1915, reprinted Darmstadt 1979), and H. Hoffman, 'Ivo von Chartres und die Lösing des Investiturproblems', *Deutsches Archiv* 15 (1959) 393-440.

33. *HN* 141-144;*HN* 193-195; *CS* 643-705; see also Barlow, *English Church* 121-128 and *passim*, 43, 302, 129; C.N.L. Brooke, 'The Gregorian Reform in Action: Clerical Marriage in England', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 12 (1956) 1-12; W. Fröhlich, 'Ubi unus clericus et Aelfgyva...Zur Zölibatspraxis im anglo-normannischen England', in *Liber ad Magistrum für J. Spörl* (Munich, 1964) 53-61. See also note 51 below.
34. *HN* 42-43, 186-87; HC 1-33; see also Barlow, *English Church*, 31-45, M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 116-131, 231-237, Southern, *Anselm* 132-142.
35. *HN* 73-77, *AEpp* 198, 201, 202, 207, 277, 278, 426, 428, 429, 435.
36. See Southern, *Anselm* 132-135; Barlow, *English Church*, 29-46.
37. Early in 1101, Guy, archbishop of Vienne, visited England as papal legate (*HN* 126); in September 1101 (*AEp* 214) Anselm begged Pope Paschal to restore the ancient custom of papal legation to the church of Canterbury; on 15 April 1102, the pope restored papal legatine power over England to Anselm personally (*AEp* 222).
38. *HN* 199-206; HC 15-33; *AEpp* 443, 444, 445, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 462, 464, 465, 467, 470, 471, 472.
39. Anselm invited Thomas to come to Canterbury to receive his consecration on 6 September (*AEp* 443), 27 September (*AEp* 445) and 8 November 1108 (*AEp* 455).
40. This summary sketch is based on the studies of A. Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne*, 3 vols. (Louvain-Paris, 1923-37); *idem, La Querelle des investitures* (Paris, 1946); G. Kallen, *Der Investiturstreit als Kampf zwischen germanischem und romanischem Denken* (Köln, 1937); G. Tellenbach, *Libertas. Kirche und Weltordnung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreits* (Stuttgart, 1936), English translation by R.F. Bennet, *Church, State and Christian Society* (Oxford, 1940); N.F. Cantor, *Church, Kingship and Lay Investiture in England 1089-1135* (Princeton, 1958) 6-9; K.F. Morrison, *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century*, Records of Civilization Sources and Studies, 67 (New York: Columbia UP, 1962) 3-42; W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955).
41. See *AEpp* 211, 258, 264, 268, 328.
42. F. Kern, *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht* (1915), English translation by S.B. Chrimes, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1950).
43. P.E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, 2 vols (1929); G. Barraclough, *The Medieval Empire, Idea and Reality* (London: The historical association, 1959).
44. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (Oxford, 1971); U. Stutz, *Die Eigenkirche als Element des mittelalterlich-germanischen Kirchenrechtes* (Berlin, 1895), English translation by G. Barraclough, 'The Proprietary Church as an Element of Medieval Germanic Ecclesiastical Law', in *Studies in Medieval History*, ed. G. Barraclough (Oxford, 1948) vol. 2:35-70.

45. *Gesta Oddonis imperatoris*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, IV*: 317.
46. K. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny, Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, Studia Anselmiana 32-35 (Rome, 1950/51); H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970); and Cluny, 'Beiträge zu Gestalt und Wirkung der cluniazensischen Reform', ed. H. Richter, *Wege der Forschung*, vol. 241 (Darmstadt, 1975).
47. It is collected in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Libelli de lite*, 3 vols. (reprinted Munich, 1956/57); C. Mirbt, *Die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII* (Leipzig, 1894); I.S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest* (New York: Manchester UP, 1978); K. Pellens, *Die Texte des Normannischen Anonymus* (Wiesbaden, 1966); *idem., Das Kirchendenken des Normannischen Anonymous* (Wiesbaden, 1973).
48. Following Lk 22:35-38, Pope Gelasius I (492-496) wrote to Emperor Anastasius I (491-518): 'Duo sunt . . . quibus principaliter his mundus regitur: auctoritas sacra Pontificum, et regalis potestas', (there are two . . . through whom this world is mainly governed: the holy authority of the pope and royal power) Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 59:190 (Ep 12). The concept that pope and emperor were joint leaders of the *corpus Christianorum* was reiterated under Leo III (795-816); see the mosaic in the refectory in the Latreran palace. For the development of the concept, see L. Knabe, *Die gelasianische Zweigewaltentheorie bis zum Ende des Investiturestreites* (Berlin, 1936).
49. *HN* 36-37.
50. F. Barlow, *The English Church 1066-1154* (London, 1979) 29-103.
51. The Norman ecclesiastical councils of 1046, 1047, 1054/5, 1063, 1064 and 1066, met at the command and under the supervision of the duke: see William of Poitiers, *Histoire de Guillaume le Conguérant*, ed. R. Foreville (Paris, 1952) 124; R. Foreville, 'The Synod of the Province of Rouen in the 11th and 12th centuries', in *Church Government* (Cambridge, 1976) 19-39; K. Schnith, 'Die englischen Reichskonzilien 1070-1086', in 'Spiegel der anglonormannischen Geschichtsschreibung', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 13 (1980) 183-197. D.C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London, 1964) 105-132. For the normanisation of England, see *Proceedings of the Battle Conferences*, ed. by R.A. Brown, since 1978 annually.
52. *HN* 9.
53. The sees translated were: from Wells to Bath in 1090; from Lichfield to Chester in 1073, from there to Coventry in 1087; from Selsey to Chichester in 1075; from Crediton to Exeter in 1050; from Dorchester to Lincoln in 1072; from Elmham to Thetford in 1075, from there to Norwich in 1094/95; in 1058 Ramsbury was united with Sherborne, and in 1078 translated from there to Old Sarum, and in 1218 moved again to Salisbury.
54. New cathedrals were built at Canterbury, Bath, Chichester, Durham, Norwich, Lincoln, London, Rochester, Salisbury, Winchester, Worcester, and York.
55. *HN* 10, English translation by G. Bosanquet, 10.

56. *HN* 36-37.
57. The study of the medieval letter and letter collections has been greatly advanced by B. Schmeidler and C. Erdmann. What follows is a summary of the results of their research: B. Schmeidler, *über Briefsammlungen des frühen Mittelalters in Deutschland und ihre kritische Verwertung*, Vetenkaps-Societeten i Lund (Arsbok, 1926) 1-27; *idem.*, 'Die Briefsammlung Froumunds von Tegernsee. Bemerkungen zur Beschaffenheit frühmittelalterlicher Briefsammlungen überhaupt', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 62-69 (1949-49) 220-238; C. Erdmann, *Studien zur Briefliteratur Deutschlands im elften Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1938); *idem.*, 'Briefsammlungen', in Wattenbach-Holtzmann, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, part 2, newly published by F.J. Schmale (Darmstadt, 1967) 415-442. The work of these scholars encouraged others whose contributions are summarized by Giles Constable, ed., *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, Harvard Historical Studies 78 (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1967) vol. II: 1-12; H.E.J. Cowdrey, ed., trans., The *Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII*, (Oxford, 1972) xxii-xxiii; and F. Behrends, ed., trans., *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford, 1976) xxxvii-xxxviii, G. Constable, 'Letters and Letter-Collections', in *Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age occidental* (Turnhout, 1976).
58. Outstanding letter writers of the Carolingian era were: Aldheim of Malmesbury (640-709), Boniface (672/75—754), Lul of Mainz (705-786), Alcuin (730-804), Agobard of Lyon (769-840), Einhard (770-840), Hrabanus Maurus (780-856), Lupus of Ferrières (805-862), and Hincmar of Rheims (806-882).
59. R. Klibansky, 'Peter Abailard and Bernhard of Clairvaux: A Letter by Abailard', in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 5 1961) 1; there is no complete bibliography of medieval letter collections, but a summary list of over two hundred, from the entire Middle Ages, is given in H. Oesterley, *Wegweiser durch die Literatur der Urkundensammlungen* (Berlin, 1885-86) I: 19-45.
60. A few of the great many medieval letter collections that have survived: Fulbert of Chartres (960-1028), Berengar of Tours (1010-1088), Ivo of Chartres (1040-1116), Geoffrey of Vedôme (1093-1132), Hildebert of Laverdin (1056-1134), Abbo of Fleury (945-1004), Peter Abaelard (1079-1142), Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), Gerbert of Aurillac/Rheims (940/50-1003), Marbod of Rennes (1035-1123), Peter the Venerable (1092/94-1156), Peter of Blois (1130-1204), Ralph Tortaritus (1063-1114), Froumund of Tegernsee (956-1008), Nothker Labeo of St Gallen (950-1022), Bern of Reichenau (+1048), the anonymous letter collection of Worms (about 1030-45), Meinhard of Bamberg (+1088), the letter collection of Hildesheim (about 1065-85), Walo of St Arnulf, near Metz (writing about 1073-74), *Epistolae rhetoricae* of Regensburg (about 1085), Emperor Henry IV (1054-1106), Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093/4-1169), Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179), Rather of Verona (890-974), Peter Damian (1007-1072), Petrus de Vinea (+1249), Leo IX (1048-54), Alexander II (1061-73),

Gregory VII (1073-85), Urban II (1088-99), Lanfranc (1005-89), Anselm (1033/4-1109), Herbert de Losinga of Norwich (*c.* 1056/9-1119) *AEp* 254, John of Salisbury (1115-80), Arnulf of Lisieux (+1184), Gilbert Foliot (+1187).

61. J.D. Loughlin, *Saint Anselm as Letter Writer* (Washington, 1967) 51-66.
62. F. Behrends, *Letters of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford, 1976) xxxvii-xxxviii.
63. *AEpp* 2,10 and *passim*.
64. *AEpp* 1, 2, 10, 6, 7, 10, 1 and *passim*.
65. *AEp* 2, line 71; *AEp* 37; for references to epistolary brevity and *modus epistolaris brevitatis*, see the works of Alcuin, cited by L. Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 32 (Ithaca, 1959) 54-55.
66. See *AEp* 359 and also J.D. Loughlin, *Saint Anselm as Letter Writer*, 62.
67. F. Behrends, *Letters of Fulbert of Chartres*, xxxviii; for Anselm's observance of epistolary conventions, see J.D. Loughlin, *Saint Anselm as Letter Writer*, 18-153.
68. The innovator of the *ars dictandi* was Alberich of Montecassino (+1105), a contemporary of Gregory VII. See C. Erdmann, 'Briefsammlungen' in Wattenbuch-Holtzmann, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, II, 435.
69. MS N = London British Library, MS Cotton Nero A. VII
    MS E = Cambridge Corpus Christi College, MS 135
    MS V = Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 14762
    MS L = London Lambeth Palace, MS 59
    MS P = Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 2478
    MS C = London British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A. XI
    MS M = London Lambeth Palace, MS 224 = William of Malmesbury's autograph
    MS F = London British Library, MS Roayl 5.F.IX
    MS U = Cambridge University Library, MS Ed. IX. 5
    MS B = Cambridge Corpus Christi College, MS 299
    There is description of these manuscripts in *AOO* 213*-225*.
70. The relationship and dating of the manuscripts has been established by F.S. Schmitt, 'Zur Entstehung der handschriftlichen Briefsammlungen', in *Revue Bénédictine* 48 (1936) 300-317, now in *AOO* 154*-171*; and *idem.*, 'Die Chronologie der Briefe., in *Revue Bénédictine* 64 (1954) 176-207, now in *AOO* 172*-203*, and *idem.*, 'Die unter Anselm veranstaltete Ausgabe seiner Werke und Briefe: die Codices Bodley 271 und Lambeth 59', in *Scriptorium* 9 (1955) 64-75, now in *AOO* 226*-239*. Schmitt's dating has been criticized by R.W. Southern, *Anselm* 67, footnote 2; 238, footnote 37. Schmitt's reply is in *AOO* 239*, footnote 35.
71. Fols. 41/r/-112/v/.
72. See below, footnote 77.
73. *AEpp* 132, 134, 135, 145, 146.
74. Maurice was a monk of Bec (Bec profession list, no. 73: see M. Rule, 394) and one of Anselm's pupils. He spent some years training at Christ Church, Canterbury, during the years 1073-1077. While at Canterbury Anselm sent him *AEpp* 42, 43, 47, 60, 64, 69, 74, 79.

75. See H. Farmer, 'William of Malmesbury's Life and Works', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 12 (1962) 39-54; N.R. Ker, 'William of Malmesbury's handwriting', *English Historical Review* 59 (1944) 371-376; R.M. Thomson, 'The Reading of William of Malmesbury', in *Revue Bénédictine* 85 (1975) 362-402; and *idem.*, 'The Reading of William of Malmesbury: further additions and Reflections', in *Revue Bénédictine* 89 (1979) 313-324; now collected and enlarged: *idem, William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 1987).
76. *Lanfranci Epistolae* 18 and 19, in *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by H. Clover and M. Gibson (Oxford, 1979) 96-101.
77. N. fol. 41/v/: 'Incipit liber Epistolarum Domini Anselmi Abbatis'; and at the bottom of fol. 94/r/: 'Hactenus continentur epistole domni Anselmi abbatis, quas fecit donec prior Beccensis fuit. Quae vero iam deinceps sequuntur, egit postquam abbatis nomen et officium suscepit.'
78. *AEp* 104: '...aegritudo, quam nuper habui'.
79. For the ltinerary of Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury, see below p. 335.
80. A number of letters in Anselm's collection, e.g. *AEpp* 66, 72, 74 and 76, give information about the busy exchange of manuscripts between the monasteries of Bec and Christ Church, Canterbury. In such a context it would seem quite logical that the collection of Lanfranc's letters was sent to his old monastery to be copied there. To this copy seems to have been added the first collection of Anselm's letters, as the facts described above as well as the interrelation show. See also Clover-Gibson, *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 10-16 and 26.
81. Arras Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 455; Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 13413; on the date of these manuscripts see *AOO* I, 214* and 221*.
82. N, fols 64/r/-94/v/: N 34 = *AEp* 41; N 35 = *AEp* 40; N 36 = *AEp* 38; N 37 = *AEp* 39; N 38 = *AEp* 66; N 39 = *AEp* 45; N 41 = *AEp* 61; N 44 = *AEp* 68; N 45 = *AEp* 46; N 46 = *AEp* 26; N 47 = *AEp* 59; N 48 = *AEp* 27; N 53 = *AEp* 71; N 54 = *AEp* 57; N 55 = *AEp* 76; N 57 = *AEp* 67; N 58 = *AEp* 37; N 59 = *AEp* 78; N 60 = *AEp* 53; N 61 = *AEp* 80; N 62 = *AEp* 81; N 64 = *AEp* 83; N 65 = *AEp* 84; N 66 = *AEp* 85; N 70 = *AEp* 89.
83. *AEp* 147 = letter 114 in 'E': 'nondum vobis possum aliquid mandare de utilitate nostri itineris in Angliam, quantum pertinet ad nostram ecclesiam. Differt enim adhuc rex respondere petitioni nostrae, quamvis ipse et alii principes Angliae mihi nimis ultra mensuram meam amorem et honorem exhibeat.... Mittite mihi Orationem ad sanctum Nicolaum quam feci, et Epistolam quam contra dicta Roscelini facere incoavi, et si quas aliis nostris epistolis habet domnus Mauritius, quae non misit.' For the missing letters, see above, note 74.
84. These five letters are *AEpp* 42, 43, 47, 74, 79.

85. See below.
86. M.R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, part I (Cambridge, 1930) 91-92; also *AOO* I, 234*-239*.
87. M.R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, (Cambridge, 1903) p. xxx: 'The hand in which this is written is well-marked and noteworthy. The letters are written prolific of ''apices'', giving the whole a somewhat ''prickly appearance''.' M.R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 91: 1 . . . in the hand characteristic of Christ Church, Canterbury; very finely written'. N.R. Ker confirms James's judgement, but prefers the latter terminology since the script was not fully developed until after Lanfranc's death. See N.R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960) 25-29,p. 26.
88. Cathedral Archives and Library, Canterbury, C 117; for a sample, see N.R. Ker, *English Manuscripts*, plate 9.
89. A.M. Oakley, 'Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury, Chartae Antiquae C 115, C 117, a description in type-script: (Canterbury, 1972) 2; see also T.J. Brown, 'Description of the Manuscript', in *Canterbury Professions*, ed. M. Richter in The Canterbury and York Society, vol 67, (1973) xxiv-xxxvi. A.M. Oakley's statement contradicts C.R. Dodwell's comparison in *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200* (Cambridge, 1954), 6-7: 'Before being consecrated, it was the custom for bishops and abbots to make a profession of canonical obedience to the primate. This was written out by a Christ Church scribe according to a given formula, and signed by the dignitary concerned with a cross. By the greatest good fortune, the originals of these professions, beginning in the year 1086, and continuing throughout and beyond the twelfth century actually survive in the library of Canterbury Cathedral. They provide an unparalleled series of palaeographical documents showing, almost yearly, the development of script at Canterbury. It is on this evidence that the Canterbury manuscripts have been dated in the present work.' See also N.R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960) 17-18.
90. Book one contains 131 letters, book two 258 letters.
91. On fol. 180/v/ of 'La', for example, a green symbol in the form of a circle with an intersecting ellipse in the margin marks letter 393 in 'La' = *AEp* 212. In 'L' we find the same green symbol in the margin of fol. 78/v/ between L 158 (= *AEp* 210) and L 159 (= *AEp* 213) accompanied by the following instruction: 'Ante isti scribatur epistolam quam in fine habetur quae his incipit Henricus dei gratia rex. Ad predictum signum.' The same method is used in fol. 160/v/ for La 390 (= *AEp* 193), on fol. 178/r/ for La 391 (= *AEp* 411), fol. 179/v/ for La 392 (= *AEp* 331), fol. 181/v/ for La 394 (= *AEp* 440) and fol. 182/v/ for La 398 (= *AEp* 207). Letters in La 399 = *AEp* 471, fol. 187/r/, La 400 (= *AEp* 472, fol. 187/r/), La 401 (= *AEp* 469, fol. 188/v/ and La 402 (= *AEp* 475, fol. 189/v/) in the second part of 'La' are neither marked by a symbol in 'La' nor by a symbol accompanied by an instruction in 'L'.

92. N.R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, 50-53.
93. F.S. Schmitt first reviewed and published the contents of 'La'. He rearranged the writings into a logical order and entitled them 'Ein neues unvollendetes Werk des hl. Anselm von Canterbury', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters*, 33 (1936) part 3. The main part of 'La' was edited a second time in R.W. Southern and F.S. Schmitt, *Memorials of St Anselm*, (London, 1969) 333-354. Here again the various items were rearranged in a slightly different sequence from the order in which they appear in 'La'. An English translation of the philosophical fragments is found in J. Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St Anselm* (Minneapolis, 1972) 215-242, and a philosophical appreciation in D.P. Henry, *The Logic of Saint Anselm* (Oxford, 1967) 121-133, 181-221. See also E.F. Serene, 'Agency and Responsibility in the Lambeth Fragments', in *Anselm Studies* 1 (1983) 144-156.
94. Fols. 182/r/-186/v/.
95. Fols. 160/v/-161/r/: La 390 = *AEp* 193; this letter fills four lines above and six lines below the margin as well as the usual writing area of two columns of 31 lines of fol. 160/v/, and spills five lines right across into the bottom margin of fol. 161/r/.
96. Fols. 161/r/-161/v/: On the varieties of *velle, voluntas*: 'Est considerandum quia volumus . . .quod non vult eam violari, quod est quarto modo'; *Memorials*, pp. 334-336.
97. Fols. 161/v/-162/r/: death bed confession 'Letaris quod in fide christiana moreris . . .spiritum meum'; *Memorials*, pp. 353-354.
98. Fols. 162/r/-169/v/: Sermon on the bliss of eternal life: 'Multi homines . . .a diabolo precipitati depereunt'; *Memorials*, pp. 274-288. This sermon was delivered by Anselm at Cluny in 1099/1100 or between 1103 and 1105. Eadmer, Anselm's secretary and biographer, wrote it down and sent it to Cluny at the request of William, a monk. At the end of a later addition to his work (*Memorials*, pp. 288-291) Eadmer stated: 'Therefore let anyone who deigns to read this work know that Anselm himself often read and heard it, and commended it with his own hand and authority to be read and transcribed for posterity'. See also R.W. Southern, *Anselm*, 362-364.
99. Fols. 169/v/-171/v/: On kinds of *aliquid*: 'Quattuor modis . . .quasi sint aliquid'; and on *facere*: 'Verbum hoc quod est facere . . . alia per absentiam'; *Memorials*, pp. 336-340.
    Fols. 171/v/-174/v/: Dialogue on *De potestate*: 'Discipulus: Plura sunt . . . Magister: In sequentibus intellegentes'. On the varieties of *facere*: 'Est et alia consideratio ... aliquando beati': *Memorials*, pp. 341-349.
    Fols. 174/v/ -175/r/: Dialogue on different modes of *causa*: 'Discipulus: Video plane ... cum potest'; *Memorials*, pp. 349-351. The last tract is joined to the previous by this rubric: 'Haec ad praedicta pertinent'.
100. 175/r/-177/v/: Two poems in praise of Anselm: 'Haud habiture . . . Vale' and 'Item versus de eodem Praesulis Anselmi quem nuper

obisse dolemus ... gloria magna deo. Amen.'; Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 158:135-137. On the author of these poems, see F.S. Schmitt, 'Ein neues unvollendetes Werk des hl Anselm', p. 6.

101. Fol. 178/r/: *Commendatio operis ad Urbanum Papam II*: 'Quamvis post apostolos ... iudicio', in *AOO* II 39-40.
102. Fol. 178/r/: La 391 = *AEp* 411.
103. Fols. 178/v/-179/r/: Canons of the synods of London of 1102 and 1108, in *HN* 141-144 and 193-195.
104. Fols. 179/r/-182/r/: Seven letters: La 392 = *AEp* 331, La 393 = *AEp* 212, La 394 = *AEp* 255, La 395 = *AEp* 202, La 396 = *AEp* 200, La 397 = *AEp* 440, La 398 = *AEp* 207.
105. See endnote 91.
106. Fol. 187/r/: Two letters: La 399 = *AEp* 471 begins abruptly in the middle of the seventh word *<oboedi> entiam*. The missing address and words are supplied by an early hand. La 400 = *AEp* 472.
107. Fols. 187/r/-188//r: Repetition of the tract on the varieties of *velle, voluntas*: 'Est considerandum ... quod est quarto modo,' see endnote 96. A short paragraph (6 lines) on willing: 'Velle eisdem ... propter salutem', in *Memorials*, p. 351.
108. Fol. 188/r/: Repetition of deathbed confession, see endnote 97.
109. Fols. 188/r/-188/v/: La 401 = *AEp* 469.
110. Fols. 188/v/-189/r/: A draft of a part of *De concordia*: 'Voluntas equivoce ... nobis displicet.' in *AOO* II, 279-282.
111. Fols. 189/r/-189/v/: Anselm's epitaph on Hugh: 'Hic cognoscetis ... fulgeat in requie.' in *Memorials*, p. 351.
112. Fol. 189/v/: Statement about the presence of God in the Blessed Sacrament: 'Idem ad interrogationem ... potest ut deus.' in *Memorials*, pp. 351-352.
113. Fol. 189/v/: A distich: 'Cum te plasmavi ... redemi.' in *Memorials*, pp. 351-352.
114. Fol. 189/v/: La 402 = *AEp* 475.
115. Fols. 189/v/-190/r/: Repetition of the first poem in praise of Anselm; see endnote 100.
116. There is a gap for the initials of the first words of: *AEp* 472: <A>nselmus., see endnote 106.
    On varieties of *velle, voluntas*: <E>st ..., see endnote 107. Deathbed confession: <L>aetaris ..., see endnote 108.
    *AEp* 469; <A>nselmus ..., see endnote 1099..
    Draft of *de concordia*: <V>oluntas ..., see endnote 110.
    Epitaph on Hugh: <H>ic ..., see endnote 111.
    Statement about the presence of God: <C>cum ..., see endnote 112.
    Distich: <C>um ..., see endnote 113.
    *AEp* 475: <A>nselmus ..., see endnote 114.
    Repetition of poem in praise of Anselm: <H>aud ..., see endnote 115.
117. R.W. Southern, *St Anselm*, p. 67; see also endnote 70.

118. Fol. 190/r/: 'Tu solus tum dis es medicina reis'. See also W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1958) 278-283 and 491-496.
119. Arras Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 484; Cambridge Trinity College, MS B.3.32; London Lambeth, MS 59; Oxford Bodleian, MS Bodley 271; see also M.R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 28-29.
120. W.G. Searle, 'Christ Church, Canterbury', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* (1902) 153-169.
121. M.R. James, *The Canterbury Psalter* (Cambridge, 1935) 2; see also W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, p. 505.
122. M.R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, pp. xxx-xxxi; in the 'Nomina Monachorum Becci', ed. M. Rule (London, 1883) 394, 395, there are three monks of this name. Thidricus is most likely no. 45.
123. He seems to use two types of the capitals of E and M: see e.g. Cambridge Trinity College, MS B.3.32. fols. 84/v/ and 87/v/; compare these, for example, with Oxford Bodleian, MS Bodley 271, fols. 160/r/ and 166/r/.
124. See fol. 42/r/.
125. *AEpp* 334 and 379; they are L267 and L312.
126. Thidricus seems to have acknowledged the guiding influence when he inserted 'ab Anselmo editus' into the incipit and explicit rubrics of *De veritatis* (fols. 36/r/ and 43/v/, *De libertate arbitrii* (fols. 43/v/ and 49/v/), *De casu diaboli* (fols. 50/r/ and 62/v/), *De sacrificio azimi* (fol. 125/v/), *Orationes sive meditationes* (fol. 139/r/ of Oxford Bodleian, MS Bodley 271.
127. Thomas was invited to Canterbury for 6 September and 27 September and 8 November 1108. See *AEpp* 443, 445, and 455.
128. See *HN* 119-206, HC 15-31.
129. In 'L', L 367 = *AEp* 443; L 368 = *AEp* 444; L 369 = *AEp* 445; L 376 = *AEp* 455; L 382 = *AEp* 464; L 383 = *AEp* 465; L 388/La 399 = *AEp* 471; L 389/La 400 = *AEp* 472.
not in 'L', *AEp* 453 and *AEp* 454 are in HC 19-21; *AEp* 456 and *AEp* 470 are in *HN* 204-205.
130. See VA 150-151.
131. See endnote 78; the *Concordance to the Works of St Anselm*, ed. G.R. Evans (Milwood, New York, 1982) lists another thirty usages of *nuper*. All these seem to convey the same notion of recent occurrence.
132. F.S. Schmitt, 'Die echten und unechten Stücke der Korrespondenz Anselms von Canterbury', *Revue Bénédictine* 65 (1955) 218-227 = *AOO* 204*-212*.
133. See e.g. *AEpp* 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 23, 24, 35, 36, 38, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 52, 53, 57, 58, 60, 61, 65, 73, 77, 80, 83, 85, 87, 88, 97, 100, 109, 113, 118, 121, 132, 138, 147, 148, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 173, 175, 186, 187, 191, 192, 204, 209, 218, 223, 232, 233, 246, 247, 250, 254, 262, 263, 264., 292, 293, 294, 298, 299, 300, 301, 305, 307, 315, 316, 319, 320, 322, 323, 327, 328, 328, 330, 331, 333, 334,

343, 345, 347, 348, 349, 355, 356, 357, 361, 363, 364, 375, 376, 379, 395, 399, 406, 407, 413, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 421, 425, 432, 433, 440, 447, 451, 457, 458, 460.

134. These are *AEpp* 18, 26, 27, 63, 64, 65, 88, 123, 124, 126, 127, 145, 148, 150, 151, 152, 155, 159, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 169, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181, 183, 184, 190, 195, 204, 205, 208, 209, 215, 216, 224, 225, 226, 239, 282, 284, 304, 305, 310, 337, 348, 351, 352, 362, 363, 365, 366, 367, 373, 398, 407, 437, 438, 439, 442, 453, 454, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 470, 473 and the ten letters from 'La': *AEpp* 193, 200, 202, 207, 212, 255, 331, 411, 440, 475. See endnotes 91-116 above.
135. *AEpp* 18, 26, 27, 63, 64, 65, 88, 123, 124, 126, 127, 145.
136. This letter fills four lines above and six lines below the margin as well as the usual writing area of two columns of thirty-one lines on fol. 160/v/ and spills five lines right across into the bottom margin of fol. 161/r/.
137. *AEpp* 148, 150, 151, 152, 155, 163, 165, 166, 173, 174, 178, 179, 205, 209.
138. See *AOO* 156*-162*.
139. See *HN* 27-37, and *AEpp* 156, 158, 159, 160, 164.
140. According to F.S. Schmitt, *AEpp* 177, 183, 184, 190, 195 form a small local collection preserved on folios 67 and 68 in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.I.37. See Schmitt: 'Zur Überlieferung der Korrespondenz Anselms von Canterbury', *Revue Bénédictine* 43 (1931) 230-238. *AEp* 337 is in M and *AEpp* '168 and 169 in Trier, Stadbibliothek MS 728. See also André Wilmart *Revue Bénédictine* 38 (1926) 331-334, endnote 3.
141. *ASC* 1100.
142. See D.C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London, 1964) 267-269, 426.
143. See R.R. Darlington, ed., *William of Malmesbury, Vita Wulfstani,* Camden Society, 3rd series, 40 (1928) 34.
144. *HN* 121, see *OV* IV 272; M. Chibnall, *The World of Ordericus Vitalis* (Oxford, 1984) 200.
145. *AEpp* 252, 243, 246, 288, 296, 317, 320, 321, 323, 346, 347, 384, 385, 395, 400, 406. See also F.S. Schmitt, *Revue Bénédictine* 43 (1931) 231-234.
146. *AEpp* 215, 216, 221, 224, 305, 348, 351, 352.
147. See, for example, *AEpp* 315, 318, 323, 368.
148. R.W. Southern, *Anselm* 67, footnote 2 is of different opinion. He holds that 'there is not the slightest reason to think that this letter *AEp* 379 refers to the making of this or any other collection of letters.' Southern relied merely on palaeographic evidence; see W. Fröhlich, 'The Genesis of Anselm's collection of letters', *American Benedictione Review* 35 (1984) 250.
149. This is British Library, MS Add. 32091; for a description of the manuscript, see Walter Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England,* vol. 1 (Berlin, 1930/31) 166-167, 221-231. The letters are *AEp* 216 = Add 5; *AEp* 224 = Add 10; *AEp* 305 = Add 16; *AEp* 348 = Add 17; *AEp*

351 = Add 18; *AEp* 352 = Add 19; *AEpp* 215 and 221 are preserved in *Quadripartitus*, ed. R. Liebermann (Halle, 1892) 151-152.

150. They are preserved: *AEp* 282 = M83; *AEp* 284 = Add 12.
151. See *AEpp* 14, 15, 23, 124, 151, 164, 223, 283, 339, 349, 367, 371, 377, 378, 390, 397, 430, 438, 462; 86, 180, 248, 249, 298.
152. *HN* 114. Anselm sent three Paschal letters, *AEpp* 222, 281, 353, to Lambert. These papal letters to Anselm are in accordance with the decrees of Urban's synod of 1099 and represent Paschal's hard line on investitures. Anselm included them in 'L' as L 162, L 226 and L 287 and sent copies of them to Flanders. They were incorporated into a collection of canonical material of the bishopric of Thérouanne in the second half of the twelfth century (letters 11, 12 and 13; Max Sdralek dealt with the material in *Wolfenbüttler Fragmente* [Münster, 1891] 55-59). It seems very unlikely that Lambert received more than these three letters. Otherwise they would have been entered into this collection. See also *CS* vol. I: 658, 660.
153. Arras, Stadtbibliothek MS 484, catalogue nr. 805; see *AOO* 91*-94*, 213*.
154. *AEp* 441 = L 370.
155. They are 6210 (*AEp* 458), 6211 (*AEp* 459), 6212 (*AEp* 457), 6213 (*AEp* 460) in P. Jaffe and S. Löwenfeld, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1885).
156. *AEp* 443 = L 367; *AEp* 444 = L 368; *AEp* 445 = L 369; *AEp* 455 = L 376; *AEp* 464 = L 382; *AEp* 465 = L 383; *AEp* 471 = L 388 and again in 'La', L 399; *AEp* 472 = L 389 and, again in 'La', L 400.
157. They are in HC 19 = *AEp* 453; 20 = *AEp* 454; *AEp* 456 = *HN* 204.
158. *AEp* 470 = *HN* 205.
159. *AEp* 442 = M 102.
160. *AEpp* 238, 250, 253, *255*, 256, 283, 326, 354, *362*, *363*, *373*, 386, *440*. Those *italicized* are omitted from 'L'. They are elsewhere preserved: *AEp* 255 = La 394; *AEpp* 362, 363, 373 = *Quadripartitus* 155-159; *AEp* 440 = La 397.
161. See *AEpp* 216, 219, 222, 224, 281.
162. *AEpp* 310, 365, 366.
163. See *HN* 162, 167,171; *AEpp*386, 387.
164. The following letters were not dealt with: *AEpp*181, 200, 202, 204, 207, 208, 212, 225, 226, 239, 255, 304, 331, 367, 398, 407, 411, 473

# ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of works frequently referred to in the footnotes.

| | |
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| *AA* | *Analecta Anselmiana.* Frankfurt, 1969- |
| *AEp* | *Anselmi Epistola* |
| *AOO* | *Anselmi Opera Omnia,* ed. F.S. Schmitt. Edinburgh 1946-1961. Stuttgart, [2] 1968 containing the editor's *Prolegomena seu Ratio editionis,* pages marked with an asterisk *. |
| ASC | Anglo-Saxon Chronicle |
| Barlow, *English Church* | F. Barlow, *The English Church 1066-1154.* London, 1979. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Bec profession-roll | in Rule I: 394-396. |
| Bede, *EH* | Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors. Oxford, [2]1972. |
| *CS* | *Councils and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church*, I, 871-1204, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, C.N.L. Brooke. Oxford, 1981. |
| *CSEL* | *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* series. Vienna, 1866-. |
| *EHD* II | *English Historical Documents*, ed. D.C. Douglas, vol. II, 1042-1189. London, 1961. |
| *EHR* | *English Historial Review.* |
| Fröhlich, 'Bischöfliche Kollegen' | W. Fröhlich, 'Die bischöflichen Kollegen des hl Erzbischofs Anselm von Canterbury', *AA* 1(1969) 223-267; 2 (1970) 117-168. |
| *GC* | *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, 16 vols. Paris, 1856-1899. |
| *Heads* | *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales 940-1216*, ed. D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke, V.C. London. Cambridge, 1972. |
| HC | Hugh the Chantor, *The History of the Church of York 1066-1127*, ed. C. Johnson. Oxford, 1961. |

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| *HN* | *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule. London, 1884, Repr. 1965; transl. by G. Bosanquet. London, 1964. |
| Mansi | *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Collectio*, 31 vols. Venice 1757-1798, repr. Graz, 1960. |
| *MARS* | *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* |
| MS L | Manuscript Lambeth Palace Library 59, London. |
| *OV* | *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. Oxford, 1969-1980. |
| *RB* | *Regula monachorum sancti Benedicti; Rule* of St Benedict |
| *Reg* | Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154, Vol I, 1066-1100, ed. H.W.C. Davis and R.J. Whitwell, Oxford, 1913; Vol II, 1100-1135, ed. C. Johnson and H.A. Cronne, Oxford, 1956. |
| Rule | M. Rule, *The Life and Times of St Anselm*, 2 vols, London, 1883. |
| Southern, *Anselm* | R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, Cambridge, 1963. |
| Tillmann, *Legaten* | H. Tillmann, Die päpstlichen Legaten in England bis zur Beendigung der Legation Gualas (1218), Bonn, 1926. |

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| *VA* | *Eadmeri Vita Sancti Anselmi*, ed. R.W. Southern, Edinburgh ,1962; Oxford, 1972. |

To these could be added,

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| Blumenthal, *Paschal* | U.-R., Blumenthal, *The Early Councils of Pope Paschal II, 1100-1110*, Studies and Texts of the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, vol. 43. Toronto, 1978. |
| Canterbury Professions | *Canterbury Professions*, ed. M. Richter, Canterbury and York Society, 67 (1973). |
| Chibnall, Relations | M. Chibnall, 'The Relations of St Anselm with the English Dependencies of the Abbey of Bec 1079-1093', in *Spicilegium Beccense.* Paris, 1959. Pp. 521-530. |
| Douglas, William | D.C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror.* London, 1964. |
| *IER* | *Irish Ecclesiastical Records.* |
| Mason, *Laymen* | J.F.A. Mason, 'Saint Anselm's Relations with Laymen: Selected Letters', *Spicilegium Beccense*, Paris, 1959. Pp 547-560. |

# THE LETTERS OF ANSELM

# 1. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

*Anselm congratulates Lanfranc on his elevation to the archbishopric of Canterbury, assures him of his continuing devout love, and asks that this letter be shown to the brothers of Bec at Canterbury.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC,[1] DEEPLY REVERED WITH MUCH LOVE AND LOVED WITH REVERENCE BY ALL CHRISTIANS; BROTHER ANSELM, TOTALLY HIS.

GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST,[2] who placed the light of your faith and wisdom on a lofty lampstand[3] *that it might give light to all who are in* his house.[4] We pray, therefore, Almighty God that it may so burn that it is not consumed, that it may so light others that it may never be extinguished. And, having long imparted its light on the English, may it be transferred to the eternal participation in divine light with the angels.[5] And just as we wish our virtues, if any there be, to be yours, in the same way we do not hesitate to consider your virtues, however many, to be ours. For although so many unexpected changes in circumstances frequently endeavor to separate you from me, they will, however, never be able to succeed. I do not mean that they will not separate our closely united souls from one another but that my devoted soul will certainly not be drawn away from you. Wherefore, even if I do not express what you know and I do not doubt, you cannot altogether escape him whom you carry within you: indeed, you are not able to desert him who follows you wherever you go and embraces you wherever he may be.

The precious cup you gave to a very dear friend of a dearest friend, you said—as Dom Hernost[6] told me—you wished to give with joyous kindness and friendly confidence. Therefore I certainly do not return your gift to you, lest I render myself in the least way offensive to you, but instead I very freely give you the most precious thing I possess in the world.

After the letter directed to your highness, let our beloved brothers,[7] who are with you read this, our very brief but adequate note, sent to them. My longing for you continually increases and the love of which you were once aware within me never diminishes.

*1070.*

## NOTES

1. Lanfranc, born *c.* 1010 at Pavia, a famous lawyer, left Lombardy about 1035. Having founded a famous school at Avranches, he withdrew from the world and became a monk at Bec in 1042 in the newly-founded monastery of Abbot Herluin, who made him prior in 1045. William the Conqueror appointed him abbot of his new foundation, Saint Stephen at Caen, in 1063. Four years after the conquest of England he raised his trusty advisor and agent to the archbishopric of Canterbury (1070). In this office Lanfranc brought about the normanization of the old English Church in close cooperation with King William I. He died on 24 May 1089; see *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. H. Clover and M. Gibson (Oxford, 1979); M. Gibson, Lanfranc of Bec (Oxford, 1978); S. Vaughn, 'Lanfranc at Bec: A Reinterpretation', *Albion* 17 (1985) 135-148.
2. Lk 2:14.
3. This letter was written at the time of Lanfranc's consecration on 29 August 1070.
4. Mt 5:15.
5. Anselm is making a pun on Saint Gregory's 'non Angli sed Angeli', (Bede, EH II.1, 134).
6. Hernost—a monk of Bec; according to the Bec profession-roll, Rule,I: 394-396 he was sixty-ninth in profession rank and thus the immediate junior of Anselm in the community of Bec. At the time of this letter Hernost was prior of St Stephen's, Caen. He had succeeded Gundulf when Gundulf followed Lanfranc to Canterbury, see *Letters of Lanfranc*, 61. Lanfranc called Hernost to be Bishop of Rochester in 1075; on 29th August he was consecrated, but he died the following year on 15 July 1076.
7. When Lanfranc was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury and left for England, he took with him a number of monks who had already gone with him to Caen—Gundulf, Herluin, Henry and the priest Albert. This was the beginning of the transfer of a large number of Norman monks to England to help in the normanization of the conquered island. Monks from Bec were influential at Christ Church, Canterbury, Rochester, Chester and Colchester. The monasteries of Bec and Caen provided England with fifteen heads

of religious houses as well as two bishops and two archbishops; see *Heads*; and Southern, *Anselm*, 246-273.

## 2. TO ODO AND LANZO.

*Anselm offers this letter as a token of his lasting love for both and, as requested by Lanzo, encourages spiritual love through Scripture and his own words.*

TO HIS LORDS, FRIENDS AND MOST BELOVED BROTHERS, ODO AND LANZO[1]: BROTHER ANSELM OF BEC, SINNER IN LIFE, MONK BY PROFESSION, DESPISING THE TEMPORAL FOR THE ETERNAL AND STRIVING FOR THE ETERNAL IN PLACE OF THE TEMPORAL.

WHEREAS TRUE LOVE honorably bestowed demands to be loved blamelessly in return, I do not consider myself shameless if I display my love for you to some extent either to gain yours for me or, having gained it, to render it more perfect. But because of the very great distance separating us, you are not able to experience my love for you either by acts of kindness on my part or even by conversations: may this letter of greeting be a sign to you that the memory of your love thrives within me. For when your respected fraternity first made itself known to my lowliness by its presence, my soul so deeply marked it by drawing you close in the embrace of charity that, by loving you, it impressed a clear image of you on itself. By this, despite your absence, you are always present to me. Yet however rare our meetings may be, my affection is not intermittent but continuous.

Till now my spontaneous greeting was addressed to both of you; but from now on the exhortation I owe you is extended to one of you, for it is conveyed to the one who requested it. Yet I shall rejoice in a double recompense for my labor should it be received by each of you as if addressed to himself.

Indeed I remember, my lord and friend Lanzo, that in your holy fervor for living a good life, you begged me with

many prayers, languid as I am, to inspire you to spiritual love by a letter of instruction. Since I considered it inconsistent that cold should attempt to heat up what is hot, I wanted to refuse; but on reconsidering that a burning fire is intensified by a blast of cold air I could not completely refuse what I was asked for. Wherefore, although you can find what you require of me much better anywhere in Holy Scripture, yet, I willingly choose to obey your sweet earnestness, as well as I can, out of respect for you. Therefore I shall choose the middle path, first of all requiring you to study Holy Scripture, then, on my own account but not on my own authority, I shall add some exhortations out of these very Scriptures.

I admonish and implore you[2], therefore, dearest friend, as it is written: *use all watchfulness to keep your heart true*[3] so that nothing may catch your mind off guard. Let it examine carefully what it has gained by daily progress lest—God forbid!—it lose ground by becoming disheartened. For in the matter of virtue, as it is harder to attain a quality which one did not earlier possess than it is to do without it by idleness, so it is harder to regain what one has lost by negligence than to obtain what one knows he has not yet possessed. Always consider, therefore, most beloved friend, past achievements as if they were of little value, so that you do not despise maintaining what you have achieved, and always aspire, although hindered by infirmity, to add something to it by perseverance. For we are all told by Truth that, from among many called, *few* are *chosen*.[4] We are certain that all [are called] but just how few [are chosen] we are uncertain of because Truth is silent. Wherefore, anyone who does not yet live as one of the few must either join himself to the few by changing his life-style, or else fear reprobation with certainty. For indeed, someone who already judges himself to be among the few should not immediately trust that he is chosen. In fact, since nobody among us knows to how few the number of the chosen is limited, so nobody knows if he is already among this small number

of the chosen, even if he is like one of the few among the many called. Therefore, nobody, looking behind him,[5] should contemplate how many he outstrips on the road to the celestial country, but continually looking ahead, let him consider anxiously whether he is advancing in the same way as those whose election none of the faithful doubts. Take care, dearest friend, lest the fear of God which you have conceived cool down; but always, as if fanned by continual attention, let it flame daily higher and higher until, transformed, it lights your way into eternal security.

Take care, most beloved brother, that you avoid what many people do—and indeed they are not as numerous as their folly is great—who, the longer they live, cherish the more the hope of living and, banishing the fear of fast-approaching death, they fall away from their intention [of living] a holy life. For it is true that the longer someone has lived, the shorter he has still to live; and the farther away he is from the day of his birth the nearer he is to the day of his death and to recompense for the whole of his life. Therefore, just as with every single day you see your past life growing longer, so you may be certain that your span of time for living a good life is daily getting shorter. So take care, my friend, to spend the lifespan left to you—because you never know how short it is—in such a way that day by day you make progress toward what is better in the holy intentions of your mind. If you find it difficult to lead a good life, consider that the more you see your labor hastening to an end and yourself approaching repose and reward, the harder you should work and, comforted, the more joyfully you should persevere while progressing courageously. Do not therefore give up through lassitude what you have begun, but rather, hoping for aid from above, do what is good for you and what you have not yet attempted for the love of a joyful reward, so that with Christ's guidance you may reach the blessed company of the saints.

Our letter is already too long. But that it may end equally with the same people with whom it jointly began, take note,

my two friends. Listen, both my beloveds. Accept, the end of my foolish exhortation, I beg you, in memory of our mutual affection. My talk I call foolish because it is mine, but not its content, for that comes from God. Listen, therefore, and do not despise what comes from God because of my part in it. If ever the world smiles on you with any of its favors, do not return the smile. For the world does not smile that you may laugh in the end but rather that, once subject to its jeering prince, you may lament when he laments. Instead, whenever it smiles at you, shrink from its smile, mock the smiler with horror so that afterwards you will be able to jeer at its mockery and laugh when it laments. My friends, *do not bestow your love on the world, nor on what the world has to offer.*[6] For it is truly written that *the world and its gratifications will pass away,*[7] and that *the friend... of the world will be considered the enemy of God.*[8] The world has no hay on its horn. It has gold on its horn, but look behind. It has hay on its rear and it butts with its rear.[9] Beware, beware.I say, and farewell.

*c. 1070/71.*

NOTES

1. They both appear to be laymen therefore *dominis* is translated 'lords', not 'fellow-monks'. Lanzo later entered Cluny and became prior of the Cluniac house Saint Pancras at Lewes, 1077-1107, see Ep 37; *Heads,* 119; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge², 1966) 151-156.
2. Compare the following with the second half of Ep 51.
3. Prov 4:23.
4. Mt 20:16, 22:14.
5. Lk 9:62.
6. 1 Jn 2:15.
7. 1 Jn 2:17.
8. Jm 4:4.
9. Cf. Vergil, *Eclogue* IX.5.25.

# 3. TO ROBERT, THE MONK.

*Admitting his unworthiness Anselm, although far away, begs for Robert's solicitude and prayers for his improvement, and for the friendship of Anastasius.*

TO THE MOST BELOVED LORD AND REVEREND MONK, ROBERT[1]: BROTHER ANSELM OF BEC, THAT HE AMONG SO MANY LIVING A HOLY LIFE MAY SO WISH FOR THINGS ETERNAL IN THE TEMPORAL LIFE THAT HE WILL NOT WANT THINGS TEMPORAL IN ETERNITY.

WHEN I CONSIDER, valiant soldier of God and my dearest friend, when I consider the progress of your efforts and the fruitlessness of my own laziness, then I hardly dare put to your holiness any mention of our mutual friendship. Since there is nothing in all the actions of my lukewarm life that can be equalled by the kindnesses of your affection, I blush either to exact from you a friend's debt or even to be called your friend. On the other hand, when I see others running along easily on their way back to the heavenly home and myself veritably weighed down by sins and lethargy, scarcely advancing on this path, I am forced by the realization of my great need to call out from the bottom of my heart to those ahead of me. Not that their speed should be slowed down by my sluggishness, but that my slow pace, accelerated by the runners, should be made faster.

Wherefore, my prayers are such that they are of little or no use to me, I dare not offer them for you as I intended, but I do pray that they may be inflamed by the fervor of yours, that they may effectively serve you and me. For before God, this my heart desires, and so my lips pray God that whatever might be good for me may not be any less good for you than for me. And so, you honorably kind and kindly honorable man, you may be assured of this good will of mine as long as I live, and be solicitous about the charity still to be perfected in me, which will be yours. For if you pray for your neighbor, I know for a fact that you will be rewarded; and if you pray successfully, know that whatever is given me is due to you.

That you may carry this out more effectively, I beg and beseech you to make me known to that holy man, Anastasius,[2] whose desirable company you enjoy, by recommending me, though absent, as best as you can. In this way you share this friend of yours with me, and share me, your servant, with him. Wherefore, from this day on, through you and with you as long as we live, I shall honor this friend as another Robert, and he shall have the same servant, Anselm.For I am not worthy, I dare not ask—what I still presume to want—namely, that I may be like another Robert to this Anastasius, and he may enjoy me like another Robert. Already the odor of his good reputation has been sweetly spread by many people in this country; and the more the sweet fragrance attracts my soul the more my soul burns with desire of his acquaintance and his friendship. Because I have already heard these things about his life I retain and embrace them as much as I can; and I pray that he may pray with me that they may grow as much in us as they can possibly grow in God.

Farewell, both my dearest friends. I beseech you, be of one mind in this matter in Babylon that you may share it in Jerusalem.[3] I do not say this, fearing you may fall into some discord but truly wishing that you may never stray from harmony.

*c. 1070.*

NOTES

1. William of Malmesbury identified Robert as a monk of Mont St Michel who later became abbot of Saint Vigor, near Bayeux. See Lambeth Palace MS 224, *Ep* 19.
2. Anastasius was born at Vienne. He became a monk at Mont Saint Michel. Having lived as a hermit on the island of Tombelaine he joined the community of Cluny. Pope Gregory VII sent him to Spain to work for the introduction of the Roman liturgy. After another short period as a hermit in the Pyrenees he was called back to Cluny. He died at Doydes on 16 October 1086; see LThK I:494.
3. Ps 121:3.

# 4. TO GUNDULF, THE MONK.

*Anselm assures Gundulf of their continual mutual friendship and love despite the lack of an exchange of letters. He asks him to greet Lanfranc, the nephew of Archbishop Lanfranc, and Osbern, who are both with him at Canterbury. He asks for prayers for his dead friend Osbern and informs Gundulf of a letter being sent to Henry.*

TO HIS REVEREND FELLOW-MONK, DEAREST BROTHER, MOST FAITHFUL FRIEND DOM GUNDULF[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, GREETING.

WHENEVER I INTEND TO WRITE to you, soul most beloved of my soul, whenever I intend to write to you, I am undecided about where exactly I should begin what I want to tell you. For everything I feel about you is sweet and joyful to my heart; everything I wish for you is the best my mind can imagine. For I see you as the sort of person I must love, as you know I do; I hear about you as the sort of person I must long for, as God knows I do. From this it comes about that wherever you go my love follows you; and wherever I may be, my longing for you embraces you.

And do you inquire about me by your messengers, exhort me by your letters, shower me with your gifts that I may remember you? *Let my tongue cleave fast to the roof of my mouth if I cease to remember you*[2], if I do not place 'Gundulf' at the pinnacle of my friendship. I speak here not about Gundulf[3] the layman, my father, but Gundulf the monk, our brother. How could I forget you? How could someone imprinted on my heart like a waxen seal slip out of my memory? Moreover, why do you complain so sorrowfully, as I hear, that you never see any letters of mine, and why do you beg me so lovingly that you may often receive them when you have my thoughts with you all the time? Even when you are silent I know you love me; and if I am silent *you know that I love you*[4]. You are aware that I have no doubts about you, and I am your witness that you are sure of me. Since we are aware that we are in each other's minds, therefore, it only remains for us to tell each other about our affairs so that we may either rejoice together or be concerned for each other.

As to the matters concerning me over which I would like you either to rejoice or to be concerned for me, you will learn more from the bearer[5] of this letter than from the writer of the same.

Greet young Dom Lanfranc,[6] the nephew of our reverend lord and father, Archbishop Lanfranc, and offer him the assurance of our faithful service. Since he is very close to and loved by the man whom I so lovingly revere and reverently love that I love what he loves, and since I hear that his behavior is so amiable, if he is willing, I offer him our loyalty on the one hand, and, on the other, I request his friendship. Greet Dom Osbern who is with you, as our beloved brother.

With as few words as possible and as much fervor as I am capable, I ask you and all my friends to pray for the late Osbern, my sweetest friend. Wherever Osbern is, my soul is his soul. May I therefore receive on his behalf, while living, what I could hope for from my friends when I am dead, so that they will be free of obligation to me when I die. Farewell, farewell, my dearest friend; and that I may repay you in accord with your importunity, I pray and pray and pray; remember me and do not forget the soul of Osbern, my beloved. And if this seems to you to be too great a burden, forget me and remember him.

I sent another letter to Dom Henry[7], but only exchange your names in everything I have said, and yours may be his and his may be yours.

*c. 1071*

NOTES

1. Gundulf/Gondulf, of norman parentage, was born about 1024. He received his schooling at Rouen and became a clerk of the cathedral there. After a pilgrimage to Jerusalem he entered the newly-founded monastery at Bec in 1057, was professed in 1060, and is sixty-eighth in the Bec profession roll, thus Anselm's immediate senior. In 1065 Gundulf followed Lanfranc to Caen where he was made prior. When Lanfranc went to Canterbury in 1070 Gundulf went with him. In 1077

Lanfranc appointed him bishop of Rochester as Hernost's successor; see *Ep* 1. He died 7 March 1108. He was a trusty and faithful servant to both Lanfranc and Anselm: see *Vita Gundulfi*, PL 159:813-836; improved text by R. Thomson, Toronto Mediæval Texts (Toronto, 1977); English translation by the nuns of Malling Abbey (West Malling Kent, 1968, second revised edition, 1983); R.A.L. Smith, 'The Place of Gundulf in the Anglo-Norman Church', *EHR* 58 (1943) 257-272; Fröhlich, 'Bischöfliche Kollegen', *AA* 1 (1969) 241-244; Barlow, *English Church*, 64f and *passim*); M. Ruud, 'Gundulf of Rochester', *Anglo-Norman Studies* XI (1989) 245-260.

2. Ps 136:5.
3. For Anselm's father see *VA* 3-4, 7; Rule, I, 9,63; Southern, *Anselm*, 3-12; Brian P. McGuire, 'Love, friendship, and sex in the eleventh century: The experience of Anselm', *Studia Theologica* 28 (1974) 113-116.
4. Jn 21:16.
5. Dom Herluin was the bearer of this letter; see *Ep* 5.
6. For Lanfranc, the nephew of the Archbishop, see *Epp* 25, 30, 31.
7. Osbern, monk of Bec, sixty-sixth in the Bec profession roll, was at Canterbury.
8. Osbern, monk of Bec, ninety-eighth in the Bec profession roll, died shortly after his profession about 1071; see *VA* 16.20; McGuire (n.3) 121-124.
9. Henry, monk of Bec; see *Ep* 5.

# 5. TO HENRY, THE MONK.

*Anselm assures Henry, at Christ Church Canterbury, of their continual mutual friendship and love, no matter where divine disposition may send either of them; he recommends Herluin, the bearer of letters 4 and 5, begs him to pray for his deceased friend Osbern, and informs him of a similar letter being sent to Gundulf.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK AND MOST BELOVED BROTHER HENRY[1]:
BROTHER ANSELM, GREETING.

DEARLY BELOVED, the more report testifies to me that your behavior towards everybody is daily increasing in honorable conduct and the strict observance of holiness, the more indeed your friend's heart is inflamed by the desire of seeing what he hears by loving, and of enjoying what he loves by hearing about it. But since I do not hesitate to believe that we are loved, each by the other in no dissimilar fashion, so also I do not doubt that we are each longed for

by the other in the same way. For to those whose minds the fire of love welds together it is not groundlessly irksome if the place they live keeps their bodies apart. But since *whether we live or die* we are not our own *but the Lord's*,[2] we must direct our minds to what the Lord to whom we belong wills to do with us, rather than to what we, who do not belong to ourselves, want. Let us therefore so preserve our longing for brotherly charity that we observe the command of the heavenly will. And let us so display the obedience of submission which divine ordinance demands that we may keep the warmth of the love which divine dispensation bestows on us. For we cannot submit to God's rule for our own benefit any better than by wishing to obey his will through our own ordering of affairs. Accordingly, since we both have with us many people by whom we are loved and whom we love in return, let us, while enjoying their affection with reasonable pleasure, prepare ourselves to enjoy them with joyful reason and pray fervently that someday, being all present together with both present and absent friends, we may be able to enjoy God himself. When, guided by divine clemency, we reach the homeland towards which we are struggling, not, as it were, by the same path, we shall come together more joyfully, as if recalled from different places of exile. I do not thus exhort your effort, dearest friend, fearing that you do not act this way, but desiring that you may unfailingly continue to do what you are doing well.

I commend to you Dom Herluin,[3] our beloved friend, who also loves us, as you may learn from his conversation, and who can tell you better than I could do in the short space of a letter about matters concerning me and for which I beg your indulgence. Consider as your own the letter I sent to Dom Gundulf, by changing his name to yours and yours to his. For anything our love, whether revealing itself or requesting something, writes either to you or to him, it says the very same both to you and to him. But since for the soul of Osbern, our deceased brother, dearly-beloved by me, I

can neither implore God nor beg men for as much as would satisfy me, I again impress upon you that whatever I write to Dom Gundulf about him, I also say to you.

The lord abbot[4] and all the brothers of our congregation greet you and Dom Gundulf, giving great thanks for your gifts, but even more for your excellent conduct and good intentions. Farewell, and consider the soul of Osbern,[5] my other self, not as his, but as mine.

*c. 1071*

NOTES

1. Henry, a monk of Bec, seventy-fourth in the Bec profession roll, followed Lanfranc to Canterbury. Around 1074 he was appointed prior of Christ Church Canterbury; see *Ep* 58 and *Heads*, 33. In 1096 he was elected third abbot of Battle. He died 18 June 1102. See also *Epp* 7, 17, 24, 33, 40, 42, 50, 63, 64, 73, 140, 141, 182; E. Searle, ed., *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, Oxford Medieval Texts (1980) 102, 104, 106, 116, 168-170; H. Clover, 'Alexander II's letter 'Accipimus a quibusdam' and its relationship with the Canterbury forgeries', in *La Normandie Bénédictine* (Lille, 1967) 434, 437-438.
2. Rm 14:8.
3. Herluin was a monk of Caen who had come with Archbishop Lanfranc to Christ Church Canterbury. In 1100 he was made abbot of Glastonbury, where he ruled till 1118 see *Heads*, 51. He received, or is mentioned in, a number of Anselm's letters: *Epp* 5, 7, 8, 17, 35, 43, 51, 60, 69, 74.
4. Abbot Herluin, of noble Norman birth, founded the monastery of Bec in 1034 and ruled it till his death on 26 August 1078. See *Vita Herluini* in J.A. Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin* (Cambridge, 1911) 87-110; trans. S. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State 1034-1136* (Woodbridge 1981) 67-86; A. Porée, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Bec*, 2 Vols (Evreux, 1901).
5. See *Ep* 4.

# 6. TO HUGH THE PRIOR.

*Anselm implores Hugh to perform the duties of his office obediently and calmly, with due respect for his superior, with whom he does not get on well.*

TO HUGH, HIS LORD DESERVEDLY REVERED FOR HIS HOLINESS, HIS BROTHER, DULY LOVED OUT OF CHARITY: BROTHER ANSELM, [WHO HOPES] TO LIVE THIS LIFE IN A SAINTLY WAY IN PROSPERITY AND THE NEXT BLISSFULLY FOR ETERNITY.

I REPLY TO THE LETTER of your blessedness briefly because I have no opportunity of dictating much at the moment. If you are unable to hold office harmoniously with him with whom you have to share it, it is better for both of you, if having humbly begged for and been granted permission you rest from the worry of your burden, rather than hurt each other gravely by quarreling under its weight. And if he will not concede this to you, it is better for you to bear the burden, even unprofitably, in obedience, than to cast it off impatiently in disobedience. But if you have experienced that the matter is not improved but aggravated by your advice, it is better, by remaining mute and silent with the prophet *for the sake of good,*[1] to keep *peace with all men as far as you can,*[2] according to the Apostle, than to give an occasion to the evil one[3] by uttering good words uselessly. For since the prime responsibility was entrusted to him, not to you, you will not be held responsible if, through the fault of a shepherd who ignored your advice, the flock is not governed well.

Furthermore, as long as he does not force you to turn from good to evil, it is not advisable for you to dare to disregard the vow of submission and stability you once professed by changing your abode, except with his consent, as long as you can envisage any reason or opportunity that would enable you somehow to live well under his authority. If his headship is in any way a hindrance to your endeavors, yet does not block the path of salvation, it is better that, being judged unworthy of greater grace by the hidden judgement

of God and your sins you live humbly without sin with fewer blessings than strive to greater ones by mortal sin. For no one ought willingly to risk death unless he cannot otherwise evade a worse death.

May Almighty God and our Lord Jesus Christ, 'wonderful counselor'[4] and angel of great counsel,[5] so teach you to do his will[6] that he may grant you to see his glory, holy lord and most beloved brother.

NOTES

1. Ps 38:3.
2. Rm 12:18.
3. Rule of St Benedict 43:8; CSEL 75/2:118.
4. Cf. Is 9:6.
5. *Ibid.* (LXX).
6. Ps 142:10.

# 7. TO GUNDULF, THE MONK.

*Anselm expresses his intimate friendship with Gundulf, thanks him for his favors for Bec and begs him to greet Archbishop Lanfranc and the other brothers and friends who are with him.*

TO GUNDULF FROM ANSELM

I WANTED TO START my greeting briefly, as from friend to friend, because I could not reveal my affection as lover to beloved more fully than this. For anyone who knows Gundulf and Anselm well will not miss what is implied or how much affection is conveyed when he reads 'to Gundulf from Anselm'. I think I should leave it to you, who are my other self, to understand it as you will and turn my pen to finishing this letter.

Dom Robert implores and urges Dom Abbot and me and our whole community to send thanks for the many kindnesses of your charity; but we do this reluctantly, because in our own minds we are continually and quite spontaneously whispering our thanks to you for everything in

your life. Indeed it would seem as if an insult were being done to you, if among so many of your good deeds some particular one were to be singled out by the repayment of gratitude while the majority were passed over in silence, or if what was intended by your charity were judged to have lacked the favor of praise and acknowledgement until now. Furthermore, we wish with love, pray with desire, hope in prayer that you may so live through divine grace that, should anything in the deeds of your charity be found worthy of thanks, nothing in the actions of your will may be found unworthy of praise. Therefore may your life not so much loosen the tongues of those who love you to express certain things worthy of praise, as it may weary the voices of those who admire you by presenting [your life] as completely commendable. And while the voices of those who praise you choose to make certain things public by proclaiming them, may they discover the whole by whose abundance they are overwhelmed. And so may the habitual practice of virtue and habitual love so affect, as if by intoxication, your mind, that your spirit may not only savor the inward affection in any deed you occasion, but also be amazed at anyone who cannot experience this same intoxication in himself. For it is clear to anyone intending to live this way that the further he advances in fulfilling his intention, the less likely he will be to curry the favor of his admirers and the more he will be astounded at the error of his followers.

Therefore let us make known our, and I believe your, feeling about the reception of your deeds. We are profoundly grateful for whatever you do for us or for anybody else in a praiseworthy fashion. But we consider that praise for this should be reserved until that day when *all honest men will be praised*[1], and when *each will receive his reward from God*.[2]

Greet on our behalf our venerable and lovable lord and father Archbishop Lanfranc, his nephew and our beloved brothers who are with him, as it seems best to you. Moreover, since all who are close to me are close to you, to whom I am close, place close to me those I entrusted to

you through Dom Herluin in order to join them most intimately to our friendship, and—what they themselves beseech with me—in the inmost cubicle of your memory, where I constantly reside; but the soul of my Osbern,[3] I beg you, my beloved, place nowhere but in my heart.

Farewell, farewell, sweetest because truest friend; farewell, and if you cannot forget me, truly your servant, truly your friend, truly your beloved, remember me. When I speak to you I speak to Dom Henry. Therefore, farewell to you both.

*c. 1071.*

NOTES

1. Ps 63:11.
2. 1 Cor 4:5.
3. See *Ep* 4.

# 8. TO HERLUIN, THE MONK.

*Anselm admonishes Herluin at Canterbury to persevere in his monastic way of life and asks him to show this letter to Gundulf.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK AND BELOVED BROTHER HERLUIN: BROTHER ANSELM, GREETING.

YOU HAVE BEGUN, MY DEAR FRIEND, to taste that the Lord is sweet.[2] Beware, therefore, that you are not so filled with the savor of the world which flows abundantly over you that you are emptied of the savor of God which flows quickly and secretly away from the careless. Consider very frequently, my brother, and know very certainly that eternal bitterness fills those whom the sweetness of the world allures, and perpetual bliss pervades those whom the sweetness of God attracts. It is certainly true and not false—I call true what the Holy Spirit says through the mouth of God's friend—that *the friend... of this world makes himself God's*

*enemy*.[3] And it is really so; it is wholly unchangeable. These are not merely words to be heard but a terrible reality to be feared. If therefore you do not wish to become God's enemy, fear with horror being a friend of the world. For anyone who is a friend of the delights of this world is a friend of this world.

I implore you therefore, my friend, not to love worldly entertainments. When they are absent do not let your heart yearn for them; when they are present do not *set your heart on them*.[4] But whether they are absent or whether they are present, you should always want to hide yourself from them. If the world or any of those things which are of the world smiles at you, do not smile at them. Certainly, brother, the world does not smile at you so that once it has smiled, you may smile; but it feigns a smile in order to mock you. Therefore, most beloved friend, always be on your guard against the world and ready to turn its fraud back on it. And when it smiles at you deceitfully, you should really mock it. And you will certainly never mock it any more fully than if, when it jeers at you, you weep for it. Certainly, you should practise shedding these tears more fervently for it is better at least to lament of your own accord when faced with false mockery than it is to mourn out of necessity in the face of real derision in eternity.

Dom Gundulf may read this letter, not because he should do what he reads but because he may read what he does. And if the ardor of his devotion wants this letter to be his, he may replace your name with his and it will be his. Farewell to you both.[5]

*c. 1071*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 5.
2. Ps 33:9.
3. Jm 4:4.
4. Ps 61:11
5. Sent after *Epp* 4 and 5.

# 9. TO HERNOST, THE MONK.

*Anselm consoles Hernost by telling him that his illness is God's chastisement for his chosen ones and that suffering brings consolation.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK AND DEAREST BROTHER, HERNOST,[1] BROTHER ANSELM WISHES HIM HEALTH AS MUCH FOR HIS BODY AS IS GOOD AND AS MUCH FOR HIS SOUL AS IS NECESSARY.

I LEARNED ABOUT the greatly increased suffering brought on by your illness, my loving and equally loved friend, first from the report of others and then by reading your letter. Even if I am silent about how much compassion I feel in my soul, my conscience bears witness that I would gladly transfer all this suffering to my own body. But as it is certain that God *chastises every son whom he accepts*,[2] that same charity, in an astonishing way, impels me to compassion, because you are being worn down by chastisement, while at the same time it induces me to congratulations because you are being trained for your heritage.

We have to ponder, most beloved, how much consolation these sufferings bring with them. While they outwardly wash away the sins of us to whom external torments are directed, they transfer the destiny of the sons of God to us, to whom are promised the joys of the heavenly kingdom. And while our outer man, who is bound to be corrupted daily, sighs and groans under the pressure of chastisement, our inner man, who ought to be renewed day by day, once relieved of the burden of his sins, rejoices and breathes freely. This will undoubtedly come about, if the inner man does not oppose the exterior affliction with impatience but consents to the chastising hand with acts of thanksgiving. For while we always please Almighty God as long as we do not in any way disagree with his will, we please the merciful Lord most if we, the chastened, willingly consent to the chastiser. Since anger vents itself only against an enemy, if the accused associates himself with the offended by agreeing with his opinion, the passion of the person enraged will

inevitably cool down when he can find no enemy to strike.

Wherefore, dearly beloved, as it is written that *we have to enter the kingdom of God through many tribulations,*[3] when we are being chastised, let us hold the opinion of blessed Job concerning the relationship between us and God: while surrounded by many afflictions he said: *May this be my consolation, that in afflicting me, he spares me no pains.*[4]

*Not later than 1075.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 1.
2. Heb 12:6.
3. Ac 14:22.
4. Jb 6:10.

# 10. TO ADELAIDE

*Anselm sends Adelaide, the daughter of King William, the 'Flowers of the psalms' and adds seven prayers of his own. He closes with a brief encouragement to live a holy life.*

TO THE VENERABLE ADELAIDE,[1] A LADY OF ROYAL NOBILITY BUT NOBLER IN THE CHARACTER OF A VIRTUOUS LIFE: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THAT YOUR EARTHLY NOBILITY MAY BE SO ADORNED WITH THE ORNAMENT OF VIRTUES THAT IT MAY DESERVE TO BE UNITED WITH THE KING OF KINGS IN ETERNAL FELICITY.

AS TO THE 'FLOWERS of the Psalms' that your highness, dear to me in God, has deigned to require of me, our faithful humility could not carry it out for you more speedily or any better.[2] For our obedience followed your command devotedly, to the degree that the command itself proceeded from holy devotion. I wish and I pray that Almighty God may so preserve and nourish this devotion in you that he may fill your mind with his sweetest affection on earth and in

heaven with his blessed sight. I beg your wealthy nobility not to despise the small and worthless gift which our poor paltriness sends you. For although it is not encrusted with gold and gems, it is certainly made entirely of charitable fidelity and given with faithful charity.

After the 'Flowers of the Psalms' seven 'Prayers'[3] have been added. The first of these should not so much be called 'Prayer' as 'Meditation'[4] in which the soul of the sinner briefly contemplates itself; contemplating, it despises itself; despising, it humiliates itself; humiliating, it agitates itself by the terror of the last judgement, and through this agitation it breaks down in groans and tears. But in the prayers to Saint Stephen[5] and Saint Mary Magdalen[6] there are some passages which, if they are recited from the inmost heart when it is at leisure, tend instead to increase love's flame. But in all seven I, the servant and friend of your soul, admonish you to deign to take notice—although you would do this better—with what humility and with what a sense of fear and love the sacrifice of prayer should be offered. Farewell in God both now and in eternity; farewell, and take the little book sent as a pledge of our loyalty in God and of our prayers, for what they are worth.

At the end of the letter, I utter what I wanted to instil throughout the letter: despise with an elevated mind everything that must be given up even while you have it. Strive with a humble mind towards that which alone can blessedly be kept for ever as long as you do not have it. This is what I want to convince you of and I pray the Holy Spirit may convince you of. With this in mind, I say for the third time, farewell.

*c. 1071.*

NOTES

1. Adelaide or Adeliza, a daughter of King William the Conqueror, became a nun; see EHD, II: 985; Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London, 1964), 391-395; Southern, *Anselm*, 36, 37, 42, 47; B.Ward, *Prayers*

*and Meditations*, 172: both call her Adelaide; Douglas, 380-381, also refers to a woman named Adelaide, but she was not the Conqueror's daughter but his sister.

2. *Flores psalmorum* = 'Flowers of the psalms'. Because this work by Anselm is mentioned nowhere else, we may assume that it was a collection of some of the psalms and not a work he composed.
3. *Orationes sive Meditationes* in *AOO* III: 3-91, translated by B. Ward, *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm* (Penguin Classics 1973).
4. 'First meditation to stir up fear of God', in *AOO* III: 76-79; trans. Ward, *Prayers and Meditations*, 221-224.
5. 'Thirteenth Prayer to Saint Stephen', in *AOO* III: 50-54, Ward, *Prayers and Meditations*, 174-182.
6. 'Sixteenth Prayer to Mary Magdalen', in *AOO* III: 64-67, Ward, *Prayers and Meditations*, 201-206.

# 11. TO THE ABBOT GERBERT.

*Anselm thanks Abbot Gerbert of Saint Wandrille, near Rouen, for the kindness he showed to a widow and once more intercedes for her as a friend of her late son.*

TO THE LORD AND FATHER, THE VENERABLE ABBOT GERBERT[1]:
BROTHER ANSELM, WHO IS HIS.

JUST AS WE HAVE TO BELIEVE that *where sin abounded, grace exceeded it*,[2] so we have to act in such a way that where misery abounds mercy may abound yet more. For if grace is spread wherever the offence is greater, how will mercy be contracted when more passion is due? Since *what a man has sowed, this also will he reap*,[3] then, *blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy*.[4] Consequently, through this consideration, trusting in your benevolence, I prostrate myself in spirit at the feet of your holiness, interceding for that poor widow whose soul, in the tribulation of widowhood and poverty you mercifully refreshed for God's sake when you excused her through my intercession of that little debt which the poor woman owed your eminence.

Therefore I beseech you with as many supplications as I can that you not withdraw the hand of consolation which you stretched out to her when she was so greatly pressed down by widowhood and poverty, now that her soul is

lamentably tormented by manifold hardships and also by grief about her deceased son.[5] I know, of course, that it could be considered presumption for a man of no account, to whom nothing is owed and who can repay nothing, to request that something be conceded at his intercession. But by the greatness of mutual affection which bound me and the aforementioned brother, the son of that widow, together as if making two into one, his life demanding this, I would like to substitute myself as his mother's son in place of the deceased; so much so that I am not ashamed to beg, even by persistent solicitation, for my mother. Indeed, let the impudence of this persistence of mine be judged by anybody at all, if only the mercy of your generosity is praised by widows and orphans and approved by Christ who receives in their person and repays on their behalf.

*Probably c. 1071*

NOTES

1. Gerbert was abbot of Saint Wandrille in Normandy from 1062-4 September 1089; see *OV* II: xx-xxi, 296, 346.
2. Rm 2:20.
3. Gal 6:8.
4. Mt 5:7.
5. Perhaps Osbern, see *Epp* 4, 5, 7.

# 12. TO RALPH.

*Anselm apologizes to Ralph for a letter which had been sent to him demanding the return of books and promises to lend him whatever books he requires at any time*

TO DOM RALPH,[1] HIS LORD REVERED FOR HIS MERITS AND WAY OF LIFE, HIS DEAREST BROTHER BY HIS CHARITY AND INTENTIONS: BROTHER ANSELM.

SOME TIME AGO I received your letter, from a truly beloved and true friend of mine, the letter, I say, which

reported matters on the front that struck me with deep compassion, whereas the things written outside on the back wounded me with insupportable grief. Unless I manage to wash away the pain of this attack by clarifying the matter first, our spirit, faint with pain and speechless with shame, will not achieve what friendly compassion desires, and your mind will, quite rightly, scorn my expression of sincerity as the lies of hypocrisy. For my mind, which is deeply devoted to you and to the other most beloved members, brothers of your, nay—I say more gladly if you permit, of our congregation—cannot allow you in any way to suspect that I ever said we would no longer lend you our books. For if I could at any time have said this, you should believe, and I would confess, that I had been never a true friend to you but a deceitful hypocrite. For, as far as I am concerned, how could I possibly refuse anything to those to whom I would not hesitate to give my soul? For if not stomach disorder but mental dislocation spat this up, you answered with such sublime humility, such admirable patience, such humble satisfaction and apologetic submission, that it would more deeply shame and more greatly sadden me for ever having said anything like that. Moreover, the letter sent to you about the return of the books I neither ordered to be written that way, nor did I know until the report of those who brought the books back that it had been done that way. Therefore, with the consent of Dom Abbot,[2] at my request and without any objections from the brothers, we will gladly send you any books you require, at least as far as we have them, whenever you need them for your convenient benefit and ours as well. And those books of ours which you now have we leave with you as long as you need them.

I would have written in a kinder fashion to my dearest friend who is struggling in spiritual combat and calling for his friend's compassion with righteous groans, and, as far as I could, give encouragement to him who longs for it, although he does not need it; and my excuse for doing this

is that my friend may not believe me to be an enemy. Yet since the former will be recoverable and the latter would be intolerable for a friend to suffer, nor could the limitations of a letter catch the breadth of feeling on either side, I have made known what pleased in order to exclude what injured. For, dearest brother, I am so sure of the purity of your charity in every way that if you believed my charity towards you to be diminishing, I am quite sure that you could not think about it without sorrow. How, therefore, can I avoid transferring such pain into my soul; or rather, how can I say that this grieving soul which grieves so much for my love is not mine? Therefore I beg you, dearest friend, if in the future you hear anything about me which appears to be outside the rule of charity, your soul, my other self, should not believe this without question, lest my soul, your other self, be hurt.

Greet on our behalf all my fellow-monks, your brothers. For I cannot find among them one whom I do not love, nor can I choose from among them one as a special friend. May they, with you, through this quite protracted experience have greater confidence in my faithfulness and may neither your sincerity nor theirs be hidden. Fare you well and may they fare well.

*Not later than 1078.*

NOTES

1. This Ralph seems to have been either prior of Saint Stephen's, Caen, or Ralph d'Escures, prior of Saint Martin de Séez, who later, in 1114, succeeded Anselm as Archbishop of Canterbury. Schmitt, *AOO* III, 115, footnote, is unsure of the identity of this Ralph, noting that the name was very common at the time.
2. Abbot Herluin of Bec; see *Ep* 5.

# 13. TO THE SAME RALPH.

*Anselm assures Ralph of their continual, mutual love in obedience to God, promises to speak on his behalf to Archbishop Lanfranc when he comes to Bec and encourages him to bear obediently the burden laid upon him.*

TO DOM RALPH, HIS TRULY BELOVED BROTHER: BROTHER ANSELM.

THE AFFECTION OF MY SOUL reminds me not to keep silent on what I dare not say, even though forbidden by your letter to speak. In the course of the letter I shall at least dare to show myself to be the servant of him whom I was afraid to call 'lord' in the address! For I love Dom Ralph with such charity as a brother, not of my flesh but of my spirit, that in that [charity] I am prepared to serve him as a servant. Wherefore, if you command me to be silent on the matter of what you are to me, because of the goodness of your character—and my conscience forces me to speak this way—I must at least be permitted to confess of my free will what I am to you. Therefore let brother Anselm be silent to his lord Ralph and let his servant Anselm speak to brother Ralph.

I received the letter of your charity, dearest brother, and in it I read my own desire. Indeed this charity sets you on fire with such longing that wherever I dwell you may be there with me; it is the same desire that inflames my heart, that, wherever I may be, I might live with you. And just as you ask my advice that it may be so, in the same way I beg God's help that it may not be otherwise. If he should deign to hear us, then let our lives together be such, with his help, that the whole of our lives should be a single thanksgiving to him. Since, however, neither I nor you belong to ourselves—for *whether we live or whether we die we are the Lord's*[1]—if he should dispose of us other than we wish, he knows better than we what is pleasing to himself and expedient for us; if we do not wish to displease him let us patiently bear whatever about ourselves we feel will please him. As our life is short, so the day is near when

we will be able to congratulate ourselves on nevermore being separated from his presence or each other's if, with his help, we take care to pass through this short life agreeing with him in all things. In the meantime, however, whether the proximity of the places where we live joins us or their distance separates us, let charity always make one spirit of the two of us.

Indeed, with regard to what you so earnestly ask me to obtain from Archbishop Lanfranc when he comes from England, if you shall not be with me: I answer that as I desire what I know will better please God about you and understand will be more expedient for you, so I will try to bring it about if I can.[2]

In the meantime, whatever you do, do cheerfully; what you are engaged in, carry it through. *For God loves a cheerful giver.*[3] You also complain that you are prevented by the work you do from persevering in reading and praying: may this be of no small consolation to you *that charity covers a multitude of sins.*[4] While you are drawn back, someone else is drawn on; while you are bent down, someone else is raised up; while you are weighed down by a burden, someone else's burden is being lifted. And remember that the servant who returns home empty-handed runs more quickly, but the whole household runs more joyfully towards someone who is weighed down. Nor will anyone scold him for coming late; rather he will be ordered to rest because he has tired himself out in a useful cause. If, indeed, you say that neither your exertions nor your industry are adequate to the task imposed on you, I reply, according to your estimation of yourself, not mine, that neither a half-blind nor a single eye in the head is adequate to discharge the office of seeing; and yet, in what it can do, because it alone in the body is able, it does not fail to do.

But since this letter is already too long, and the other matters you wrote about need to be discussed in speech rather than in writing, which the holy books are full of, let us in the meantime, trustingly committing these things to God

and accompanying them with incessant prayers, await the meeting we equally desire and bring this letter to an end by mutual consent.

*c. 1071 or 1077.*

NOTES

1. Rm 14:8.
2. Archbishop Lanfranc was at Bec in 1071 and 1077.
3. 2 Cor 9:7.
4. 1 Pet 4:8.

# 14. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*Anselm thanks Archbishop Lanfranc for his gifts and kindness and tells him that Robert, the bearer of this letter, will inform him about his plan concerning Girard, the mint-master of Arras.*

TO HIS REVEREND LORD, LOVABLE FATHER, VENERABLE ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC: HIS BROTHER ANSELM.

OUR LETTER EXPRESSES GREAT THANKS to you for the great gifts we have received of your generosity; but we retain even greater thanks in the depths of our heart to you for the greater gifts that we know are awaiting us in your good will. For when so many good things flow to your servant from the mere liberality of your spontaneous generosity, it is quite clear with what great abundance your kind affection would pour itself out from your inmost depths—and I do not say this rashly or without experience—should any need of your beloved demand it. Nor do I say this as if the aforementioned gifts had first taught me to understand your paternity's affection for me, but so that those ignorant of how much I ought to rely on your paternity may be able in some measure, to understand it. For through the pallium or gold you do not in any way let the fullness of

your generosity towards him, whom you certainly love more than pallium or gold, be seen. For although you know full well that you do this for someone who is not ungrateful, nevertheless I am not ashamed to write because this I hope, and hoping I pray, praying I express the wish that you may never do this for somebody undeserving it.

With regard to Girard[1] who was withdrawn from our community because of many debts and concerning whom you in your mercy requested what was ready to hand; Dom Robert[2] will tell you what seemed good to me and what I have done as far as we were able to see that your almsgiving was carried out. If he comes to you and no final solution to the matter can be reached between you and him, I your servant request this of your merciful generosity: that for the sake of the journey he is about to undertake out of his trust in you and my advice, his debts may neither increase nor his possessions diminish, nor his trouble and sorrow grow more because of his effort.

*c. end 1072 / beginning 1073*[3]

NOTES

1. Girard was mint-master of Arras and later became monk at Bec; he is one-hundred-and-third in the Bec profession-roll, having made the last profession in the old church before the community moved to the new in October 1073 (see Rule I:394 and *VA* 16); for Girard, see also *Epp* 15, 23, 98, 164.
2. Robert was a trusty messenger between Bec and Canterbury, see *Epp* 7, 30, 74.
3. For the dating of this letter see Rule, I:167; *Epp* 15, 23, 31; *VA* 16.

# 15. TO GIRARD.

*Anselm informs Girard that Archbishop Lanfranc is prepared to help him in his financial problems if he becomes a monk of Bec; he advises him to go to see the Archbishop and come to Bec once clear of his debts.*

TO GIRARD, THE MINT-MASTER OF ARRAS, BROTHER OF AIVERTUS: BROTHER ANSELM, GREETING.[1]

LANFRANC, THE VENERABLE ARCHBISHOP of the English, who was prior in our monastery and abbot of Caen, whom you yourself, I think, have seen, has recently heard about your desire and your difficulty. Therefore his holiness, moved by compassion for you, has sent word to us that he will give you a hundred shillings of English money for God's sake as a help towards clearing your debts if it is certain that you will enter our community. Furthermore he declared that if it became necessary he would add a small amount to this. For this reason, we give you this advice: that you go to him as quickly as you can; and if he requires any security of you, whether your pledge or an oath for security or anything else he may demand, explain to him how much you owe and how confident you are of having your own, and with him settle on a fixed date which you can easily keep by which you can come to our monastery with the intention of becoming a monk here, if only he will be sufficiently merciful to you so you can repay the money you owe.

Do not hesitate to do what we advise, for this reverend archbishop is very merciful, particularly when it comes to the salvation of souls, and he is greatly dedicated to almsgiving and amply provided with gold and silver. Even if you owe so much that he is unwilling to give you as much as you need to pay off your debt: we are certain that, first of all for God's sake and then for the sake of our love—trusting in his great compassion we give you this advice—he will give you so much that you will not regret either the effort or the expense of going to him. Take this very letter

to him as well, that it may be a witness for you that we send you to him.

If, however, you are able to clear yourself of your debts, let lord Engelard know this, and when you come to us let him give you some sign by which we may know that he attests that you are free of your debt. Do not delay to do what we advise. For we have told the archbishop the same as we are writing to you. Farewell.

*Before March 1073.*

NOTES

1. Girard, mint-master of Arras, see *Epp* 14, 23.

# 16. TO THE MONK GUNDULF.

*Anselm assures Gundulf of their continual intimate friendship and love, asks to be remembered to those he put into his care and thanks him for his gifts.*

THE BELOVED FRIEND TO HIS BELOVED FRIEND, TO DOM GUNDULF, BROTHER ANSELM: WHAT ANSELM [WISHES] FOR GUNDULF.

AGAIN AND AGAIN it presses upon me, aware as I am of another's conscience, which is mine, that my letter should fly across the sea to it and fly more often as if wanting to receive information about the state of my friendship. But what will my letter tell you that you do not know, you, my second soul? Go into the secret place of your heart[1] and consider the affection of your true love and you will learn the love of your true friend. Although we may not be equal by equality of conduct, still I dare not say that we are different; indeed, as regards the quality of our mutual love, we are not dissimilar. For I confess, and I blush to do so, I admit, I say that my tepid charity is surpassed by your fervent charity, but it is not dissimilar because it is formed by the same Rule. Just as you try hard to love me with no less ardor than you love yourself so I strive not to love you with more

coolness than myself. If you demand more, indeed I neither wish to do less nor am I able to do more. Accordingly, let your love obtain for me by your prayers that I may love myself as much as I should; and your lover will so love you that you yourself will say: now that is enough.

I do not say, 'Remember me' for I know well that you do that on your own—but remember those whom I entrusted to your care[2] some time ago. Greet those whom you usually greet on my behalf. Be assured that your gifts were very gratefully received by the lord abbot and by us, your brothers, but we are even more grateful for what we hear about your life. We hope, therefore, and we pray, that Almighty God may preserve by increasing and increase by preserving the good he works in you that the same holy Lord may on this account repay you with the everlasting kingdom in eternity; let it be so, let it be so.[3]

*c. 1070-1077.*

NOTES

1. Cf. Mt 6:6.
2. See *Ep* 4, Osbern; *Ep* 7, Herluin.
3. On Anselm's concept of friendship, see A. Fiske, 'Saint Anselm and Friendship', *Studia Monastica* 3 (1961) 257-90; J.D. Loughlin, *Saint Anselm as a Letter Writer* (Washington, D.C., 1967—Ann Arbor, 1983) 151-81; M.R. Barral, 'Friendship and *conversatio* in Anselm's Life and Writings', and W. Fröhlich,'Saint Anselm's *Weltbild* as Conveyed in his Letters', both published in *Anselm Studies* II (1988) 165-182, 483-525. See also Brian McGuire, *Friendship and Community, the Monastic Experience, 350-1250* (Kalamazoo, 1988) 210-230.

# 17. TO THE MONK HENRY.

*Anselm urges Henry at Christ Church, Canterbury, to give up his plan of going to Italy to help his sister, for the sake of monastic obedience and stability, and asks him to greet Herluin and Osbern of Bec who are at Canterbury.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK AND DEAREST BROTHER, HENRY[1]: BROTHER ANSELM SENDS GREETING.

WHEREAS, AND MY CONSCIENCE is my witness, I do not wish to love you less than myself, I would surely fight against myself if I wanted to advise you any differently from myself. Indeed I find no advice more useful or more universal than that which Wisdom advises us: that we do everything with consideration lest our deed be followed by repentance.[2]

Just as this counsel is very wisely given so it is very truly valid; to whatever degree somebody disregards this, to the same degree he chooses not to rejoice over his deeds but to rue them. Therefore, if anyone advises you to make use of this counsel his advice should be listened to no less heedlessly than the advice of him who is to be obeyed by all persons and in all things.

For this reason, dearly beloved, your friend offers you this advice because I hear that in a certain matter you intend to act against your friends' advice. You intend, I have heard, to go from England to Italy to defend your sister, because you have heard that some rich man has deceitfully subjected her to undeserved servitude. I beseech you, dearest friend, through our mutual friendship—if any there be in you—through my happiness for you—if you wish there to be any in me—not to do this. For, my dearly beloved, what concern is it of monks and those who claim they want to flee the world? To whom are they servants and under what name [do they serve] in the world? In short, is not every *man born to trouble and birds to fly*?[3] Under the name superior or under the name servant, does not everyone, or nearly everyone, serve? Is it not so that *someone who is called a*

*servant in the Lord is a free man of the Lord* and *someone who is called a free man* in the Lord *is a servant of Christ*?[4] If, therefore, all work and serve this way, and a servant is the Lord's free man and a free man is Christ's servant, what does it matter, except to pride, whether one is called a servant or free man in the sight of the world or before God? The Apostle says: if *you are called a servant, let it be of no concern to you*.[5] And why are we, who are not permitted or need not be concerned about ourselves, so concerned about others?

Even if it is good to want to free a person bound to difficult circumstances, yet what you intend is not good enough to be worth looking back at after having held on to Christ's plough for so long;[6] worth having a monk break his vow by such an interruption; worth exposing him, by so important and extraordinary a desire, to so many difficult dangers and dangerous difficulties of body and soul; worth resisting, with such singular and inflexible thinking, the advice of all his friends—those younger, those of the same age, those older and his superiors—and I, aware [of the problem], shout a rebuke out of charity to my friend who is aware [of what I mean]. Therefore, because there are so many and such certain difficulties or even evils involved in it, if this single good, so inopportune, so uncertain and so harmful a good be compared [with others], then who, understanding the good, would not say that it is not only not good but positively evil? Therefore, dearest friend, trust more in your friends' advice than in your own deliberation, unless you consider yourself wiser than all of them. But because your mind, under the strain of great emotion, weighs any little good in it, it mistakenly does not for this reason weigh with equal measure the things which counterbalance it. For as often as we propound the many things it would be better to choose, having once set aside all our own cravings, we should consider the weight of all these matters. For if we join the weight of love to the weight of the cause loved, we are without doubt deceived by the things we have to decide about. Therefore, if your prudence does not wish

to make a mistake in deliberating about your choice, you should not merely attach your affection to the matter you long for but you should fairly judge the arguments we put forward in this matter alone. And if you persist in your own will—which with God's help may not happen—just as you will act against the opinion of all your friends, so you will not have any of their support in this matter harmful to you.

Dom Abbot greets you as his dearest son. He wants everything I have written here to be considered his own words. Therefore, obey his and our admonitions so that by obeying a kind father being in agreement with a friendly brother—if you love them—you may give joy to both father and brother. Greet on our behalf our beloved brothers Dom Herluin and Dom Osbern. Farewell, and if I can do anything for you, request it of me as quickly as you can whether you bend your will to one who loves you in the flesh—I speak of your will—or whether you shun the opinion of those who love you in the spirit.

*Before 1074.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 5.
2. Si 32:24.
3. Jb 5:7.
4. 1 Cor 7:22.
5. 1 Cor 7:21.
6. Cf. Lk 9:62.

# 18. TO ABBOT WILLIAM

*Anselm intercedes with Abbot William of Caen for Brother Odo's son.*

TO THE LORD AND FATHER, THE REVEREND ABBOT WILLIAM[1]:
BROTHER ANSELM.

ODO,[2] THE BEARER OF THIS LETTER, has persistently asked me by many supplications that our fidelity entreat your holiness on behalf of his son, whom you have excluded from your service. Since I should not scorn him nor do I want to offend you, I beg at his behest what I would advise on your behalf. Wherefore, if you found the service of the young man acceptable in the past we advise you not to reject the good servant, whom you could well make use of, because of the lost money which you cannot get back. Therefore, besought by our prayers, I pray you may receive him if you know him not to be useless to you in your affairs.

*c. 1070-1077.*

NOTES

1. William Bona Anima, son of Radbod, bishop of Séez, canon and archdeacon of Rouen, succeeded Lanfranc as second abbot of Saint Stephen's, Caen, in 1070. He was archbishop of Rouen from 1079-1110; see *OV* II: 68, 254, 279; *OV* V: 262, 263; and G.H. Williams, *The Norman Anonymous of 1100 AD* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1951) 102-127. D. S. Spear, 'William Bona Anima, Abbot of St. Stephen's of Caen, 1070-1079', *Haskins Society Journal* 1 (1989) 51-60.
2. Odo, a monk of Bec, ninety-second or one hundred tenth in the Bec profession-roll.

# 19. FROM THE MONK AVESGOTUS.

*Avesgot asks Anselm to teach his nephew grammar.*

AVESGOTUS[1]; MONK OF THE MONASTERY OF SAINT PETER CULTURA TO ANSELM[2]: GREETINGS.

TILL NOW WE HAVE BEEN FRIENDS and familiar acquaintances merely by speech but we have tested each other, if this was necessary, very little by action. Now for some time I have been longing to have you request something of me; then you would see how much you can rely on me. Believe me, I would gladly obey your command either myself or through my relatives. But since you neglect to do this I demand this gift of you first.

I have a certain nephew, already a young man, for whom I care above all else; and if you can bear it I would like him to stay with you to be trained in grammar by you. I can send him to other scholars but I have more faith in you than in any other living person. I would feel much safer about him if he stayed in the place you are.

Why does the fame of Lanfranc and Wimund[3] fly through the world more than yours? Why do you hide your light under a bushel[4] for so long? Do you not recall that the poet said, *'All you know is nothing unless someone else knows you know it?'*[5] I have no doubt at all that you will grant my wish. Indeed I heartily entreat you to tell me what service I may offer your abbot and the community subject to him, so that they may permit what I request to take place for at least three or four months, if more would not please them. Therefore, if my words have been accepted by you, as I desire, give me a time when I can meet you; and if I am well, I shall go there. Farewell, most beloved.

*c. 1073.*

NOTES

1. A monk with the name of Avesgot is mentioned in the monastery of Saint Peter Cultura, now Solesmes.
2. Anselm is addressed without any attribute and in second place. If this is not a slip, it may indicate that he was not yet a monk working with Lanfranc at the school of Bec; see Rule I: 111-112.
3. Wimund is conceivably Guitmund, a monk of la-Croix-Saint-Lenfroi, near Evreux. Ordericus Vitalis describes him as a monk of mature age, pious and very learned in letters (see *OV* II: 271) and calls him a philosopher (see *OV* II, 281). He was a pupil of Lanfranc about 1060 and wrote *De corpore et sanguine Christi libri III* (PL 149: 1427-97) against Berengar of Tours in 1073-1076, *Confessio Trinitatis* (PL 149: 1495-1502), and *De corpore* in about 1076 see H.W. Klewitz, 'Studien über die Wiederherstellung der römischen Kirche in Süditalien durch das Reformpapsttum,' in *Quellen und Forschungen* 25 (1933/34) 122. In 1088 Pope Urban II consecrated Wimund bishop of Aversa. He died before 1097; see OV II: 280, 281.
4. Cf. Lk 11:33.
5. Persius Flaccus, *Satira* 1.27.

# 20. TO THE MONK AVESGOT

*Anselm regrets that he is not able to comply with Avesgot's request.*

TO THE LORD AND MOST BELOVED FRIEND AVESGOT: BROTHER ANSELM, GREETING.

AT THE BEGINNING OF OUR REPLY I begin [by saying] that our conscience vouches for what your letter says. Therefore—since I cannot do anything else at the moment—I thank your charity for having showed itself so ready to submit to our convenience, as your letter made clear. And certainly I reply to this in the same spirit; but I deeply regret that I cannot consent to your first request. For I have neither the freedom of choice now nor the inclination nor the opportunity as was once the case, or as your sanctity believes it still to be, for the kind of study from which your beloved [nephew], about whom you wrote, could benefit. Therefore, I pray, do not let your love towards me be disturbed in any way, for my soul is always seeking to submit to your friend-

ship, although my ability to do so does not accompany it in the like degree. Where goodwill thrives, true friendship can exist even if there is never any necessity of asking or if the capability of acceding is never there.

Lastly, concerning what was said to me in your letter—*All you know is nothing unless someone else knows you know it*: although Persius said this to discourage vain display and not to encourage it, I answer: 'All I know is nothing unless someone else knows what it is like.'

As to your question, why the fame of Lanfranc and Wimund flies around the world more than mine;[1] it is because no other flower emits a fragrance like the rose, even if it deceives by having the same redness. Farewell.

*c. 1073.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 19.

# 21. TO WILLIAM AND ROGER

*Anselm promises to pray for William and Roger as they requested.*

TO HIS LORDS AND BROTHERS, WILLIAM AND ROGER[1], FREELY LOVING AND DESERVEDLY LOVED: BROTHER ANSELM, GREETING.

AFTER OUR LORD AND FRIEND Evremerus returned from Rome, he brought me your request that I remember you in my prayers with such entreaty that, while shame compelled me to give what was so urgently demanded yet conscience forbade it, because I did not have in me what was hoped for. Since therefore, the sincerity of your devotion to God and your love for me had already been made known to me by others, I would freely and very modestly have granted what I had also done previously. This same friend of ours and yours insistently implored that our

letter make this known to you without letting too much time pass.

Therefore, divine mercy permitting, I promise I will pray for you, and if providence works any good in me I permit you to share it with me to the same degree in true charity; but whether it will do you any good I entrust to him, from whom all good comes. As we carry the gift of charity out for you, as best we can, we humbly beg that you do the same for us, as best you can. When this is done, I do not know, being aware of my own merits, whether it will do you much good. I warn you of this as dearly beloved friends and brothers, for I am certain that if these things are neglected they cause evil, if they are observed they bring salvation. From this alone, most beloved, learn that you can be capable of the Truth which is Christ, and live in such a way as to prove that you are willing to be followers of Christ who is Truth.

I have learned from the report of many that Dom Lambert, your master, is loved by everybody because of both the sincerity of his character and the honesty of his way of life. He deigned to greet me and ask me to pray for him, through the cleric who came from that area and brought me the message of your love; I hope you may so greet him on our behalf that you may bind him to me by chains of love. Farewell.

*before 1078.*

NOTES

1. William and Roger were monks at La Chaise-Dieu, near St-Etienne. On La Chaise-Dieu, see Pierre-Roger Gaussin, *L'abbaye de la Chaise-Dieu (1043-1518), L'abbaye en Auvergne et son rayonnement dans la Chrétienté* (Paris, 1962). See also *Epp* 70, 71.

# 22. TO HIS UNCLES LAMBERT AND FOLCERALD

*Anselm thanks his uncles Lambert and Folcerald for the education he received from them and informs them about his situation.*

TO HIS REVEREND LORDS, MOST SWEET SPIRITUAL GUIDES, DEARLY BELOVED UNCLES, LAMBERT AND FOLCERALD[1]: BROTHER ANSELM WISHES THAT THEY MAY SO PASS THROUGH THIS WORLD, DESPISING WORLDLY GOODS, THAT THEY MAY ABIDE WITH THINGS ETERNAL AND ENJOY THEM.

IF ONLY, IN READING MY LETTER my uncles might feel the love my eyes bore witness to as I was putting it into writing. For at the beginning my heart was quicker to shed tears than my pen to share words. Just as neither length of time nor distance of place could deprive my body of what was begun by your family at my birth, or of what it received by your care while growing up, so no solicitude, no occupation of my mind can diminish my love for you which was inspired by both nature and kindness.

This is why my heart burns incessantly with love for those for whose happiness it always fervently thirsts. I beg you, therefore, to deign to inform your son about the state of your health through the bearer of this letter of mine, from whom, if you wish, you can learn everything about me. For although this very lord who deigns to be our messenger is very rich and comes from one of the noblest Norman families,[2] yet he and his mother, his brothers, and his sister have bound themselves to me by so much familiarity of affection that the mother[3] never calls me anything but son, the children anything but brother, and they even agreed to grant me the honor of being the eldest.

*Before 1078.*

NOTES

1. These uncles, brothers of Anselm's mother, seem to have been canons of the cathedral chapter of Aosta; see Rule I: 30.
2. The bearer of the letter seems to have been a member of the Crispin family, see *Ep* 84.
3. Eve, a widow, lived at Bec, see *Epp* 98, 147.

# 23. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*Anselm expresses his love for Archbishop Lanfranc, informs him that he has found a scribe for the* Moralia in Job *at Caen, that he himself is copying the requested works of Saint Ambrose and Saint Jerome and specifies the reason for Girard's delay in becoming a monk at Bec.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC, REVERENTLY LOVED AND LOVINGLY REVERED BY ALL: HIS BROTHER ANSELM SENDS HIS WHOLE SELF.

SINCE ONE MUST BE EITHER SILENT or brief when speaking to a wise man, and as I do not wish to be silent but want to say what is on my mind to someone to whom I can speak freely, I impart briefly the way in which our soul abides in intimate fidelity to your paternal highness. Just as I daily desire that the warmth of your love may continually grow in my heart, so too, no absence of one of us from the other could ever cause it to diminish in any way.

As regards the *Moralia in Job*[1] which you requested from me, Dom Abbot William[2] of Caen and Dom Hernost[3], your faithful friends, have in fact found a scribe; and since he already has our book I think he has started on yours. To accomplish what you commanded I have worked and am working to obtain the books of saints Ambrose and Jerome, but I have not been able to get them yet. As quickly as I can I shall complete what I know you want from them.

Your holiness may know that your Girard[4] of Flanders, who was bought back from the world for God by the

generosity of your kindness and at our instigation—as for me, if I were not already yours, I would profess to be a servant bought by you—could not be released from his creditors on the day you fixed without grave loss. But he came on the first Sunday of Lent, bountifully praising your mercy towards him and [telling] how, not so much our petition but a slight sign of will from your high office helped his cause; and he intimated that he always wants you to go on helping him. He said that, with regard to what he possesses, he wanted to be able to give back what he owed and have something left to bring with him; but because of certain difficulties he was not able to fulfill his promise as he should. Therefore he left again, promising that, with God's help, he would come back to Bec at Eastertide and would stay; even though that was not what he wanted it was the best he could do. If, therefore, he has sinned because he did not carry out to the full the promise he made to you, in that it does not appear that he acted with malice, I ask confidently of your kindness, as I am in the habit of doing, that your son, in the father's stead, may be allowed to absolve him from his guilt when he begins to live with us. In this matter I presume your certain consent unless I read something to the contrary.

*Before 1078.*

NOTES

1. The *Moralia in Job*, an extensive commentary on the Book of Job by Pope Gregory I (590-604), enjoyed great popularity among monks.
2. See *Ep* 18.
3. See *Ep* 1.
4. See *Epp* 14, 15.

# 24. TO THE MONK HENRY.

*Anselm wonders why Henry of Christ Church, Canterbury, did not visit Bec either on his way to Rome or on his return journey.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK AND BROTHER HENRY[1];: BROTHER ANSELM, GREETING.

WE WERE SURPRISED AND GRIEVED that you passed close by us instead of staying with us on your journey to Rome, until we heard that this was forbidden you on going but permitted on returning. Therefore we, Dom Abbot, I and the other brothers and those who love you, rejoicing in a false hope, awaited your arrival until, suffering real desperation, we learned you had crossed over to England. Yet, if I know your love well, I do not believe this was done without some reasonable cause. Hence, that no suspicion may remain about your having either contempt or slight love for our monastery and your brothers—which God forbid!—please let me know how I should answer them about why your love passed by and did not visit us either when coming or going. For just as I want you to do nothing which is not advantageous to you, so I do want no one to imagine anything about you which is not befitting you. Let me, your friend, also know if you achieved anything in the matter concerning which you soul was, as I know by the words of others as well as by your letter, very anxious, namely, to visit your relations,[2] so I may know whether I should suffer or rejoice with you.

*c. 1070-1078.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 5.
2. See *Ep* 17.

# 25. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*Anselm thanks Archbishop Lanfranc for his continual love and esteem for Bec, displayed by his sending his nephew, Lanfranc, to Bec, and apologizes for the delay in the copying of the* Moralia in Job.

TO HIS LORD, HIS FATHER, TO BE LOVED WITH REVERENCE, AND REVERED WITH LOVE, ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC, EMBRACED BY THE UNIVERSAL MOTHER[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, WHO IS IN EVERYTHING TOTALLY HIS.

WE ALWAYS OWE THANKS especially to your paternal love by which you always keep us in mind; but though we cannot always express our thanks, we certainly ought at least not be silent about it. For you abound with such a fullness of this same love that you showed it very recently, by an irrefutable proof to be both very complete—which even we knew—and you confirmed it by a most dear pledge also to be indestructible—which we had likewise hoped for. Just as it is not credible for anybody to want to entrust the person he loves most[2] to those he does not love, so it is not normally possible for him not to love the place where the person he dearly loves lives. By this action of yours you have demonstrated not only that the constancy of your love towards us endures, but also—for which we are no less thankful—that you are certain of our love for you.

Therefore we give thanks first of all to him from whom all good comes,[3] then to your paternal highness, because you love us so; thanks because you trust us so, thanks because you entrust such a pledge to us. May these things be said not only on my behalf but also on behalf of our whole community. May I, however, speak briefly for myself to one who understands, because recently you lightened not a little the disproportionate burden with which you once heavily loaded me by considerably increasing your own.[4] And when my feeble soul groaned under the burden, you caused me—I do not say to be willing, but almost unwilling—to lay down what oppressed me.

Regarding the *Moralia in Job*: it was not executed as I told you. There is disagreement, I do not quite know about what, between the scribe and those with whom he came here. For this reason Dom Helgot[5] and Dom Hernost[6] came and spoke with the scribe of Brionne as you ordered, in the presence of Dom Abbot, but we did not achieve anything. I also asked our aforenamed brothers, your faithful subjects from among the scribes of the monastery, to examine his writing and ability; but there was not one among them who did not either disapprove his handwriting or condemn his unexpected slowness. And so they are returning to Caen, taking with them our book, which they had brought in the hope of finding a scribe.

*c. summer 1072.*

NOTES

1. *Matri catholicae* may either refer to Canterbury as the mother of the Church in England or to the Church Universal.
2. The person referred to is Archbishop Lanfranc's nephew Lanfranc, who came to Bec about Easter 1072 (see *VA*, 16) and later became a monk there. He is hundredth in the Bec profession-roll. See also *Ep* 31.
3. Jm 1:17.
4. Anselm was made prior of Bec in 1063 when Prior Lanfranc left for Caen to become abbot at Saint Stephen's. Anselm considers young Lanfranc's arrival a relief of his burden; see *Ep* 30.
5. Helgot was prior at Saint Stephen's, Caen, from 1075 until 1092 when he became abbot of Saint Ouen, Rouen, where he died in 1112; see *Ep* 407; *OV* IV: 308-9.
6. See *Ep* 1.

# 26. TO ABBOT O.

*Anselm apologizes that he cannot send the requested book of the* Moralia in Job *because it is being copied at Caen.*

TO HIS REVEREND LORD AND FATHER, THE VENERABLE ABBOT O.:
BROTHER ANSELM, TOTALLY HIS.

THE BOOK OF THE *MORALIA IN JOB* which your holiness requested through your messenger we would indeed gladly send you according to your desire, if only we had it here. The lord Abbot of Caen has it, and another copy is being made there for him besides the copy being made for lord Archbishop Lanfranc. Wherefore, do not think that we do not want to lend it to you; and lest the kindness of your recently acquired love towards me be upset in any way, I write our excuses to you to let you know our good intentions, that as soon as we receive the book, we will gladly hand it to your paternity's messenger, according to your wish. For not only in this matter but in everything which I can, I wish to be prepared for your service.

*c. late 1072/early 1073.*

# 27. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*On behalf of Abbot Vitalis of Bernay Anselm begs Archbishop Lanfranc to grant mercy to someone who has sinned against him.*

TO HIS LORD AND VENERABLE FATHER, ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC:
HIS BROTHER ANSELM, WHAT IS HIS.

LORD ABBOT VITALIS[1] asked our lord abbot very humbly in his letter to intercede with your piety that you deign to have mercy on a certain man of the same lord abbot Vitalis who is being held captive in the king's prison and is to be

dismembered by royal command. For the abbot of Bernay himself petitioned the king on behalf of the man to be executed, but the King totally refused to grant him mercy except at the intercession of your holiness, against whom he sinned. Our lord abbot, therefore, would gladly have done what was asked of him out of friendship for the petitioner and out of compassion for the indigent man, but he did not dare begin; fearing not so much that his intercession would be rejected by your benignity as that he would appear impudent interceding for somebody else over an offence committed against you.

I, therefore, your humble servant, wanting to make known to you the will and equanimity of the lord abbot, your beloved friend, in the matter in question, and at the same time pitying the man set in great peril, did not wish, by keeping silent, to withhold from your piety this opportunity of granting mercy, lest our fellow man be condemned through lack of assistance, and your holiness be deprived of the reward for a work of mercy, and my negligence be punished for the guilt of pitiless silence.

*c. 1070-1078.*

NOTES

1. Abbot Vitalis of Bernay, originally a monk of Fécamp, became abbot of Westminster in 1076/7, where he was succeeded by Gilbert Crispin in 1085; see *Heads*, 76.

# 28. TO THE MONK GUNDULF.

*Anselm assures Gundulf of their mutual, intimate friendship and love and sends him three versions of a prayer to Saint Mary.*

TO DOM GUNDULF: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING WHAT ANSELM CAN TO GUNDULF.

THERE IS NO NEED for my lips to speak at length about the constancy of our lasting friendship to someone whom I know to be my other heart in mutual affection. And therefore to state briefly what you already know: just as the love I have had for you from the beginning has never changed in me by diminishing, so I am anxious that it may always be altered by increasing.

A certain brother has asked me, not once but frequently, to compose a great prayer to holy Mary. What he, being present, asked outwardly, you, being absent, persuaded me of inwardly. For since I expected it to be yours when it was completed, I therefore agreed more willingly to what he wanted. Therefore I wrote the one prayer I had ben asked for, but knowing that I had not satisfied the petitioner by this I was encouraged to write another. Since I am similarly not yet satisfied with this one, I have written a third which seems satisfactory for the moment.[1]

Accept, therefore, those which were written for your intention and do not condemn the length which was caused by someone else's request. If only they were so long that, ere the end is reached, the compunction of contrition or of love may through divine grace be found in them by whoever reads or rather, meditates on them, for that is the reason they were written. Accordingly, with this in mind, I have divided these prayers into paragraphs according to their sense, so that, anticipating the boredom of their length, you may be able to begin reading them wherever you choose.[2]

*c. 1072*[3]

NOTES

1. These versions of the marian prayer are Oratio V, VI, VII in *AOO* III: 13-25; trans. B. Ward, *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm* (Penguin, 1973) 107-127.
2. See also Anselm's instructions in the Preface to the *Prayers and Meditations*.
3. B. Ward, *The Prayers and Meditations*, 61, dates this letter to 1072, while Schmitt, *AOO* III:135, dates it prior to Gundulf's election to the see of Rochester in 1077.

# 29. TO THE MONK RALPH.

*On behalf of Prior Helgot of Caen Anselm urgently requests Ralph to score an Antiphonal and asks him for the date of the death of a recently deceased monk for the calendar of Bec.*

TO HIS LORD AND DEAREST BROTHER, RALPH[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HIM BLISSFUL ETERNITY AND ETERNAL BLISS.

THE REVEREND DOM PRIOR Helgot[2], our beloved and loving friend, and yours, desires you to be encouraged by his prayers to score the Antiphonal and he is of the opinion that the burden of no other labor should threaten this work. Since, therefore, in his venerable humility he does not want his prayers to weigh so heavily that they could interrupt you in the work impending, although he could, he earnestly begs us to take care to join our prayers to his for the sake of the afore-mentioned labor. But since neither he nor we intend so to lessen the burden of the desired work by demands on friends that we resort to burdening you with our pressing supplications—contemplating and putting before you its utility for your neighbors and the rewards for your charity and obedience—this we ask your fraternity, this we advise your love: that you not regret the time you willingly spend writing for others, nor disdain to add this to the work demanded of you. And if you say that this is nothing or very little: indeed it is nothing, or very little, but just as you have decided that very little is adequate, so we have

no doubt that even a little is useful. But if the fulness of your generosity heaps on even more than our petition presumed, we so admire your goodwill with thanksgiving that we totally ignore the serious inconvenience it may have caused.

As to the man who recently received the habit of a monk from you on his deathbed, if he also received the blessing, tell us his name and the date of his death so that it may be written into our calendar.

*1075-1079.*

NOTES

1. This Ralph does not seem to be the same person to whom *Epp* 12 and 13 are addressed.
2. See *Ep* 25.

# 30. FROM LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*Archbishop Lanfranc begs Anselm and the community of Bec to pray for him and his endeavors in England, as the country is corrupt in many ways. He is delighted at the joy with which his nephew Lanfranc was received at Bec, and the relief he brought for Anselm. He requests sound and considerate training for his nephew, who seems to be stubborn.*

TO MY LORD, FATHER, BROTHER, AND FRIEND ANSELM: LANFRANC THE SINNER, PERPETUAL GREETING FROM GOD.

YOUR HOLINESS KNOWS VERY WELL what is good for me. For when I came into the land of the English, just as when I set out for Rome, I revealed to your holiness everything concerning my affairs, which I considered needed to be revealed at the time. Pray and beg your friends and the members of your household, therefore, to enter into prayer that Almighty God may either guide me to better fruit or lead my soul out of the prison of this flesh, confessing his

holy name. For this very land in which we live is daily shaken by so many and such great tribulations, defiled by so much adultery and other filth, that there is scarcely a class of people left who either consider their own souls or aspire at least to listen to the saving doctrine of making progress towards God.[1]

The letter[2] which you sent through Dom Robert I received gladly and read even more gladly; but when I recall the joy with which I still reread it—I cannot express this in writing—then remembering this joy I read it again; and the reason for this was certainly, as the letter states, because you have received with great joy my brother's son, dearly beloved by me, whom I love as my own soul. Through this event you have incurred the greater trust of my love towards you. And I rejoiced especially and above all because you asserted that the burden of the prior's office, which previously seemed unbearable, has been lightened for you by his coming.

With regard to him I will tell you briefly and honestly what I feel: even if he were living among pagans I would love those pagans more than other pagans and would give them anything in the world I possessed. So I give as much thanks as I can for all these things to God, to the lord abbot and to all of you, for I always find you to be, towards me and towards all those who are loved by me, just as I would wish you to be. But since as a man, particularly of his age, entering the service of God, he is inwardly torn by many varied temptations through the suggestions of the tempting spirits, and tormented within and without by many diverse promptings of the flesh, it is very important that you let him share your conversation[3] very frequently and that you order all those whose teaching could be good for him to have a talk with him whenever necessary.

When he was leaving me I commended him with prayers and commanded him not to read any lesson either in the refectory or in the chapter house or in the monastery this year, until he had a knowledge of the psalms and some

familiarity with his order. He completely disdained this wish of mine and by the insistence of his prayers extorted permission to read from you. For this reason I had planned to send him a very harsh letter, but having seen your other letter I abandoned the anger I had conceived against the rashness of his mind.[4]

*c. 1072/73.*

NOTES

1. Lanfranc's judgement of the Anglo-Saxon church is questioned by R.R. Darlington, 'The Ecclesiastical Reform in the Late Old English Period', EHR 51 (1936) 385-428, and Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066* (London, 1962), preface and *passim*.
2. See *Ep* 25.
3. Anselm was renowned for his conversations and sermons, some of which were reproduced in the *Vita Anselmi* by Eadmer. Further surviving collections and fragments have been edited by R.W. Southern and F.S. Schmitt, *Memorials of St Anselm* (London, 1969).
4. This letter is included in *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, edited and translated by H. Clover and M. Gibson, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1979) Letter 18, p. 97.

# 31. FROM THE SAME TO HIS NEPHEW LANFRANC AND HIS COMPANION WIDO

*Archbishop Lanfranc encourages his nephew Lanfranc and Wido to brotherly love. He forgives his nephew for not following his instructions, thanks to Anselm's intercession, but warns him not to do it again.*

TO HIS MOST BELOVED BROTHERS LANFRANC[1] AND WIDO:
BROTHER LANFRANC WISHING PERPETUAL BLESSING FROM GOD.

SINCE YOU LOVED EACH OTHER from godlike motives while in the world, as I believe, I ask that you ask God that with his assistance you may love each other in that holy way of life which you have taken on. Each should be a comfort to the other in tribulation; from the life and teaching

of the other each should follow the example of a holy way of life. Show humility to everybody and with wholesome criticism restrain your tongues from any sort of brotherly disparagement. If anybody enjoys speaking maliciously[2] about the life of any of your brothers, and if he refuses to improve after having been corrected by you, then he should be cut off from your conversation. Whatever others say about you, possibly praising and glorifying you because you gave up your parents, your possessions, and carnal delights for God's sake, always return inwardly to your conscience, realize that you are sinners and beg by constant prayers that God may be gracious towards your sins.

Against you, my beloved nephew, I had conceived great rancor of mind because you obviously transgressed my command, the first of its kind that I gave you. But thanks to the intervention of the venerable father, Dom Anselm, whom I wish to obey as God, I forgive you this fault with a sincere heart.[3] But I warn you not to commit such an offence again, because the more dearly I love a friend, the more severe is the anger which I conceive against him for even a small fault.

May Almighty God protect you with his grace, bless you, and mercifully absolve you from all sins.

*c. 1073.*

NOTES

1. Lanfranc and Wido/Guido arrived at Bec about Easter 1072, and were among the last four to make profession in the old church before the community moved to the new church in late October 1073; see *VA* 16. They are the hundredth and hundred and first in the Bec profession-roll. Having made his profession in 1073, young Lanfranc remained at Bec for about fifteen years. Anselm speaks highly of him as a monk *Ep* 39. Nevertheless Lanfranc left Bec to become Abbot of Saint Wandrille after the death of Abbot Gerbert on 4 September 1089, against the wish of his abbot, Anselm; see *Epp* 137, 138. He is not heard of again after that.
2. Literally 'gnawing with Theon's tooth'. This is taken from Horace, *Ep* I:XVIII.82; see Clover-Gibson, *The Letters of Lanfranc*, 98-99.
3. See *Ep* 30.

# 32. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*Anselm expresses his delight to Archbishop Lanfranc about their mutual joy at young Lanfranc's entry at Bec, recommends Maurice of Bec to the Archbishop's care and asks that his headache be treated by Albert the physician.*

TO HIS REVEREND LORD LANFRANC, A FATHER TRULY LOVABLE AND TRULY LOVED, ESTEEMED ARCHBISHOP OF MOTHER CHURCH[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, [WHO] IS HIS, AND WHAT IS MORE IMPORTANT, WHOLLY SO.

WHENEVER YOU ARE PLEASED that something pleases me, this is particularly pleasing to me; and whatever was pleasing at first becomes even more pleasing. You indicated that you were happy about the fact that I—not to mention the others—received our dearest friend, your nephew, with great joy. I am, therefore, quite delighted at this joy of yours; and the joy I felt concerning our afore-mentioned friend has been renewed by growing, although it always thrives. And I am even more pleased to realize that it has turned out according to your wish—and indeed I am not ashamed to admit that I had this mainly in mind when I received him.

With regard to Maurice[2], my lord in merits, my brother in faith, my son in custody, whom you took away for yourself from him by whom he was loved more than by anyone else and whom he loved more than anyone else; judge for yourself what you owe him. Indeed no matter how worthless it may be that he loves in such a way and is loved by such a person, you certainly owe him this: that he not love less and not be loved less by anyone. Since, therefore, I know the integrity of your justice and you know our mutual affection, we shall refrain from any recommendation about him. As regards his headache, I particularly beg your kindness, insofar as I can, for God's sake and the reward of eternal salvation, that at your insistence he be examined and treated by our beloved friend, lord Albert the physician,[3] as much as he can.

*c. 1073.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 25.
2. Maurice was one of Anselm's favorite young monks and among those who urged him to write the *Monologion* (see *Ep* 72). Maurice went to Canterbury to study but later returned to Bec. Anselm addressed ten letters to him: *Epp* 42, 43, 47, 51, 60, 64, 69, 74, 79, 97. In other letters he recommended him to his friends at Canterbury: *Epp* 33, 34, 35, 36, 40, 42. From 1080 to about 1085 Maurice was at Conflans, a recently founded cell of Bec. For an analysis of Anselm's relationship with Maurice, see Brian P. McGuire, 'Love, friendship and sex in the eleventh century: the experience of Anselm', *Studia Theologica* (1974) 131-140, and his *Friendship and Community*, 217-219.
3. Albert was a secular priest who went with Lanfranc from Bec, via Caen, to Canterbury. M. Rule conjectures that he was probably a Lombard who had been trained in the medical school of Bologna, had followed Lanfranc and always remained in the vicinity of the monasteries of Bec, Caen, and Christ Church Canterbury; see Rule I: 144. In *Ep* 36 to Albert, Anselm begs him to take care of his friend Maurice, and in *Ep* 44 thanks him for having cured him.

# 33. TO THE MONK HENRY.

*Anselm warmly recommends Maurice to Henry at Christ Church, Canterbury, and promises to welcome the Canterbury monk Holvard to Bec; he begs him to have Maurice's headache treated by Albert the physician.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK AND MOST BELOVED BROTHER HENRY: BROTHER ANSELM WISHES ENDURING FREEDOM FROM HARM IN THIS LIFE AND ETERNAL HAPPINESS IN THE NEXT.

I TRUST YOU ARE AWARE of how much I have always loved our fellow-monk and brother and son Maurice, whom we are sending to you. Since, therefore, we do not doubt that those we love are loved by him we love, and by him who loves us, we confidently commend him to you as the beloved to the beloved. In you may he find me whom he has, as it were, relinquished for you. For this reason, therefore, we have sent him and nobody else to your paternal love, because we have heard that you especially asked for him. Therefore you should be brother Anselm to our Maurice and I will be Dom Henry to your Holvard.[1] As

regards his headache I ask you particularly that at your insistence our beloved friend, Dom Albert, should examine him and as far as he can, with God's help, relieve him.

*c. 1073.*

NOTES

1. See *Epp* 69, 74.

# 34. TO THE MONK GUNDULF.

*Anselm begs Gundulf, because of their close love and friendship, to take care of Maurice and have his headache treated by Albert the physician.*

TO DOM GUNDULF: BROTHER ANSELM.

DID I NOT KNOW that I was everything to you and that you were everything to me, I would thank you for your gifts. But since everything you have belongs to me and everything I have is yours[1], when you give me what belongs to you, why should I bow to you [in gratitude] when I am accepting not things belonging to somebody else but what are already mine?

If you regard yourself as another Anselm, not by merits, in which you surpass me, but through our mutual love, let this beloved brother and son of mine, Dom Maurice, experience this.[2] I entreat you, by showing care for him in all things for the sake of the love of God and your neighbor, to show our love to him in my place. As for his headaches, I beg you as earnestly as I can, that through your prayers and help, as much as you can give, he may be cured by our lord and friend Albert, the physician, if it is possible.

*c. 1073.*

NOTES

1. Lk 15:31.
2. See *Ep* 32 (note 3).

# 35. TO THE MONK HERLUIN.

*As death comes closer every day Anselm encourages Herluin, at Christ Church, Canterbury, to persevere faithfully in his monastic life and begs him to be a loving friend to Maurice who is living among strangers.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK AND DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER, HERLUIN: BROTHER ANSELM SENDS GREETING.

ALTHOUGH YOU HARDLY EVER READ my advice, you ought nevertheless to know, dearly beloved, that in my daily concern for you I pour out as many prayers as I can to God for you. Remember, my friend, those things I often said to you by way of advice while I was with you, and what I wrote afterwards when I was absent.

Beware, brother most beloved, of what many foolish people do, who, the longer they live, nourish in themselves the more the hope of continuing to live and, casting off the fear of approaching death, fall away from their intention of [leading] a holy life. It is true that the longer a person has lived the shorter he has still to live; and the further he is from the day of his birth, the nearer he is to the day of his death and to the day of recompense for his whole life. Therefore, just as you see your life growing longer as it passes from day to day, in the same way you may be sure that the time for you to live a good life grows shorter every day.

And so, dearly beloved, take care so to use the time which remains to you—since you do not know how short it may be—that you daily achieve improvement in your holy intention. The more you realize that your task is hastening towards its end and that you are approaching your rest and crown, the more you should progress by pressing on more

resolutely, persevering more joyfully, courageously comforted.

Do not abandon your undertaking by any lassitude, therefore, but rather, for the love of blessed reward and in hope of divine assistance, embark on those things which are good for you and which you have not yet attempted so that, with Christ's guidance, you may attain the blessed company of the saints.

I commend Dom Maurice to you—for you know I love him and he loves me—so he may rejoice in having found a brother among strangers and you may show that you have remained in our friendship despite long absence.

*c. 1073.*

## 36. TO ALBERT, THE PHYSICIAN.

*Because of their mutual friendship Anselm encourages Albert, the physician, who followed Lanfranc, via Caen, to Canterbury, to become a monk at Bec. He begs him to give medical treatment to Maurice who is about to come to Canterbury at Archbishop Lanfranc's request.*

TO HIS LORD, BROTHER, AND DEAREST FRIEND ALBERT: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THAT HE MAY SO PASS THROUGH TEMPORAL GOODS WHILE DESPISING THEM THAT HE MAY ABIDE IN THE MIDST OF ETERNAL GOODS WHILE ENJOYING THEM.

THE DEEP AFFECTION OF MY LOVE FOR YOU—for which your honor asked me by letter with such sublime humility—was not prompted by the reverent supplication of your recent letter but rather your character long ago made an impression on me by commending itself favorably to my mind. From the time I was able to get to know you well, in fact, my heart has never ceased longing for and loving you. And you ought not to doubt this if you recall the

journey we made together from Bec to Rouen. For then we harmonized so amicably in conversation that our mutual love, which had already been conceived in the mind and through which we had come to know one another in the beginning, displayed itself more fully, and you promised me then what I still long for, pray for with longing, and await in prayer.

This wish is that if ever heavenly grace so enkindles in your mind the desire for heavenly bliss that it totally burns away your craving for earthly vanities, you will not, dearest friend, commit yourself to monastic life anywhere but at the monastery of Caen or at Bec. Yet since the reason that drew you particularly to Caen and that previously caused you to waver has now disappeared[1], it seems more certain that Bec alone awaits you. This is why, although I long for your conversion above all for your own sake, that you may more certainly await and more copiously receive heavenly rather than earthly riches, eternal instead of perishable wealth, truth instead of falsity, blissful incorruptibility in place of miserable mortality, I hope even more ardently that through it, if it does come about, your way of life will be joined to mine.

At the command of our reverend lord and father the archbishop, we are sending to England Dom Maurice, our lord by his merits, our brother in community, our most beloved son through the care lavished on him[2]. To the degree that our friendship can inspire you, his illness demands of you and your healing skill, with God's help, may accomplish, we commit him into your hands to be cured for the love of God. May he therefore be granted temporal health through your efforts, and may you be repaid with eternal salvation by divine mercy, and brother Anselm, whom you already possess as a friend, be bought by you as your servant.

*c. 1073.*

NOTES

1. Archbishop Lanfranc is referred to here.
2. See *Epp* 32, 33, 34, 35. Maurice might have been the bearer of all these letters when he went to Canterbury from Bec in 1073.

# 37. TO THE NOVICE, LANZO.

*Anselm assures Lanzo, a novice at Cluny, of their lasting, mutual love despite their separation by distance in obedience to the Lord, and of their eventual union in the Lord. At the request of Ursus he warns him of the snares and tricks of the devil and stresses the importance of* stabilitas loci, *which helps calm the restless mind and enables the novice and young monk to become content with the monastery and its customs, and to place his trust in divine providence.*

THE BELOVED TO HIS BELOVED, THE FRIEND TO HIS FRIEND, THE BROTHER TO HIS BROTHER, ANSELM TO LANZO[1]: WISHING HIM HOLINESS IN THIS LIFE AND BLISS IN THE LIFE TO COME.

WHEN I CONSIDER, DEAREST, your desire and mine, by which we long for one another, there is one thing that consoles me about our separation: that by divine clemency I hope for our eternal union in the life to come. I am sure of my own feelings and I have no doubt of yours, that no matter what geographical regions may separate us, yet, out of our two souls charity will make one. Hence it comes about that our souls, present in love to one another, embrace each other, and being absent from one another in life, long for each other. But when the pilgrimage of this life has come to an end, with the help of him towards whom we are travelling and in whom we place our hope, we shall come together in that homeland towards which we are striving, as it were, by different routes. There we shall rejoice more heartily about each other, God granting, the more patiently we now bear divine disposition for us.

Meanwhile, however, since to do what renews and inflames charity is not to resist God's disposition but to obey it, we ought at least to visit each other from time to time by mutual greetings. What I have written up to now in this

letter could suffice, but at the behest of Lord Ursus, our mutual friend, I feel compelled to give you some words of admonition, which your charity, not my fatuity, has always made agreeable to you. Even if I cannot tell you anything you do not already know, yet the words you receive from a beloved friend will cling to your memory better.

You have entered, dearest friend, and have professed service in Christ's army; in it you must not only repel the manifest violence of the enemy when he attacks you but also guard against his cunning when he seems to be counseling you. Often, when the malicious one cannot openly annihilate Christ's new recruit by inflicting a wound of ill will, the sly devil tries to destroy him by maliciously offering him a cup of toxic reason to slake his thirst. For when he cannot overwhelm the monk with hatred for the life he has professed, he tries to undermine him with disgust for the way of life in which he finds himself. And even if he seems to permit him to hold on to his monastic vow, yet he never stops trying to convince him by various kinds of cunning arguments that he was exceedingly foolish and imprudent to have taken it on under such superiors, among such companions, or in such a place, so that all the time he is persuading him to be ungrateful for the goodness begun by God, the monk will by a just judgement make no progress for the better, nor will he hold on to what he has received, or he will continue in that life unprofitably. Certainly, as long as he is forever dreaming up elaborate plans to move, or, if he is unable to move, at least dwelling on the bad start he made, he never attempts to strive for the goal of perfection. For since the foundation which he laid displeases him he will never wish to build the frame of a good life upon it.

It follows, then, that just as any young tree, if frequently transplanted or often disturbed by being torn up after having recently been planted in a particular place, will never be able to take root, [and] will rapidly wither and bring no fruit to perfection, similarly an unhappy monk, if he often

moves from place to place at his own whim, or remaining in one place is frequently agitated by his hatred for it, never achieves stability with roots of love, grows weary in the face of every useful exercise and does not grow rich in the fruitfulness of good works. And when he realizes—if perchance he does reflect on it—that he is making progress, not towards good, but towards evil, he unjustly assigns the whole blame for his misery not to his own behavior but to that of others, and hence unhappily works himself up to even greater hatred of those among whom he lives.

Wherefore it behooves anyone taking on the vow of monastic life to strive with total application of his mind to set down roots of love in whatever monastery he made his profession—unless it is so bad that he is forced to do evil against his will—and to refrain from judging the behavior of others or the customs of the place, however useless they appear to him, as long as they are not contrary to divine precepts. Let him rejoice at having at last found a place where he can stay, not unwillingly but voluntarily, for the rest of his life, and having put away all anxiety about moving from one place to another and, being at peace, let him resolve to devote himself assiduously to pursuing the single-minded exercise of a holy life.

If it seems to him that he can strive with spiritual fervor for greater and more profitable things than the practices of his present monastery permit, he should either reckon that he has been deceived into preferring one practice to another equally good or some inferior practice for another more valuable, or even into presuming that he can do what he cannot; or he must at least believe with certainty that he has not deserved what he longs for. And if he is deceived, let him give thanks for God's mercy through which he is saved from his error, lest through that error, by changing either his abode or state of life without any gain, or even with loss, to himself he might incur the charge of inconstancy and fickleness in vain, or else, exhausted by attempting to reach better things beyond his strength, he may fall back into his

old, inferior ways, or into worse habits than before.[2] If however, he truly longs for better things than his present life offers, yet does not yet deserve them, he should patiently bear divine judgement, which never unjustly refuses anything to anybody, lest by annoying the just Judge through impatience he deserve not to receive what he is lacking and to lose what he has received, or, because he does not love, to hold on to it to no purpose. Indeed, in those things which he is lacking and for which he longs he should be well aware of either the mercy or the justice shown him; rejoicing in the things he has received, he should give the thanks he owes to divine bounty. But since out of the tempestuous hurricanes of the world he has been able to reach some port, he should beware of bringing the wind of fickleness and the hurricane of impatience into the tranquility of the port, to this end, let his peaceful mind be calm, continually protected by constancy and meekness, completely free to be anxious about the fear of God and the delights of his love. For fear guards the soul through anxiety, but love perfects it through delight.

I know that these matters require fuller treatment either in writing or in speaking, so it may be more fully understood with what trickery the ancient serpent ensnares the ignorant monk with temptations of this kind, and, on the other hand, with what reasons the wise monk can refute and destroy his cunning cajolery. But since I have already overstepped the brevity demanded by a letter, and everything I have said, or ought to have said, in it deals with preserving tranquility of mind, this following short exhortation will bring our letter to an end. Do not imagine, dearest friend, that I said this because I suspected you of suffering some restlessness of mind. But since the aforementioned Dom Ursus[3] urged me to write some admonition to you, I do not know how I can better instruct you than by warning you about something I know frequently worms its way in among novices under the guise of the right intention.

Therefore, my friend and dearest brother, your beloved friend counsels, admonishes, and begs you from the bottom of his heart to strive with all your strength for the peace of mind without which no one can detect the tricks of the cunning enemy or discern the ever-narrow paths of virtue. Indeed, the monk living in a monastery will never manage to reach it without constancy and meekness—and meekness is the inseparable companion of patience—and without striving to observe the regulations of his monastery, providing they are not forbidden by divine command, even if he fails to see any reason in them.

Farewell, and may almighty God perfect your *going* in his *paths* so that your *footsteps may not slip,*[4] so that *in righteousness* you will appear before *the face* of God and be rewarded *when his glory appears.*[5] Pray that I may be with you just as I pray you may be with me.[6]

*c. 1072-1073.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 2.
2. Mt 12:45, Lk 11:26.
3. See *VA* 34.
4. Ps 16:5.
5. Ps 16:15.
6. This is Anselm's most important letter on the monastic way of life. Part of it is included in Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi;* see *VA,* 32-34. As archbishop he later advised Warner, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, to read it; see *Ep* 335.

# 38. TO ARNULF, THE MONK.

*Because of the rule of monastic stability Anselm is unable to meet the monk Arnulf of Beauvais and warns him not to do anything without the consent of his abbot.*

TO HIS LORD AND BELOVED BROTHER ARNULF[1]: BROTHER ANSELM SENDS GREETING.

WHAT YOUR BROTHERLY LOVE REQUESTS, namely that we meet and have a conversation together, I have also wished for ever since you took the habit of a holy monastic life and still do wish. But since I am not my own master, nor do I wish to be, I have not yet been able to arrange the outcome of our common desire nor do I know whether I ever shall be able to do it. Since time is short, therefore, I am replying briefly by letter to what you asked me.

As regards the young brother, neither the lord abbot nor our community would grant what you ask without first learning about his conduct through a long trial stay in the monastery. The fact, however, that you intend going somewhere you can live according to your intention I praise and encourage. But I warn you in advance that if you want to gain the monk's reward, you do this only with the permission of your abbot, and that wherever God may direct your path you live a regular life in obedience to an abbot and not according to the free choice of your own will and that you do not choose a place where you can profit others and teach others, but rather where you can make progress through others and can learn about spiritual service from others. This is how you will make orderly progress if you strive to be taught before you teach. Moreover, you should know that it will do you no good to devote your life to scholarly study, which is why you renounced the world, if you consider both the goal of your vow and the training by which this goal is reached.

Your beloved love is precious to me, and although we travel alone on this pilgrimage towards our heavenly home, as by different paths, let us nevertheless pray for each other that there we may eternally rejoice together in God.

*Before 1078.*

NOTES

1. Arnulf/Ernulf of Saint Simphorien of Beauvais came to Christ Church, Canterbury, in 1073. There he succeeded Henry as prior in 1096; in 1107 he resigned this office to become abbot of Peterborough, which he left in 1114 to become bishop of Rochester, where he died in 1124; see *Heads*, 33, and *Epp* 64, 74.

# 39. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*Anselm apologizes to Archbishop Lanfranc for the infrequency of his letters. He informs him about the good progress of young Lanfranc, Wido, and Osbern, and tells him that Lanfranc and Osbern suffer from illnesses for which he seeks the advice of Albert, the physician.*

TO HIS LORD AND MOST LONGED-FOR FATHER, ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC, TO BE REVERED WITH LOVE AND LOVED WITH REVERENCE THROUGHOUT THE UNIVERSAL MOTHER[1]: HIS BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THAT HE MAY SHINE FOR A LONG TIME THROUGH SANCTITY IN THE PRESENT LIFE AND REJOICE ETERNALLY IN BLISS IN THE LIFE TO COME.

IF I WERE ABLE TO DICTATE and write as easily as I can speak, an abundance of my letters would never be lacking him to whom my heart would so often speak if only there were no dearth of bearers. But there are so many things—trivial though they be—which hinder me from dictating. And this—the fact that there are so many of them—now hinders me while dictating, from recounting them in full. For this reason I beg your paternal highness not to be angry at me because the letters of your humble servant reach you only rarely. For although the pen blushes with rust whenever the hand is still, heaven forfend that when the tongue is silent the soul should grow cold through inertia.

Indeed, passing over these things for the present, I will tell you what my conscience attests to about that very beloved and very loving friend of mine, your nephew,[2]

about whose way of life I know you always want to receive prompt information. Indeed he is so on his guard against those things which he should avoid that he justifiably appears to none of us to be censurable; for he is so eager for humble kindness and kind humility, and he so seeks peace and silence and prayer that he is deservedly lovable to everyone. Hence he daily makes me, who is happy with him, surely even happier, and I—not to speak of the general affection within the community—have him, whom I love for your merit as well as his, as a friend.

But there is something which, although I truly believe that divine providence mercifully inflicts on him, yet I cannot see without a nagging charitable compassion. For divine chastisement has daily afflicted him in a fatherly manner for many months with such a headache that his enjoyable company has sometimes been cut off from the whole community and his intention has been completely turned away from reading or any serious meditation. I advise you of this for this reason, that I may not be accused before you of silence in this matter and that you may come to the help of this beloved friend of mine, if you can, through the assistance of Dom Albert. So that this doctor may learn to recognize the type of disease through some of its symptoms: his temples always seem to be throbbing, his brow feels heavy, especially when he is lying down. The greater any light and noise are, the more they bother him. Often, especially after meals, his whole face gets very red and at the same time not only his face but his whole body gets hot.[3]

Gentle obedience and humility at hard work so commend Dom Wido,[4] whom we have assigned to teaching the boys, that we, who have such a fellow, and you, through whom we have him, can be equally proud.

Your Dom Osbern,[5] in fact, daily develops admirably, both in his fervor for prayer seasoned with a sense of joy and in his progress in knowledge through perseverance in study, coolness of thinking, and a tenacious memory. Not only does your fatherly love, in which we rejoice in brotherly

fashion, join itself equally to our own for all this, but we are delighted at and cemented together by such a delight of speechless love at his outstanding merits that we could no longer be separated without some rending of our souls and shattering of our hearts. But when this takes place at your command recalling him, the gaping rent of my wound will remain, whereas he will be consoled by his reunion with somebody greater than he now endures.

Indeed there is something which compels me to suffer in compassion with him. For the increase of that certain illness, which he says is known to you, so frequently weighs him down that he is at times led to death's door. First of all a sudden chill violently afflicts his whole head and then his heart and whole body; and soon his heart, pounding uncontrollably, fails along with all the senses and powers of his body—just what happens to those who have lost blood. After he appears to have revived from this fainting fit, he immediately burns with heat throughout his whole body, as if becoming feverish. A headache also follows this and a great discomfort, as if he had to vomit. And often, especially when he sings, he is so tormented by discomfort in his head that the place where he is seems to be dizzily whirling round him.[6] Since I neither know him better, nor can love him better than you love him, I will refrain from pleading with your paternity for his sake.

I have heard that Saint Dunstan drew up a 'Rule of Monastic Life'. If therefore this is the case, I would very much like to see the famous *Life* and *Institutes* of so great a father.[7]

*c. 1073-1077.*

NOTES

1. See *Epp* 25, 32.
2. See *Epp* 25, 30, 31.
3. These symptoms seem to indicate high blood pressure.
4. Wido, see *Ep* 31.

5. Osbern, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, had been sent to Bec to correct some of his faults. He seems to have accomplished this, for about two years later, in *Ep* 67 to Prior Henry, Anselm states that Osbern has made full amends for the *pristinae vitae perversitas* and commends him to the love and care of the prior to whom Osbern is returning; see *Ep* 66. Back at Canterbury he became an important member of the community and was promoted to precentor. He was a famous writer and the first Englishman to turn his mind to the task of reviving Old English history; see PL 149: 367ff; and Southern, *Anselm* 248-253. In 1093 Osbern wrote to Anselm; see *Epp* 149, 152.
6. These symptoms seem to point to a severe form, or recurring attacks, of vertigo.
7. Saint Dunstan, the famous reformer of monastic life in the Old English Church, was abbot of Glastonbury 939-957, Bishop of Worcester 957-959, Bishop of London 959-960 and Archbishop of Canterbury 960-988; see H. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1978) 111-113. Anselm seems to be referring to the *Regularis Concordia Anglicanae Nationis*, which was falsely ascribed to Dunstan. The *Life of Saint Dunstan* which Anselm requests was written before Osbern, the precentor, wrote his.

# 40. TO HENRY, THE MONK.

*Anselm warmly thanks Henry at Christ Church, Canterbury, for the generous kindness he showed Maurice, a monk of Bec, and reminds him of his promised visit to Bec.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK, BROTHER, FRIEND, HENRY: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HIM PERSEVERANCE IN HOLINESS IN THIS LIFE AND ETERNAL BLISS IN THE LIFE TO COME.

WHEN YOU SHOW YOURSELF TO BE GENEROUS and magnanimous in all things towards our mutual brother Maurice, as he himself writes me, you certainly fulfill admirably what you ought charitably to do. But indeed you put me in your debt in no small way by lavishing the generosity of your charity on him out of love for me. For truly, you and I have learned not just recently that we can trust one another. For this reason I considered it more fitting to keep these thanks shut in the ark of my mind than to describe them in a note to someone who knows all about them. Yet, I have no doubt your goodwill is evident always,

not just when a particular occasion demands it, and I deem it always worthy of thanks. Since, however, I am not able to respond to your kindness in any better way at the moment I shall, as far as I can, repay your monks[1] who are with me for what you have done.

You recently promised me and your other brothers your longed-for presence unless our reverend lord archbishop were planning to cross the sea at the time, and we trust, now that the date you announced has passed, that the venerable father will be coming to us before Easter.[2] If only that could happen with his delightful rejoicing and joyful delight! But indeed, if we do not see him, as we imagine, know that we will not absolve you from the debt of your promise until we have seen you. In fact we hold on to what you write about hoping to come in the future—and if you promised it, it will come about. Farewell.

*c. 1073-1077.*

NOTES

1. Holvard (see *Ep* 33) and Osbern (see *Ep* 39) are both monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, who stayed at Bec for some time.
2. Archbishop Lanfranc was at Bec in 1071 and 1077, see A.J. Macdonald, *Lanfranc* (London, 1926) 183.

# 41. TO THE MONK GUNDULF.

*Anselm demonstrates to his friend Gundulf that bodily separation cannot lessen their ardent mutual love.*

HIS OWN TO HIS OWN, FRIEND TO FRIEND, BROTHER TO BROTHER, ANSELM TO GUNDULF: WISHING HIM PERSEVERANCE IN HOLINESS FOR THE LOVE OF HAPPINESS AND AN ETERNITY OF BLISS AS THE REWARDS OF HOLINESS.

BOTH MY GUNDULF AND YOUR ANSELM are witnesses that you and I have no need whatever to declare our mutual affection to each other by letter. Since your soul and my soul can never bear to be absent from each other but are incessantly entwined together, nothing of ourselves is lacking to the other except that we are not present to one another physically. But why do I describe my love to you in a letter when you keep the real image of it carefully in the ark of your heart? For what is your love for me but the image of my love for you? Your will, which is known to me, therefore invites me to write something to you because of our bodily separation; but since we are known to each other by the presence of our souls I do not know what to say to you except: may God do with you what he knows to be pleasing to himself and profitable to you.[1] Farewell.

*not later than 1077.*

NOTES

1. Brotherly love towards fellow-monks, together with submission to God's will, absolute obedience to the abbot and ascetic rejection of the world are the recurring themes in Anselm's letters and writings. They express Anselm's attitude towards life, e.g. *Epp* 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 13, 16, 51 and Prayer 17. For the development of Anselm's relationship to Maurice see B. McGuire, 'Love, friendship and sex in the eleventh century: the experience of Anselm', *Studia Theologica* (1974) 128-31; *idem., Friendship and Community* (Kalamazoo, 1988) 217-221.

# 42. TO THE MONK MAURICE.

*Assuring Maurice of his paternal and fraternal love Anselm thanks him for his first letter from Canterbury. He is glad that his friend is well and asks him to beg Gundulf and Henry to search for copies of the works of Saint Dunstan and the Venerable Bede so that he may have the copies of them at Bec corrected.*

TO HIS MOST BELOVED BROTHER AND SON[1] MAURICE: BROTHER ANSELM PRAYS FOR THE INTEGRITY OF HIS AFFECTION AND, WITH GOD'S HELP, THE CONTINUANCE OF INTEGRITY.

IT IS NOT BECAUSE I THINK MYSELF WORTHY of being owed paternal reverence by anyone or because I regard my love as of any particular consequence that I started a letter intended for your love with a salutation of this sort; but from the time I met you I have always tried—even if I was not able to accomplish it—to show you a brother's love and a father's care. Since I know that my will is known and pleasing to you, I do not for this reason doubt that it will also make you pleased if I feel confident that I and my love for you take on some importance. Therefore the excuse for a somewhat arrogant salutation comes first and the expression of fraternal greeting follows. For just as I do not doubt that you have a warmth of feeling for me and that you rejoice in my affection for you, so I am certain that you are daily looking forward to what you long for, and longing for what you look forward to, namely consolation for that separation you endure—of a beloved from a friend—by hearing or reading some message from me.

On receiving the letter from your love, I admit, the joy that enlarged your friend's spirit was greater than the sorrow that constricted it when you left us. At your departure, indeed, I suffered less because I was looking forward to having you tell me that what I longed for had indeed taken place. Yet now I rejoice more because I was longing for you to tell me that what I was looking forward to had taken place. And since it seemed to me that the news was taking an extremely long time to reach me I had decided to write

a letter to your love to investigate this matter even before I received yours.[2] To God, from whom all good comes, then, I give thanks first of all for what you wrote to me—that everything is well with you—then for all those who show you the goodness of charity for our affection. I advise you however, my dearly beloved, that just as you were able to gain the grace and favor of those with whom you live before they could judge your conduct, you should from now on deserve to retain them by the evidence of your way of life.

With regard to your return which you indicate you desire: I decided to keep silent about it till now, for we ought to wait for a more opportune moment to mention our desire reasonably to our reverend lord and father Archbishop Lanfranc, whose will it behooves us to obey. I have written to our lord archbishop about the Rule of Saint Dunstan.[3] You, however, should urgently request Dom Henry and Dom Gundulf on our behalf to search in their provinces as soon as possible for any copies of this Rule and for Bede's *De temporibus*,[4] and send me the best [copy] they can find for those you know need correcting in ours, and I shall return them.

May the Almighty Lord guard you always and everywhere, brother and, since you prefer to hear this, dearest son. Farewell. My letters will be less frequent because of the irksome business I have to do, but I pray that yours may often rejoice me. Again I say what I always wish. Farewell.

*c. 1073/74.*

NOTES

1. Anselm had known Maurice from boyhood; see *Ep* 43. This is probably the reason for the unique "brother and son".
2. Even though Anselm's letter of enquiry and Maurice's answer have not survived, the contents of the latter can be gathered from this one.
3. See *Ep* 39.
4. Anselm is referring to Bede's *Opera de temporibus*, PL 90: 277ff. and ed. C.W. Jones in *Speculum* 41 (Cambridge, Mass. 1943) 295-303.

# 43. TO THE SAME.

*Despite the difficulty of finding reliable messengers, Anselm assures Maurice of his continual love and care by sending him two letters. He leaves his friend's request to return to Bec to the discretion of Archbishop Lanfranc. In case of an immediate return Maurice is to bring whatever he has faithfully copied of* De aphorismo *and have the rest completed by Gundulf.*

TO HIS BROTHER AND DEAREST SON MAURICE: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HIM DIVINE PROTECTION WHEN THINGS ARE GOING WELL AND STRENGTH WHEN THINGS ARE DIFFICULT.

IF THIS IS WHAT YOUR LOVE, dear to me, complains of in your second letter to me, that I neglected you and did not contact you by letter after you had crossed the sea, I would not defend myself against any assertions that I behaved extremely inappropriately, and even if everyone were silent I would blame myself in no small way. Far be it from me to neglect now the person whom, from boyhood and since our first meeting—and you are witness to this—I have loved with great fervor according to the measure of my ability, now when you are making progress towards an upright life and towards the love of God which divine clemency has bountifully deigned to grant you so generously, and are striving daily to make progress; for indeed this is what my heart has always wished for you and what has occupied my efforts.

In any case, before you sent me your first letter I had made arrangements to send you mine by the first suitable messenger available. But although I thought that the bearer of your letter could be the return messenger of mine, it came about that, contrary to his hope and wish and mine, he was long delayed, and my letter, already written in answer to your first, was withheld from your sight until after your second had reached me. For even if many Normans[1] cross over to England there are very few who do so to my knowledge; among these very few there is scarcely anyone to whom I would entrust our commission and who would carry it out conscientiously and without delay. But so that

this fact may excuse me to my accuser, I am sending my two letters in reply to your two by the bearers of yours. And since it distresses me that I could not send each at its own time, I have arranged to have them sent together in order to convince your disbelief and to satisfy your suspicion.

With regard to what you entreated me earnestly to press on the holiness of our reverend father and lord, the archbishop,[2] I have attempted in that particular letter which I sent him to do it as zealously as I could according to your will. If therefore it should come about that, thanks to his favor always embracing us, and according to what is advantageous to you and what you and I long for, you return to us, bring with you whatever has been written of the *Aphorisms*.[3] In the meantime, however, copy as much as you can without too much inconvenience, first from the text and then, if you are permitted, from the commentary; but you should watch out for this above all: that whatever you bring from there will have been very carefully corrected. If any of it still remains to be done when you do return and if Dom Gundulf can conveniently have this done by somebody, then leave it to the person chosen by him. It would be much better, however, if the same Dom Gundulf could acquire a copy of his own so that he could lend it to me. Greet Dom Herluin, asking him to be mindful of me both for his sake and mine. Farewell.

*c. 1073/74.*

NOTES

1. In the normanization of England after 1066, a great number of Anglo-Saxon lords, spiritual and temporal, were replaced by Normans, causing constant traffic of people of every stratum of society across the Channel.
2. See *Ep* 42.
3. *Opus medicinae hippocraticae*, ed. C.G. Kuehn, vol.23, t.III (1827) 706-768, see *Ep* 60.

# 44. TO ALBERT, THE PHYSICIAN.

*Anselm thanks Albert, the physician, for curing his friend Maurice and once more, as in* Ep *36, tries to persuade him to become a monk.*

TO LORD ALBERT, HIS BROTHER AND FRIEND CHERISHED IN CHRIST AND DESIRED FOR CHRIST: BROTHER ANSELM WISHES THAT HE MAY DESPISE EARTHLY GOODS FOR THE SAKE OF HEAVENLY AND RECEIVE THE GOODS OF HEAVEN IN EXCHANGE FOR EARTHLY ONES.

I ADMIT THAT I AM NOT ABLE even to offer you a reward, let alone thank your piety according to your deserving and my desire, for the mercy you deigned to show my beloved brother Maurice during his illness.[1] Yet I can thank you in another way, even though I cannot repay you adequately: it would seem unjust to me if I failed to do what I can. Therefore, I express my thanks as much as I can, but I leave the reward to be paid to you much more lavishly by Christ who by his own testimony was the sick man you cared for in his servant.[2] I pray therefore, just as you will not recoil from accepting full recompense in due time, so you shall not shrink from achieving the healing now underway with as much effort as you can.

Having with these words expressed the great thanks I owe you, those which follow will be about the explanation I still owe you. For previously, when I replied to the letter of your love, I did not express everything I had pondered in my thoughts. In order to make what I wrote more acceptable to your wisdom I wrote it in only a few words. What this present letter contains below refers, therefore, to that same reply.[3]

When I see that your grace, whom I dearly love, ardently strives for the affection of a vile little man—in a word, mine—indeed I confess that over such an entreaty you deserve more than just my love. But since I have nothing greater than my love to give you, this I want to demonstrate

as well as I can according to my capacity. Indeed I think nobody could demand more love of me than that I love him as much as I love myself. This is why I give you the advice I gave myself when I was in the same situation you are now in; for you know that I deliberated single-mindedly, after deliberating I came to a decision, I love what I decided on and by my habit I profess what I love and rest my whole life on it.[4] Judge for yourself whether you can afford to refuse what I am painstakingly laying out to you and what you so earnestly begged me for. Moreover, the very authority of our venerable lord and father, the archbishop, whose judgement does not permit his wisdom to fail or his justice to falter, this authority, I say, will judge whether it is suitable for you or good for me for you to claim to give satisfaction to our love for you by longing for ours, and yet to show, by despising the exercise of it—where it is even more sincere—that the very same love is displeasing to you.

But even though what I want to achieve is not hidden from you, yet I am not reluctant to disclose my advice, indeed not mine but God's, more clearly. If, therefore, you have already realized: *that everything that is in the world is the desire of the flesh, desire of the eyes and vanity of life, and they come not from the Father but from the world;*[5] if you already know that *the world and its* desire *will pass;*[6] if you read that *the friend of this world becomes the enemy of God;*[7] if you believe that *anyone who leaves his home or brothers or sisters or father or mother or wife or children or lands for my Name's sake will receive a hundredfold and will obtain everlasting life;*[8] then I exhort you: *love not the world or the things of the world,*[9] but give everything up and follow Christ's poverty, that you may receive a hundredfold in exchange and may obtain everlasting life. Amen, so be it.

*c. 1073/74.*

NOTES

1. Albert seems to have responded to what Anselm (see *Ep* 36) and his friends at Canterbury had asked him to do; see *Epp* 32, 33, 34.

2. Mt 25:36, 40.
3. See *Ep* 36.
4. Anselm's deliberation and decision to become a monk are described by Eadmer in *VA*, 8-11.
5. 1 Jn 2:16.
6. 1 Jn 2:17.
7. Jm 4:4.
8. Mt 19:29.
9. 1 Jn 2:15.

# 45. TO FRODELINA.

*Anselm demonstrates how Frodelina and he seek each other's love and share in each other's merits.*

TO THE EXCELLENT LADY FRODELINA[1] WHOSE HOLINESS DESERVES TO BE REVERED WITH LOVE AND LOVED WITH REVERENCE: BROTHER ANSELM OF BEC, A SINNER IN LIFE, A MONK BY HABIT, A SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS AND HANDMAIDENS OF GOD, WISHING CONTINUAL INCREASE OF HOLINESS IN THE PRESENT LIFE AND ETERNAL JOY IN THE LIFE TO COME.

EVER SINCE I BECAME AWARE of the odor of your good reputation which has spread far and wide like a sweet perfume, I have longed to make myself known to you at some favorable opportunity, that I might deserve through this acquaintanceship to gain your friendship. But since I see myself totally lacking in merit perhaps I might somehow share yours by a communion of charity. So I thank God that, while I was harboring this wish and was eagerly looking for a way of executing it, Dom Hugh, the hermit of Caen,[2] our mutual brother and friend in Christ, informed me that your holiness, with sentiments not unlike my own, was looking for a similar opportunity in my regard. Now I have discovered this and, having discovered it, I rejoice in Christ over our desire, which he knows to be born out of love for him; for he listened to us without our knowledge and joined us by like vows and the selfsame love, also without our knowing. Without fearing reproach for being

presumptuous, therefore, I send you my letter with the confidence of our mutual love.

Indeed, my most beloved lady—I say 'lady' and 'most beloved' because you are most outstanding in the merits of your life—I know that you will find in me very little or nothing which could be expected to increase your sanctity. Yet since I desire to share in your good qualities which are greater than mine, I do not know on what pretext I can refuse to let you share, as you desire, in mine, whatever they may be. For indeed, if our Lord Jesus Christ has worked any good in me or will do in the future, I pray according to the true love of God and my neighbor that he may also grant that you not be treated any differently than I am. Moreover, even if my merits can in no way be compared to yours, I beg that your holiness may deign to admit me in some way to the communion of your merits for the sake of that same charity.

Although your mind, fervently inflamed by the Holy Spirit, is certainly in no need of it, yet by the demands of my profession I ought to write some exhortation to your holiness—and I would do so did I not fear my letter running on too long. May God grant that I one day pay this debt either by speaking to you personally or by writing. May the almighty Lord protect you, lady greatly to be loved and revered in Christ, from all evil in this life, that after this life he may put you in possession of eternal riches. May he himself make us so mindful one of another in his love, you of me and I of you, that it may please him and advance us towards eternal life. Amen.

*c. 1074/75.*

NOTES

1. This is one of the few letters in Anselm's collection written to a woman. According to McGuire ('Love, friendship and sex', 143-146) Anselm showed cordiality towards women, but not the same warmth as to many of his male correspondents. Frodelina is not otherwise known. Apparently she was a woman of some social status and enjoyed a reputation for holiness in Normandy.
2. Anselm addresses *Ep* 112 to Hugh, the hermit of Caen.

# 46. TO WILLIAM.

*William and Anselm seek each other's love. Anselm encourages William to persevere faithfully in his monastic life.*

TO HIS BELOVED AND REVERED LORD WILLIAM, WORTHY TO BE LOVED WITH HIS WHOLE HEART: HIS BROTHER ANSELM WISHING HIM PERSEVERANCE IN ADVANCING TOWARDS HOLINESS FOR THE LOVE OF HAPPINESS AND AN ETERNITY IN AMPLE HAPPINESS FOR THE REWARD OF HOLINESS.

THE LETTER I RECEIVED FROM YOUR HONOR, sweet to me, rejoiced my heart by the inscription of your beloved name, refreshed me with the perfume of sublime humility, filled me with the savor of profound charity, and pricked me with a sense of righteous complaint. Indeed I wish never to disappoint your petition, but I confess that I can give no adequate reply. Since I am very much aware that in the whole of myself and in all that is in me, there is nothing worthy of such a request, and your kindness and—what is much more and dearer to me—your love for me deserve more of me than what I am; indeed, no verbal homage matches my affection, which I offer to you with my very self because I cannot offer more. Your holiness should not doubt that a constant memory of you exists in me as well as [of me] in you, and if there is anything godly in me, it is certain that what is in me is also in you.

Since, therefore, I know myself to be in debt, not only in prayers but also in admonitions and all manner of worries to the one whom I greet and to whom I acknowledge I belong, your faithful friend begs, admonishes you not to let the seed of goodwill which has begun to grow in you through divine grace dry up through love of this world. Do not let the feet which have already begun to walk along the path to eternity by works of mercy and also by searching for more sublime ways be held back by the snares of the world. But diligently turn the eyes of your mind away so

*they see no vanity*[1] and by constant effort keep them fixed on truth.

*c. 1074/75.*

NOTES

1. Ps 118:37.

# 47. TO THE MONK MAURICE.

*Anselm thanks Maurice, who is at Canterbury, for his present and assures him of his continual love.*

TO HIS MOST BELOVED FRIEND AND BROTHER, AND SINCE THIS SOUNDS MORE AFFECTIONATE, MOST BELOVED SON MAURICE: BROTHER ANSELM SENDS GREETING.

I RECEIVED THE PRECIOUS GIFT of your precious love for me with that charity with which it was sent, and in order [to have] a fuller reminder of you by using it, as you request, I have resolved that it should remain with me always. I say this not so much that I may receive another gift as you promise, but rather because I know I can please you in this way and you indicate this by what you say. In exchange I would give you thanks in writing, did you not know that I was always prepared to give you more even before there was anything I could repay. For I have always been and am now prepared to devote myself to you and do whatever I can for you. The bearer is in haste and I am forced to hold back the words bursting from my soul. This however I add: what I have been for you, this I shall continue to be. Farewell.

*c. 1074/75.*

# 48. TO PRIOR HELGOT.

*Anselm intercedes for Gunfrid, the brother of Abbot Roger of Lessay.*

TO HIS LORD AND REVEREND FATHER, SWEETEST FRIEND HELGOT[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING ENDURING PROSPERITY IN THIS LIFE AND IN THE LIFE TO COME ETERNAL BLISS

LORD ABBOT ROGER[2], being so certain of you and me that the fire of charity has fused us into one heart and one soul, that he himself cannot be unwilling that what one knows the other should know, has asked me to recommend to your holiness his brother Gunfrid, who lives at Caen. Not that he expects that either his injustice in any matter should be overlooked by you or that he should be excused by you from any of the service he owes the lord abbot or your monastery; but that, for the sake of our love, you should deign to show the charity which you know you owe to all your neighbors in a friendlier way to him, as reason shows it to be necessary. If, therefore, your prudence judges that what such a friend requests of me in no unseemly fashion I can in no way refuse in seemly fashion, there remains nothing else but for you freely to grant what is proper for all friends.

Greet our sweet and venerable father and lord, the lord abbot,[3] and all our beloved fellow-monks and brothers[4] who are with you. *May the peace of God, which surpasses all our senses, guide your hearts and minds.*[5]

*c. 1075/78.*

NOTES

1. Helgot seems to have succeeded Hernost as prior of Saint Stephen's at Caen in 1075 (see *Epp* 1, 25, 29, 407).
2. Roger, a monk of Bec, tenth in the Bec profession-roll, became first abbot of Lessay. He died in August 1095; see *OV* II: 124, 126.
3. William Bona Anima; see *Ep* 18.
4. Certain monks of Bec left for Caen with Lanfranc when he was made first abbot of Saint Stephen's in 1063.
5. Phil 4:7.

# 49. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*Anselm thanks Archbishop Lanfranc for his gift and kindness and answers his enquiry on his opinion about wealth and his practice of fasting.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC, EVER WORTHY OF THE HONOR OF REVERENCE AND THE AFFECTION OF LOVE: HIS SERVANT AND BROTHER BY SUBJECTION AND LOVE, BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING WHAT IS HIS.

AS YOUR FATHERLY LOVE is unable not to be generous to me even when not giving, and not to be anxious about me even when free from care, so you should know, indeed you do know, that our fidelity is never ungrateful even if silent. Since you do not, as a habit, send precious gifts to me, your beloved friend, you flatteringly send even more precious excuses in order to give satisfaction; and even though you are certain that I hold nothing contrary to the christian faith, you are nevertheless concerned lest anyone could think evil of me, or hold a false opinion of me.

To be sure, an excuse such as the one you gave me about gifts, since it concerns such a trifling thing, is a much more precious gift than purple or gold. You did not, in fact, send that gift because you considered me in need of it, since you know that it is always stored away in the ark of my heart, but because your kindness could not let the messenger cross over from you to me empty-handed. When I receive your gifts I have no need of the recommendation of those things which I do not doubt were given to me out of true love; nor when they do not flow abundantly do I need excuses, because I am certain that they have dried up for some good reason, about which, if I could discuss it with you I would agree with you.

Now, however, with regard to what you enjoin, namely, that I candidly publish a statement of the truth which you know I hold and which is not contrary to any assertions of mine or of any other Christian, I gladly accept and freely

obey. I learned in a christian school—and what I hold, I declare while maintaining and I love while declaring—that if anyone of those who possess wealth in this world[1] gives a poor man even *a cup of cold water* for the true love of God and his neighbor, he is giving alms and *he will not lose his reward*.[2] Indeed as to the fasting of monks, I hold this opinion, that the more a monk abstains from the food put in front of him for the greater love of God or of his neighbor, the greater are the alms he gives and the greater the reward he gains.[3]

*c. 1074/75.*

NOTES

1. 1 Jn 3:17.
2. Mt 10:42.
3. Anselm relaxed the rigor of fasting. Eadmer defended this as being a sign of strength when done reasonably, see *VA*, 59-60.

# 50. TO THE MONK HENRY.

*Anselm assures Henry at Christ Church, Canterbury, of their mutual, brotherly love, apologizes for his infrequent letters, blaming his sins and the turmoil of necessary activities, and begs for his vigorous support.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK, FRIEND AND DEAREST BROTHER, HENRY: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING A PROSPEROUS DURATION IN THIS LIFE AND BLISSFUL ETERNITY IN THE LIFE TO COME.

ALTHOUGH TRUE LOVE, ONCE KINDLED, will forever go on burning without being continually fanned, no small pleasure is gained from it by friends either through mutual conversations when they are together or by the frequency of other reminders when they are apart. Since, therefore, by the arrangement of divine providence, we cannot take pleasure in seeing one another, at least we should derive happiness from each other by exchanging greetings—even

if this is not as much as we want, at least it is as much as we can.

Wherefore, if I were permitted to write as often as I wish I would send a note to you, and expect yours to me, much more frequently. Because of my sins, in fact, I see this opportunity, not only of writing but also of reading, meditating, or even praying, being removed from me until I think the mercy of God is being withdrawn from me. For this I suffer inconsolably, but even this is not enough to bring back God's grace because, as it is such an obstacle to the tranquility of the wretch I am, no benefit comes from my turmoil to console me. Under these circumstances it does not appear unjust to me to call these activities—which I dare not, however, neglect—useless and unproductive, and yet, if I examine my situation closely, I can in no way excuse my laziness. Indeed my useless mind seems to be constrained by nature into narrow limits and weakened by the feebleness of my good will, so that the whole of it is not enough to perform any one of the smallest matters, not to mention the others, and it surrenders, vanquished under the weight of some burden or temptation.[1]

Wherefore, my dearest brother and fellow monk, since out of charity I wish my merits, if any there be, to be yours and I trust that your merits will be mine—despairing of my laziness, I beg and implore your vigorous support. Because of my failure to make much progress I feel I should be condemned; through your unfailing progress I hope to deserve to be saved.

May your fraternity, so dear to me, prosper, now and forever.

*c. 1075.*

NOTES

1. Anselm seems to refer to the growing burden of his office as prior as the feebleness of old age incapacitated Abbot Herluin more and more. Herluin died on 26 August 1078, aged 74.

# 51. TO THE MONKS HERLUIN, GUNDULF, AND MAURICE.

*Anselm assures the monks of Bec who are at Canterbury of his fraternal and paternal love, and although they have Archbishop Lanfranc as their spiritual guide he encourages them to persevere faithfully in their monastic way of life in order to be among the chosen few.*

TO HIS DEAREST FELLOW-MONKS, BROTHERS AND FRIENDS HERLUIN, GUNDULF, AND MAURICE[1]: BROTHER ANSELM WISHES THAT, RISING FROM VIRTUE TO VIRTUE THEY MAY REACH CHRIST, THE SUPREME VIRTUE OF GOD.

SINCE YOU ARE EQUALLY INTENT on one purpose and since what I desire for you differs not at all, I link you together in the greeting of a single letter. If you remember, beloved friends, that I always longed to see how you were when you were present you will know well enough that I long to hear from you frequently now that you are absent. Since, as your conscience is my witness, I wanted to pour out —I do not say expend—from my heart a brother's love to all of you, and moreover a father's love to one of you,[2] no interval of earth or water lying between us can cut off my affection for you. Therefore, although you have the counsel and advice of our reverend lord and father the archbishop,[3] and close at hand that constant private meditation which your profession imposes on you, as well as the frequent mutual conversations inflamed by religious fervor which suffice to help your well-kindled enthusiasm to progress daily for the better: nonetheless, untiring love demands that you not be deprived of our exhortations, whatever their worth, even though you are far away and not in need of them.

I admonish and entreat you, therefore, dearest friends, that there be nothing to distract your minds from their watchfulness. May they carefully investigate what they daily gain by advancing lest—which God forbid—they lose it by falling back. As, in the case of virtue, it is more difficult to

gain by effort something which has been lacking than it is to lose it by idleness, so it is more difficult to recover what has been lost by negligence than to acquire what one has not yet been known to possess. Therefore, dearly beloved, always consider what is past as nothing, so you do not fail to hold on to those virtues you have attained; and even if you are unable, through infirmity, to add anything to them, always strive to do so by persistent effort. By the word of Truth we are all assured that among the many called, few are chosen;[4] but since Truth was silent about this we are all ignorant about how few there are. Therefore, anyone who does not already live as one of the few must either amend his way of life and join the few, or he must surely fear condemnation. But indeed anyone who considers himself already among the few should not immediately rely on the certainty of being chosen. In fact, since none of us knows to how small a number the chosen are reduced, nobody therefore knows whether he is already among the few who are chosen, even if he lives just like one of the few among the many called. Therefore, let nobody, by looking over his shoulder, consider himself ahead of many others on the path to the heavenly home. But he should look steadily forward and consider diligently whether he is already proceeding at the same pace as those whose election no one doubts. See to it, therefore, dearest friends, that the fear of God which you experience does not cool down under any pretext; but let it always grow daily more fervent, as if fanned by your untiring zeal until, transformed, it shines brightly for you into eternal safety.[5]

Farewell, my dearly beloved friends. And I ask you through the fraternal charity you owe me, pray as you are used to doing even more fervently, lest I, who exhort you towards perfection, make a miserable failure of the course on which I once set out and which I have now almost completed.[6]

*c. 1074/75.*

NOTES

1. Together with Henry (see *Ep* 50), they were monks of Bec, who either followed Lanfranc to Canterbury via Caen or were called there by him. According to *AOO*, III: 164, *Epp* 49 and 50 were sent to Canterbury with this letter.
2. Maurice.
3. Archbishop Lanfranc.
4. Mt 20:16, 22:14.
5. The reflections on Mt 20:16 recall *Ep* 2.
6. Anselm was about forty-two when he wrote this, but his health was probably weakened by his austere way of life; see *VA*, 14, 15. He lived to be seventy-six.

# 52. TO ABBOT G.

*Anselm advises Abbot William Bona Anima of Caen how to deal with Hernost, bishop-elect of Rochester who wants to shun the burden of office. The electors, however, should force him to accept. In this procedure the elect may perceive the will of God.*

TO HIS LORD AND DEAREST FATHER, THE REVEREND ABBOT G.: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THAT HE MAY ALWAYS WANT AND DO WHAT IS PLEASING TO GOD.

YOUR WISDOM DEIGNED TO ASK the advice of my humble self about the matter in question[1]. First of all, therefore, I pray for the benevolent clemency of almighty God, that he may dispose the whole affair according to his good will. This however is our advice—may it come from the countenance of God![2]—which is the best I can conceive. Indeed I advise him that, while maintaining obedience and holy gentleness, his soul shun such a burden as far as it can; you, however, and the others to whom it applies—because I do not see that there can be anything better for him—I advise that you enjoin him by begging and admonishing; in this way his conscience may be more untroubled in God's sight once he perceives he has been moved along by the fear of God alone and by holy obedience; and may God lead him to a good end, as it were, by obligation, for which alone

he should realize it was begun; and you, who have tried by dutiful care to uphold the church of God through its members, will be repaid by the divine judge.[3] Farewell.

*c. 1075.*

NOTES

1. Archbishop Lanfranc called Prior Hernost of Caen to be bishop of Rochester in 1075; see *Epp* 1, 53.
2. Ps 16:2.
3. Anselm himself acted according to this advice when he was made prior in 1063 (see *VA* 21, 22), elected abbot of Bec in early September 1078 (*VA* 44, 45), and promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury on 6 March 1093 (see *HN* 31-35, and *Epp* 148-164). See also *Epp* 61, 345 for Anselm's similar advice. For a dissenting view on Anselm's willingness to become archbishop, see S. Vaughn 'Saint Anselm: Reluctant Archbishop?', *Albion* 3 (1976) 240-250.

# 53. TO HERNOST, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

*Grieving at Hernost's illness Anselm comforts the dying bishop of Rochester by meditating on the joyful and victorious progress of his soul out of the afflictions of this world; he encourages him to comply fully with the will of God.*

TO BISHOP HERNOST OF ROCHESTER,[1] ONCE HIS COMPANION AND BROTHER LOVED IN AN EQUAL FRIENDSHIP, NOW HIS LORD AND FATHER REVERED IN AFFECTION: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HIM COMPLETE FREEDOM FROM HARM IN THIS LIFE AND PERFECT HAPPINESS IN THE LIFE TO COME.

WHEN I HEAR THAT YOUR BODY IS WORN out almost to the point of death by frequent and serious afflictions, my love for you makes me sad with human gloom. But when I consider that through this your soul is being nourished for eternity, your progress consoles me with spiritual joy. It is certainly known to your holiness that in tribulations of the flesh and by cauterization, the rust of sins is burned away and through patience the life of a just man is perfected.

For it is written that God *chastises every son whom he receives,*[2] and that *affliction produces endurance, endurance brings forth approval, approval hope, and hope does not shame us;*[3] and that *endurance produces a perfect work.*[4]

From this it is known beyond doubt that we should rejoice in tribulation with as much affection as the effort we show in striving towards the heritage of sons through hope and the perfection of a good work. For because it always pleases God if we never fall away from his commands, we particularly please him greatly if, even in our adversity, we joyfully consent to his will. And although he is utterly just, nevertheless, as he is utterly merciful, he will in no way compel us, whom he sees facing up to punishment in this world with joyfulness of spirit, to pay for our sins through repeated punishment in the life to come. We shall be able to look forward to the strict judge being more lenient to the degree that we have now patiently endured his being more severe. Therefore by these and other meditations of this kind, my reverend father, as your paternal holiness knows already, by considering that the progress of the soul grows out of the failure of the flesh, the salvation of the soul out of the illness of the flesh and forgiveness out of punishment, you may draw consolation from this very affliction and joy from this grief.

My sweetest father and reverend lord, may almighty and most merciful God so cause you to agree in all things with his will in this life that he may agree to your happiness in all things in the life to come. I pray that your paternal holiness may not forget your faithful servant although absent in body but present in spirit. May your body and soul always be strong in the Lord.

*c. 1075/76.*

NOTES

1. Hernost was Bishop of Rochester from 29 August 1075-15 July 1076; see *Epp* 1, 52.

2. Heb 12:6.
3. Rom 5:3-5.
4. Jm 1:4.

# 54. TO HIS UNCLES LAMBERT AND FOLCERALD.

*Anselm assures his uncles of his love, asks them how they are, and warns them not to pursue worldly riches.*

TO THE REVEREND LORDS LAMBERT AND FOLCERALD, HIS MOST BELOVED UNCLES,[1] HIS MOST GENTLE FOSTER-FATHERS: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THAT THEY MAY DESPISE TEMPORAL GOODS FOR THE ETERNAL AND GAIN ETERNAL GOODS FOR THOSE OF THE WORLD.

ALTHOUGH AT THE DISPOSITION OF DIVINE WILL the space of place and time separates us, nevertheless, by the protection of divine grace no cause can or ever shall diminish in me my affection for your gentle persons. And since in any case it is certain that a similar affection towards me is similarly present in your hearts, I have no doubt at all that just as I always want to know everything about you, so you always want to know everything about me. But you will be able to learn and discover more about this through the bearer of this note than the brevity of this letter permits me to say.

But what longing my heart bears for you, may he from whom [it comes] and to whom [it reaches out] and to whom alone this desire is known so inform and convince you as he knows it to be best for you. Yet, if I may express something out of the abundance of my heart, I fear nothing more for you than that, loving the world and worldly things,[2] you should carry on in life sleeping till the end, and that when you do wake up after the end, you should find in the company of men of riches nothing or very little in your hands.[3]

*before 1078.*

NOTES

1. This letter seems to be later than *Ep* 22 which appears to have been Anselm's first letter after many years of silence. Both his uncles must have been very old at this time.
2. Cf. Mt 12:34, Lk 6:45.
3. Cf. Ps 75:6.

# 55. TO HIS COUSIN FOLCERALD.

*The dangers of the roads prevent Anselm from visiting his cousin Folcerald. The prior of Bec has informed him of his unsuccessful attempts to obtain permission for Folcerald to come to Bec. Anselm places his trust in the Lord that they will one day be united. The bearer of the letter will not risk taking a copy of Anselm's* Prayers *for fear of being robbed.*

TO FOLCERALD,[1] RELATED BY BLOOD AND DEAREST BROTHER IN CHRIST: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THAT HE MAY SO PROGRESS FROM VIRTUE TO VIRTUE THAT HE MAY SEE THE GOD OF GODS IN SION.[2]

I HAVE THOUGHT ABOUT COMING TO YOU myself and begging with as much humility as I can muster at the feet of your reverend abbot[3] that not only should he not so much sunder as hack apart, souls joined so closely together by the bonds of flesh and spirit—I mean you and me by the violent separation of our monastic lives. But the barbarity of knavish men in France rages in so cruel and unbridled a manner that I dare not put either myself or another monk or any knight into such a danger. For in truth, when he returned from taking you back, Dom Ralph[4] along with his entire household was captured in the archdiocese of Rheims after his horses had been stolen, even though he claimed to be traveling under the protection of the archbishop of Rheims. After being held for some time, they were finally released with scarcely one horse returned to them.

Moreover, even if I were able to travel to you without danger, both the King and our lord abbot, under whose

authority I live, are still unwilling to grant me permission to go; nor do I receive any help or advice from them to enable me to have you here. Nor, having already twice petitioned in vain with great zeal from so great a distance by such humble and amicable letters, do they consider it befitting their honor to repeat their demand a third time, perhaps again in vain. Therefore, desiring to be told everything about you, I have written this to you, dearly beloved, that you may know through whom you could send me news. At the same time you should know that I do not expect any help from anyone through whom I could procure your greatly longed-for presence. Wherefore let us in prayer await God's favor alone on our desire, according to his goodwill, and in the meantime let us obediently and patiently bear his disposition concerning us. For he will accomplish what we desire more quickly and more kindly if he perceives that we desire not what we, but what he, wills. For although you may find strong and satisfying consolation through the holy and paternal kindness of your abbot, something I discovered in him through you because you often used to praise him joyfully when I was present, yet I will not give up desiring what I desire for you.

As to the *Prayers*[5] which I had copied for you when you were with me: I do not know through whom I can send them to you, for the bearer of this letter does not dare take them to you for fear of having them stolen from him. He says that when I sent him to you the first time he was captured and robbed, and his clothes were torn apart in case something worth stealing might be found in them. I beg you, let me know by letter how things are with you. May the Lord *who guards Israel* preserve *you from all evil and may the Lord protect your soul.*[6]

*c. 1070-1078.*

NOTES

1. After visiting his cousin Anselm at Bec, Folcerald had had to return home; where that was is not known. Attempts to obtain his release so he could join Anselm at Bec proved in vain for a long time, but in the end they seem to have been successful (see *Ep* 209). Folcerald is possibly the hundred-thirty-eighth in the Bec profession-roll; see Rule I: 252.
2. Cf. Ps 83:8.
3. Abbot Henry, as we learn from *Ep* 110.
4. Ralph accompanied Folcerald home. On his journey back to Bec he was robbed. Ralph, seventieth in the Bec profession-roll, might have come from the Aosta region with Anselm.
5. For Anselm's Prayers and Meditations, see also *Epp* 28, 325.
6. Ps 120: 4, 7.

# 56. TO HIS COUSIN PETER

*Anselm rejoices greatly at the news of his cousin Peter's intention to come to Bec with a view to becoming a monk there. He encourages him in this plan and looks forward to enjoying his company.*

TO HIS DEAREST COUSIN PETER: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HE MAY VOLUNTARILY GIVE UP THOSE GOODS WHICH MUST IN ANY CASE BE GIVEN UP THAT HE MAY BE ABLE TO GAIN THOSE WHICH MAY BE RETAINED FOR EVER.[1]

I CANNOT TELL YOU, DEARLY BELOVED, how greatly my heart leapt with joy when I heard from our beloved brother and cousin, Dom Folcerald, that you have not only reached the age you have, but also that you have been and still are daily progressing in good and valuable studies. But much was added to this joy of mine when he told me you wanted to see me. For mindful of and reflecting on the great friendship which once existed between me and your grandfather and your father and mother, and of the immense affection which I had for you all the time you were a little boy, I still desire for you those things better than which I cannot [conceive]. And whenever I hear good things about you I rejoice until I cannot rejoice any more. Inflamed, therefore, by my desire for you in God, I beseech God that

he may allow us to lead the monastic life together in this life as long as we both shall live and be glorified together in the life to come.

Wherefore I exhort, I pray, I entreat you, my dearly beloved: believe that what Truth said is true and love what he promised to those who give up the world for his sake. Begin to prepare for so great a gain, hasten towards such a reward, that relinquishing the things of this world, you may receive *an hundredfold* and possess *eternal life*.[2] If God has inspired you to this, my dearest one, I pray that you will not hesitate at the hardship of the journey to come to your friend and cousin who is longing for you. For if we can live together, our mutual joy in each other's company will be so great that what now appears difficult will in the same measure be easy.

*c. 1070-1078.*

NOTES

1. This letter belongs to a literary genre very common in Anselm's collection, letters of conversion to the monastic life (see *Epp* 2, and 37, and Jean Leclercq, 'Lettres de vocation à la vie monastique', *Studia Anselmiana* 37, Analecta Monastica 3 [Rome, 1955] 169-198).
2. Mt 19:29.

# 57. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*Anselm expresses his filial love for Lanfranc but also grumbles about his lack of response.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, THE REVEREND ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC: BROTHER ANSELM, IN EVERYTHING TOTALLY HIS.

AS THE PROPHET ZECHARIAH REPEATS in almost every verse, in recommending the authority of his prophecy, *thus said the Lord;*[1] so, to make clear who is speaking to whom and in what frame of mind, it pleases me that the letters I send to your paternal highness so often bear at their head the inscription 'lord and father' and 'in everything totally his'. For I do not say that I know how to produce an exact likeness but I have engraved a cypress tree[2] on my mind so that whatever I propose in our opening greeting may appear expressed in the finished product. Since therefore, I so often write to you with this address, asking I complain, and complaining I inquire, why you never write back to me, but write to some 'lord and father' of yours, [whom] I do not know, identified by just his first initial. But if you write to your servant and son, why do you try to turn upside down, by relative opposition, what you cannot destroy by opposite negation?[3] Therefore I pray that whenever I receive a letter from your grace I may either see to whom you are writing or not see to whom you are not writing.

*c. 1075-1078.*

NOTES

1. Zech 1:3.
2. Anselm shows his classical background by quoting Horace, *Ars Poetica* ll. 19-21: '. . .et fortasse cupressum scis simulare'.
3. See *AOO* III:172.

# 58. TO PRIOR HENRY.

*Anselm thanks Prior Henry of Christ Church, Canterbury, for his gift of money but much more for his care and love for Maurice; the prior of Bec promises to return this care and love to Salvius and begs for Osbern's pardon.*

TO HIS REVEREND LORD AND FELLOW-BROTHER, DOM PRIOR HENRY[1]: BROTHER ANSELM SENDS GREETING.

I WRITE YOU MY GREAT THANKS for the gold you sent, but I hold even greater thanks in my heart for the goodwill you have maintained towards me. This I daily experience much more deeply and more dearly in my beloved, our common brother Maurice, than in thousands of pieces of gold or silver.[2] For I hear from those coming from him that you treat him with such great honor and love that it appears you love me, his loving friend, not a little.

I read the letter you sent to your dearest son, our brother Salvius. In it you so kindly expressed your love for him and bestowed so much more notice on me than I deserve that I turned my mind to the great supplication wisely hidden and secretly prudent therein—so much that I, whom you describe this way as kind to others, am willing to take him whom you so love into my care and affection. And let it come about because you wish it thus. Because I love him for God's sake and his own sake and because he avows that he is a friend of Dom Gundulf, may my love grow even greater because he is loved by Dom Prior Henry.

In that very letter I found a pardon for some fault granted with that same spontaneous kindness to your beloved and mine. Since your humble servant, our brother Osbern,[3] knowing that like him he sinned not through pride but through ignorance, does not feel he has been forgiven, I perceive that he is sorry for his fault and anxious for pardon. I pray, therefore, that what you praise in me you show in yourself together with me. Insofar as you suffer with me in your righteous heart over his affliction, forgive Osbern if he sinned against you in anything for the sake of your

kindness and our charity, just as you pardoned Salvius because of your goodness alone.

*c. 1076/77.*

NOTES

1. This is the first time Anselm addresses Henry as prior. Henry was made prior in 1074; see *Heads* 33.
2. Cf. Ps 118:72.
3. See *Ep* 39.

# 59. TO THE MONK GUNDULF.

*Anselm assures Gundulf that their mutual love can only be experienced in their hearts but not expressed in writing.*

BROTHER TO BROTHER, FRIEND TO FRIEND, BELOVED TO BELOVED, ANSELM TO GUNDULF: WISHING HIM IN THIS LIFE ENDURING AND DAILY INCREASING HOLINESS AND IN THE LIFE TO COME ETERNAL AND EVER-ABOUNDING BLISS.

HOWEVER MANY [LETTERS] ARRIVE from Dom Gundulf, they all say that Dom Gundulf wants a letter from me. I know full well that in it you expect to read about nothing but the mutual affection of our love. And indeed I am sure that you do not do this to rouse your love, lest it fall asleep, by a letter or to suggest to my love how to remain watchful. For just as you are sure of your affection for me, so you do not doubt mine for you. This is why you so eagerly demand something in writing from me: that formed in our inmost hearts you may see written on paper what we equally bear; and seeing it you may read it, and reading it you may, with me, rejoice.

But what if neither *eye has seen nor ear has heard* the affection loving hearts have laid up for those who love them, but it *has entered* only *into the human heart*?[1] Your experienced conscience is my witness that, except insofar as it is con-

ceived in the mind, this savor of affection is not perceived by anyone through either sight or hearing. Since therefore you know that the savor of love cannot be discerned either by the eyes or the ears but can be delightfully tasted only by the heart's mouth, in what words or by what letter can your love and mine be described? And yet you press me insistently to do what cannot be done. May our consciences, by which we are aware of how much we love each other, be [proof] enough for us. May almighty God so love and lovingly protect you that nothing be done by you or in you or to you unless it pleases him and is good for you.

*c. 1076.*

NOTES

1. Cf. 1 Cor 2:9.

# 60. TO THE MONK MAURICE.

*Anselm assures Maurice of their mutual brotherly love and rejoices at the prospect of his return to Bec. He tells him what to copy and how to do it and encourages him to continue living a holy life.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK, FRIEND, BROTHER, AND DEAREST SON, MAURICE: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THAT HE MAY SO PROGRESS FROM VIRTUE TO VIRTUE[1] THAT HE MAY CLEAVE TO THE VIRTUE OF VIRTUES.

HAVING THOROUGHLY READ your love's letter which you recently sent to your beloved, I rejoiced at the expression of your affection and was gladdened at the promise of your return. For just as I rejoice with you when you, who love me, reply to me with equal affection, so I desire always to enjoy the presence of my beloved friend. The reverend archbishop has not told me anything about your return, as you once mentioned in one of your letters might be the case, nor will Dom Abbot be displeased if you return, which in

that same missive you indicated you feared, and it will please me greatly, which—as I imagine—you have never doubted.

I shall be glad if you are able to copy the whole of the commentary to the *Aphorisms*[2] but if not, I admonish you not to leave out those words which are in Greek or uncommon. You are pondering how much time you should spend on the little book *De pulsibus*,[3] but I would prefer you spend whatever time there is in completing the *Aphorisms*. Knowledge of that [other] little volume is of no use except to those who delve into it most frequently and diligently. If you can copy anything else after the *Aphorisms* and this book, I shall accept it gratefully. About both these undertakings I admonish you that whatever you do the copy should deserve, by very diligent and careful execution, to be called perfect. For I would prefer part of an obscure and unusual work faithfully copied than the whole of it corrupted by mistakes.

Above all, I thank you as much as I can, because wherever you are you live in a way that honors me, also living among unknown and foreign people, for having nurtured such a disciple, although not I but the Holy Spirit has taught you. In any case, the more you have been tested and found worthy in dangerous company, the more you will be dear to God and God's friends. Farewell and take care lest by promising your return and not returning you disappoint your friend. Greet our beloved brother Dom Herluin.[4]

*c. 1076-1078.*

NOTES

1. Cf. Ps 83:8.
2. See *Ep* 43.
3. Possibly a work by Galenus, *De pulsibus libellus ad tirones*, ed. C. G. Kuehn, Vol. 8 (Leipzig, 1824) 453-492.
4. See *Epp* 5, 7, 8, 17, 43, 51, 69, 74.

# 61. TO FULK, ABBOT-ELECT.

*Anselm promises his humble prayers for Fulk, the abbot-elect of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives. He advises him to refuse the burden being placed on him to the point of risking the sin of disobedience, but if he cannot refuse any longer, to accept it, perceiving God's will in it.*

TO THE LORD AND REVEREND FATHER, HIS DEAREST FRIEND FULK[1]: BROTHER ANSELM WISHES THAT HE MAY BE SO ASSISTED BY DIVINE GRACE IN THIS LIFE THAT HE MAY DESERVE TO BE PLACED AMONG THE SAINTS IN THE LIFE TO COME.

YOUR HOLINESS, DEAR TO ME, forces me by your prayers to promise to bring about as well as I can what my humble service is always ready to do even without promising. For I know my prayers are reduced by such great worthlessness in God's sight that I am ashamed to offer them to anybody; and I have dedicated myself to you in such a way that I strive to pray for you daily to the best of my ability. Wherefore, both in the matter your love informed me about recently in your letter and in all things which concern you, you should know that my prayers—whatever they may be worth—will never fail you.

Although your prudence may indeed not need our advice, yet, because you command, let the present page show the matter briefly. We know, in fact, that it is safer for a man to flee such a burden as much as possible, fearing his weakness, than lightly to take it on his shoulders, trusting in his strength. But since it is written: *No one lives for himself, and no one dies for himself* but *whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's;*[2] thus we ought so to walk in the path of righteousness between the fear of our own weakness and obedience to the Lord's will that we are seen to disregard neither. First of all, therefore, commend yourself by pure affection of mind to divine Mercy, that he may arrange your life according to his good will. And then with a simple mind and humble effort, in whatever way you can—excepting only by sin—refuse to take on the burden.

And if you cannot decline it except by sin then submit obediently and bear it conscientiously. May almighty God allow nothing to be done by you or to you except what may please him and be good for you.[3]

*c. 1078.*

NOTES

1. Fulk, Prior of Saint Évroul, was appointed to govern the widowed church of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives and was consecrated abbot by Robert of Séez; *OV* II: 354. He was abbot there from c. 1078-92 and again from 1099-1106 with seven years of exile between 1092-99.
2. Rom 14:7.
3. Anselm's advice is a repetition of *Ep* 52; see also *Ep* 88.

# 62. TO ABBOT WALTER.

*Anselm beseeches Abbot Walter to return to the monastery he has abandoned.*

TO HIS LORD AND VENERABLE FATHER, ABBOT WALTER[1]: BROTHER ANSELM OF BEC, A SINNER IN THIS LIFE, BY PROFESSION A MONK, WISHING HIM HOLINESS IN THE PRESENT LIFE THAT HE MAY DESERVE BLISS IN THE LIFE TO COME.

SINCE IT IS WRITTEN: *Do everything with counsel, and you will not repent afterwards of having done it*[2] and elsewhere: *Since to rebel is like the sin of divination and to be unwilling to submit is like the iniquity of idolatry,*[3] we should take great care not to follow our own will excessively against all other advice, even if it appears to us to be right. For what appears right to a single person may not be right, since it is written: *The way of the fool is right in his own eyes.*[4] And *There are ways which seem right to men, but the end thereof descends to the depths of hell.*[5] Wherefore, lest judging our error to be right, according to the custom of fools, we follow the paths *whose end descends to the depths of hell,* a man should in no way commit himself to ordering his way of life according to his own unqualified judgement but should diligently weigh all

things, lest he oppose the judgement of many, particularly the wise, or oppose obedience or mercy or, finally, charity.

Hence it is extremely surprising that, against practically all advice, against the obedience laid on you by divine will through your archbishop and canonical election, against mercy and charity, your holiness and your prudence, by deserting them, exposed the forsaken sheep committed to your pastoral care to being torn apart by prowling wolves when, by your care, you could have led at least one of them to salvation. Give in therefore. Your charity must give in and, drawn by so many prayers, return to your monastery and mercifully resume the abandoned guardianship, so that by consoling and helping the desolate you may deserve the reward of divine consolation and assistance. For the malicious accusation which used to terrify you most has been so quenched by the abbot of Saint Arnulf through the common assent of his community and the brothers of your monastery that it cannot now hinder you in any way.

*Before 1078.*

NOTES

1. This Walter is either abbot of La Trinité-du-Mont at Rouen (see *OV* IV: 104) or the first abbot of Saint Martin of Pontoise in the diocese of Rouen (see *GC* XI: 253ff).
2. Si 32:24, RB 3:13.
3. 1 Kgs 15:23.
4. Prov 12:15.
5. Prov 14:12.

# 63. TO PRIOR HENRY.

*Anselm gives Prior Henry of Christ Church, Canterbury, advice in his difficulties. He urges him patiently to seek the lost favor of Archbishop Lanfranc and encourages him to counteract the jealousy of his persecutors by calmly living a virtuous life.*

TO HIS LORD AND DEAREST FATHER, DOM PRIOR HENRY: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HIM TOTAL PROSPERITY IN THIS LIFE AND ETERNAL BLISS IN THE LIFE TO COME.

IF I HAD LEARNED through your messenger with what infamy your charity was being slandered, with what pain and with what misery you were afflicted, and furthermore that you had asked for my advice and assistance, as you say, and if I had not made any reply, I confess that you would have been deservedly astonished and would have said I had acted as I should not have done. But your holiness must believe that I do not remember having heard this news about you. I heard from certain persons, who do not identify themselves as your messengers, that you were not on good terms with the lord archbishop.[1] But when I enquired into the reason for this, they, by evasive talk which indicated certain inconsistencies, expressed nothing certain. While I waited for more certain information about the matter, therefore, I heard that complete reconciliation between you had taken place. Yet as regards the wish you said you wanted to have permission for from the lord abbot and me, I once heard—I no longer know from whom—that I should be aware that my assistance was desired for it, but that a reply was not sought. But since I was absolutely certain that the lord abbot[2] would never allow this to take place I held, and still hold, that it is better to veil the matter in complete silence than to unveil it by words to no purpose. Yet, since you write that by God's mercy truth has been made clear, [and] untruth and its inventors confounded and obscured, you should know that I rejoice more truly over the steadfastness of truth, which I believe, than I grieved over the figment of untruth which I never believed.

Concerning jealous folk, however, whom you have endured till now as accusers and plotters, I tell you what you already know: that vice always envies virtue. If you want to be free of the persecution of jealousy, therefore, either find a place where you can hide concealed from wicked people, or renounce virtues. But you will do neither of these, because one is impossible and the other detestable. All that remains for you is, armed with the arms *of justice at the right and at the left*,[3] to pass over with the Apostle *through glory and dishonor, through disgrace and good reputation*; and whatever these folk plot, direct your thoughts never to them, but with a strong, calm mind to your own steps. For if your *eyes are always directed to the Lord He himself will save your feet from the snare*;[4] they, however, fall *into the pit which*[5] they made, and *the snare which* they have hidden *will catch them*[6] when unfettered truth stands out in glory—as it has already begun [to do] and confused untruth is ignominiously destroyed. Hence, in this matter you should be on your guard, as befits a perfect servant of God, lest, rejoicing in the enemies' confusion you censure them for it, by censuring you preach about it, by preaching you publicize it, by publicizing you augment it, and, you be judged in God's sight as taking delight in the punishment of the enemy. Rejoice, therefore, in your heart of hearts, becoming free in God's sight by giving him thanks; ignore their sin and its outcome by praying for them with a gentle mind.[7]

Yet since you give evidence of having been afflicted at the frequent agitation of the person you love above almost all men, I see no other advice except this, and it is the best: you need only the attainment of the virtue of patience, which you have already held onto manfully for a long time. In no way will you more effectively, or, as far as you are concerned, more honorably or more usefully, achieve peace of mind or placate him or overcome the hidden enemy who assails you with this very tribulation, and so receive the crown of victory. For *nobody* will be crowned *except* the one who *fights according to the rules*.[8] And one only fights accord-

ing to the rules who has persevered to his or his assailant's end. For it is written that *patience has a perfect work.*[9] And *in your patience you will possess your souls.*[10] If you are indeed embracing patience in your mind and struggling to refuse tribulation, be assured, in fact you know, that there is no patience except in tribulation. Rejoice in *tribulation,* therefore, *knowing that tribulation causes patience, and patience approval, and approval hope, and hope does not confound.*[11]

You say you cannot possibly be with us without the archbishop's full pardon. Here I reply to your prudence, however, that you cannot be happy anywhere if you do not have it, insofar as it is up to you. But if you do not scorn having it, yet cannot, it may be necessary for you to be elsewhere than with him. Nowhere can it be better for you—because nowhere righter—than with us. On no grounds would the lord abbot and your brothers allow it otherwise. Indeed the zealousness of your holiness is not so lightly estimated or so little loved that anyone who can justly hold on to you will freely or easily want to be without you. May Almighty God so protect and guide your life that you may overcome all assaults and adversities, and thereby receive the eternal crown. Pray for me.

*c. 1075-76.*

NOTES

1. Henry had trouble with Archbishop Lanfranc on more than one occasion; see *Ep* 73.
2. Abbot Herluin.
3. 2 Cor 6:7.
4. Ps 24:15.
5. Ps 7:16.
6. Ps 34:8.
7. There was friction between the prior and the community; see *Ep* 184 and Southern, *Anselm,* 269.
8. 1 Tm 2:5.
9. Jm 1:4.
10. Lk 21:19.
11. Rom 5:3-5.

# 64. TO THE MONK MAURICE.

*Since he disliked teaching grammar and had not been particularly good at it, Anselm encourages Maurice to study grammar diligently with the renowned expert Arnulf and to work through Virgil and other classical authors.*

TO HIS BELOVED BROTHER AND SON, MAURICE: BROTHER ANSELM.

I HAVE HEARD YOU ARE ATTENDING LECTURES given by Dom Arnulf.[1] If this is true, it pleases me, for I have always desired your progress, as you yourself know from experience, and at no time more than now. I have also heard that he is excellent in grammar, and you know that teaching the boys grammar has always been a burden to me, and I know that for this reason you made less progress in your knowledge of grammar than you should have. I exhort and pray you, therefore, and I order you as a dearly beloved son, to attend as many of his lectures as possible and endeavor very diligently to learn everything else you can. Do not be ashamed to apply yourself in this way to these things, as if you had just recently started on them, even though you think you do not need them. In this way what you do know you will grasp more firmly by listening to him; if you are mistaken about something you will correct it and by his teaching you will also learn what you do not know.

If he teaches you nothing, however, and this is because of your negligence, this will displease me. As far as possible, I wish you to strive as hard as you can and him to teach you chiefly about Virgil and other authors[2] on whom you were not lectured by me, except those in which something indecent is found. Now, if because of any hindrance you are unable to attend his lectures, try particularly to study very diligently the grammar of the books you have read, right from the beginning to the end, as I told you above, and work on as many as you can for as long as you can. Show this letter to this dearest friend of mine as well; in it, briefly and earnestly, I implore his love for you. I beseech him to show you how much I can rely on his true friend-

ship and point out that what he does for you he does for none other than my heart. For he and I have been sure of our mutual friendship for a long time; if only he deigns to remember what I never forget.

Greet him, as respectfully as you can, on my behalf, along with Dom Prior and my Dom Gundulf and our other fellow-monks and our brothers who are with you. Farewell, my dearest son, and do not despise the advice of him who loves you with paternal affection. Farewell.

*c. 1076.*

NOTES

1. Arnulf was a teacher of great distinction; see *Epp* 38, 74, and Southern, *Anselm*, 269f.
2. For the study of classical authors, see M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978) 44, 181; G. Evans, *Old Arts and New Theology* (Oxford, 1980) 57-137.

# 65. TO ABBOT WILLIAM.

*Anselm humbly assures Abbot William of Fécamp of their mutual fraternal love. As requested, he advises him on his behavior towards an excommunicated count, on married priests and on fallen priests who secretly confess and promise to live a virtuous life henceforth. Anselm supports his advice by quoting Calixtus I, Gregory I, and other fathers.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, REVEREND ABBOT WILLIAM:[1] BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING ENDURING PROSPERITY IN THIS LIFE AND IN THE LIFE TO COME ETERNAL BLISS.

AFTER YOUR HONOR DEIGNED to send me a note, I conceived such an affection for you that your memory is always dear to me. I have learned by experience that you are not undeserving, for I have perceived that your life was worthy of love and reverence and that your paternity is not without the affection of love towards my lowliness. The brothers coming from you have not only frequently edified me by

talking about your holiness but have also honored me with a greeting from your grace. Even though my entire self, whatever is in me, can match such merits only to the slightest degree, nevertheless I very much want to display as much of my love and reverence as I can. But committing these things to God that they may be preserved and increased in us, I shall now reply to the matters about which your prudence deigned to consult my lowliness, not with presumption but with obedience, not that this is perhaps adequate but as it appears to me.

Concerning that count of yours who, though excommunicated, joined you at the celebration of holy Mass: it seems to me that he should be humbly admonished lest, by despising the sentence of those about whom God declares that he is heard when they are heard and spurned when they are spurned,[2] that he binds when they bind and looses when they loosen,[3] he bring down on himself God's judgement, from which man can nowhere escape. How much better it would be for him to abstain through sincere humility from those things from which apostolic judgement separates him than to involve himself through the contempt of presumption in those things which are never profitable unless sought by humility and always harmful if usurped irregularly. Nor, indeed, since you want not to offend him, should he force you by his advantage or his very grave evil act seriously to enrage God and the authority of the apostolic see; for he will be no help to you in making peace with them. He will also more easily and kindly accept apostolic reasoning about him if he considers its sentence against him worthy of reverence. And if this same count should rebuff this admonition, know that God is more to be feared than man.[4] Wherefore, I think he must either act in accordance with the apostolic sentence already published against him or he must discuss it again himself with the pope or one of his representatives.

In the matter of the priests who by their reprehensible licentious behavior openly show themselves deserving of

God's condemnation, what apostolic providence decided with just ecclesiastical severity must be totally upheld. Certainly it is absolutely inappropriate that people reverently attend [Mass] where those reeking of open and shameful licentiousness and contempt for the prohibition of God and the saints, tenaciously serve at the holy altars. Indeed they do not serve, but pollute them by their very presence. No one should think that what they do is to be condemned; but those who do it are to be execrated.[5] They do not revere the presence of God and the angels, and rejected by the curse of men they do not desist from contaminating holy things. Nor is it ever right and proper for those who have through uncleanness made themselves outcasts from the service of the altar to be partners with those who do serve the altar.

Moreover, it should never be claimed that those in holy orders who have lapsed, but have, in spontaneous humility, secretly made their confessions to those to whom they should, can no longer perform what pertains to their orders if, having appeased God by the offering of a contrite disposition and a repentant and humble heart, they are earnestly striving for the perfection of virtue. For nobody is disqualified for office before God because of a sin which he has already forgiven; nor is the dignity of holy orders sullied before men because of some person whose sin they are not aware of. And for both these reasons a sin of the flesh prohibits a man from taking or going back to holy orders. But since it is nearly always hidden just *whose iniquities* have been *forgiven* and *whose sins* are *covered over,* but very slight, it is always safer, being mindful of one's guilt, to abstain through praiseworthy humility from those things which require a person pleasing to God than to presume through a culpable [sense of] security. For the one can always occur without God's disapproval, but the other should not happen unless God approves.

Anyone who wants, for no other reason than that it is supported by canonical authorities, to give his consent to

the decision which allows a man to return to the office of holy orders after having lapsed, should read the letter of blessed Pope Calixtus directed to all the bishops established in Gaul, and that of blessed Gregory[6] to the hermit Secundinus; in them they both confirm this decision so firmly with nearly the same reasons and authorities that approval of anyone else is on no account required. But that same blessed Gregory earnestly forbids this very same thing in certain of his other letters: lest he seem to be contradicting himself, it is understood that in the case of public sins he forbids it, but in the case of hidden sins he permits it after suitable repentance. What is not adjudged sin by God should not be considered such by men. He does not reprove or reproach, as I have already said; but indeed, for someone in such a situation it is safer to feel fear before God than to feel secure.

That a reluctant person who freely and secretly discloses a secret sin in humble confession be prohibited [from serving], I esteem least of all, for fear the path of salutary confession be blocked for many who, out of certainty or suspicion of some sin, choose to keep sins totally hidden until death rather than be encouraged by this opportunity [to confess]. Nor is it considered a sin if the person to whom confession is made does not compel the penitent unwillingly to give up the discharge of his order: but someone who does force him would appear guilty of an even greater offense, because he causes the penitent to repent of his confession and many others who have not yet confessed to dread confession. It is clear enough that for a sinner to approach the altar with a humble spirit in the hope of mercy and the ardor of an accomplished confession is a lesser evil than is intruding on it with a hatred of confession, a despairing of pardon, and a heart hardened by desire or even evil deeds. Therefore, the one to whom confession is made is in no way to be considered to share a lesser fault by permitting this, not in consenting to evil but by prudently taking greater precautions. Yet he may appear to be the author

of an even greater sin, to which he drives many, even without wanting to, because he unreasonably fears the lesser rather than the greater sin. It is evident that those who decide they have trampled down proud shame by humble contrition freely agree to put an end to their misdemeanors: for them it is much safer that they be permitted or even commanded to serve rather than those who avoid deciding justly between God and themselves out of human shame. As we have said before, let the person to whom they confess prohibit the unwilling, because they are much more dangerous, instead of those who are willing.

And although it is necessary for both groups to abstain [from serving] for a time, I think that those who do not give up freely should be relieved of what they do not carry out well; but those who hold back of their own accord should be recalled to the duties to which they do not, appropriately, presume. Among the former, if they are recalled, presumption is cloaked by a mantle of obedience, whereas among the latter, humility is assisted by the firmness of obedience. This recall is not to be exercised without distinction but at the careful discretion of the superior who receives the confession. For it often happens that a man may overcome human shame, not by his enormous horror of sin but by the strength of humility. Yet through the darkness of folly and the obduracy of shamelessness he may not feel the foulness and the same of his evil deed and may not seek his office through negligence. Someone like this is never to be called or recalled to sacred office. But when humility makes supplication for the penitent, contrition prompts and a change of life intercedes for him, then certainly, if a superior summons him to the exercise of his office not so much for any merits of his but rather comforting him by God's great mercy and abundance of his pity, I think that he may be seen to be acting not so much rashly as prudently. Often in such a case feebleness may be forestalled, the suspicion of contempt excluded, goodwill shown, and compassion displayed. In this way those who are like this may be more

kindly and effectively spurred towards perfection and more closely bound to their good intention.

I could have inserted more of the Fathers' writings,[7] but as the shortness of this letter, which already shouts that it has gone on too long, does not agree to this, I have candidly explained, out of what you asked, what I feel your paternity commanded. May almighty God so guide you in the rightness of truth, both in these matters and in all you have to do, that he may himself reward you for these things. If I were now in your presence and in the presence of your holy community about which I hear much good from many people unanimously, I would prostrate my whole body with a humble spirit and beg you in brotherly charity to let me share perpetually in the good deeds God occasions in your monastery. But since I cannot do this, I do not presume on my merits but beg of your holiness that, not by humiliation of body but by generosity of spirit, you ask this for me from your sons and with them grant it to me. Farewell.

*Spring/summer 1078.*

NOTES

1. William of Malmesbury identifies William as *abbas Fiscannensis* in Lambeth Palace MS 224, *Ep* 31. William de Rots was clerk, cantor, dean, and archdeacon of the church of Bayeux before he became a monk at Caen in 1077 'and before he had completed a full year as a monk he was translated to Fécamp as abbot' where he succeeded Abbot John in 1078, and 'held office for about 27 years'; see *OV* II: 151, 293.
2. Cf. Lk 10:16.
3. Cf. Mt 16:19.
4. Cf. Acts 4:19.
5. Anselm upholds the validity of the Sacrament regardless of the unworthiness of the celebrant. For Anselm's views on celibacy, see also *Ep* 254.
6. See *AOO* III: 183.
7. Anselm's interest in and knowledge of canon law was not great; see Southern, *Anselm*, 124f.

# 66. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*Anselm praises the monks Lanfranc, the Archbishop's nephew, and Osbern, for the progress they have made in their monastic vows and warmly recommends that the latter be kindly received on his return to Canterbury from Bec. Anselm also sends copies of the Epistles of Saint Paul.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC, TO BE ESTEEMED BY THE RESPECT OF REVERENCE AND THE AFFECTION OF LOVE OF MOTHER CHURCH[1]: BROTHER ANSELM SENDS HIS WHOLE SELF.

ALTHOUGH YOUR PATERNAL HOLINESS receives a letter of my humility more rarely than you should, my heart nevertheless retains unblemished, written upon itself and not elsewhere, the fidelity it owes you. About my most beloved, your nephew,[2] your messenger, who saw how matters stand with him and heard about them from him can tell you more than my letter can tell if you question him about them. With regard to myself, however, he has so attached himself to me, not only for your sake but even more for his own, not against my will—not to mention the debt of fraternal charity—that in nothing I could do to his advantage would I want to withdraw myself from him.

Dom Osbern,[3] whom your authority ordered to be sent back to you, has, I admit, attached himself to my soul with the attachment of such affection that my heart could not endure separation from him without considerable rending. My conscience, more than my pen, is witness of this, that he has lived among us in such a way that among all who sincerely love the intention of good will he deserves the affection of charity rather than the harshness of anyone's severity. Wherefore, although your holy goodwill, always in the habit of helping good men, needs no reminder, yet my love, supported by the merits of the aforenamed brother compels me to beg with all my strength—not only because he deserves it but also because your faithful servant desires

it and, desiring, demands it—that receiving him kindly you will treat him kindly unless you perceive that his way of life has earned him something else. Furthermore, since I dare not tell you to send him back to us sometime, I think I can freely say this: that as long as I live I should never wish to be separated from him.

We are sending you the Epistles of blessed Paul,[4] gladly obeying your command. But since there is in that volume some of your work which we have not got anywhere else, you can perceive easily enough what we would like you to have copied for us at some time or another. A certain knight brought us a hundred twenty shillings; twenty of them are being spent as you ordered.

*c. 1076.*

NOTES

1. See *Epp* 25, 32, 39.
2. For young Lanfranc see *Epp* 25, 30, 31.
3. See *Ep* 39.
4. For Archbishop Lanfranc's commentaries on the Epistles of Saint Paul, see *PL* 150, 101ff; H.H. Glunz, *History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon* (Cambridge, 1933) 155-196 and 200-205; M. Gibson, 'Lanfranc's Commentary on the Pauline Epistles', *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. 12 (1971) 86-112; M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978) 50-61.

# 67. TO PRIOR HENRY.

*Anselm praises Osbern for having completely given up the perversity of his former life and for having persevered in his monastic vow. He urgently beseeches Prior Henry to receive and treat him kindly on his return to Canterbury so that the fragile flower of a virtuous life may not be crushed by severity.*

TO HIS LORD AND DEAREST FRIEND, THE REVEREND PRIOR HENRY: BROTHER ANSELM WISHING THAT HE MAY SOW HOLINESS ON EARTH AND REAP BLISS IN HEAVEN.

MY BELOVED, YOUR DOM OSBERN,[1] who is being brought to you,[2] so freely accuses and curses the perversity of his former life and—as far as I could tell openly and secretly from the life he shared with us—is so inflamed by the love of a praiseworthy life that his inner man may be thought, not without cause, either to have changed for the better already or surely to be about to change easily.

It is certainly known to your prudence that a display of kindness is never so necessary as in the case of a new, fresh conversion from sullied to unsullied behavior, lest the good beginnings, which can be nourished and guided towards perfection by the warmth of goodwill be hindered or surely crushed by the harshness of severity. Therefore I beseech your beloved holiness, that, as befits the discretion of your governance and is expedient for the aforenamed brother, having blotted out the memory of his previous perversities you nourish the infancy of his resolutions towards improvement with the milk of pure affection, lest—which I do not expect—he perhaps offend, not by weakness, but by falling back of his own free will into his former wickedness. You can in no way more appropriately prove to him that love lay hidden under the severity he felt in his error than if now it is made clear in correcting his error. Accordingly, it appears to me that no one should be prodded on to the path of a righteous life unless he cannot be drawn to it. I pray, too, or rather I demand, on the basis of the obligation which friends owe to each other, that, just as I wish

to love all those loved by your fraternity, dear to me, so Dom Osbern, having gained my love, may greatly rejoice that yours for him has also grown. Farewell.

*c. 1076.*

NOTES

1. See *Epp* 39, 149, 152, 182.
2. Having been sent to Bec for disciplinary reasons by Archbishop Lanfranc about 1073/74 he returned after about two years; see Southern, *Anselm*, 248-253.

# 68. TO THE MONK GUNDULF.

*Anselm apologizes for his long silence, thanks Gundulf for his gift and even more for their mutual, fraternal love, undiminished by their separation. He passes on the thanks of Lord Hugh and Lady Basilia of Gournay.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK, HIS BROTHER AND HIS DEAREST FRIEND, DOM GUNDULF: BROTHER ANSELM SENDS HIS WHOLE SELF.

AS YOU ARE UNABLE TO BESTIR my laziness by entreaties that I send you a letter of greeting, you have changed to a different method and jolt me by your gifts to send you at least a letter of thanks. And although flattery does not avail to lure me to write, at least shame should be able to urge me to give thanks. Therefore I do give thanks to your love, which is dear to my heart, not so much because your gifts are precious to me but because more precious by far is charity, by which your gifts are given and seasoned, and [these gifts] savor of it. Your charity is, in fact, more precious to me than anything you can give me, still more so because you can dispatch what you give from afar but you cannot dismiss your charity. The one can cross the sea without you, but the other cannot leave your heart. Certainly, whether you give me this or give me nothing, I know that this charity always burns in you. To this charity, whether I speak or

am silent, you should always know that my heart answers with like affection.

Lord Hugh and Lady Basilia,[1] his wife, give you great thanks for the kindness you have shown, for the gifts you have sent, for the prayers you have offered for them and those you promised them. I myself presented your gifts to them, read your letter and related your words. All of this they received most gratefully and joyfully.

*c. 1075/76.*

NOTES

1. Hugh of Gournay, a trusted counsellor of William the Conqueror (see *OV* III: 110) was the second husband of Basilia, and both appear to have been benefactors of Bec. After her husband's death, Basilia lived near the monastery; see also *Ep* 147; Rule I: 238.

# 69. TO THE MONK MAURICE.

*Despite their long silence and separation Anselm assures Maurice of their fervent mutual love and rejoices that Maurice is loved by everybody.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK AND DEAREST BROTHER AND SON, MAURICE: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THAT HE MAY *INCREASE IN WISDOM AND GRACE IN THE SIGHT OF GOD AND MEN.*[1]

IT HAS BEEN A LONG TIME since we visited each other by our letters, although we have had no doubt about the stability of our mutual affection and although we have greeted each other by the words of messengers when it was convenient. But lest perchance this love appear to grow cold for some reason, I think it helpful that it sometimes be seen to glow in letters, like sparks darting forth from one to another. Since I, whom you desire, cannot have you, whom I long for, with me, yet on this account I love you not less but more. And as I see that greater and better people than I so love you that they are unwilling to send you away,[2]

I realize that I should love you even more. This is why I am almost uncertain as to whether I should rejoice more because you make yourself so lovable or grieve more because I cannot enjoy so amiable a friend.

But although I know for sure that I should love you not so much for my sake as for yours, looking at the matter impartially, I ought clearly to be congratulated more for the presence of a good character, which is your lot, than saddened by the absence of your person, which is mine. Finally, I have always wanted you to be lovable to God and to good men, and for my part I have always striven that while you were with me you should be my confidant. Nor has this desire cooled down at all just because this endeavor could not be practised any more after you were no longer with me. Indeed, you cannot be everywhere where you are loved, but you can be loved and be good wherever you may be. That you may be in the place and the sort of person God wishes you to be and is best for you, therefore—this I desire because our mutual love demands it for our mutual salvation—may God hear my prayer. And since now, wherever you are, he has made you lovable to good people, blessed be the Lord.

Greet our beloved brothers and friends: Dom Herluin[3] and Dom Wido,[4] Dom Elmer[5] and Dom Hulward,[6] the cousin of Dom Osbern.[7]

*c. 1076.*

NOTES

1. Lk 2:52.
2. Archbishop Lanfranc has obviously not granted Maurice's return to Bec; see *Ep* 60.
3. On Herluin, see *Epp* 5, 7, 8, 17, 43, 51, 60 and 74.
4. On Wido/Guido, see *Epp* 31, 39, 75.
5. On Elmer, possibly Prior Elmer, 1128-1137, see *Heads*, 33; Southern, *Anselm*, 202f, 271; J. Leclercq, 'Ecrits sprituels d'Elmar de Cantorbéry,' *Studia Anselmiana* 31 (Analecta Monastica 2: Rome 1953) 45-117.
6. On Hulward/Holvard, see *Epp* 33, 74.
7. As Anselm does not greet Osbern it appears that Osbern carried this letter to Canterbury along with *Epp* 66, 67 and 68.

# 70. FROM DURAND, ABBOT OF LA CHAISE-DIEU

*Abbot Durand of La Chaise-Dieu praises Anselm's meditation, begs for his intercession and asks for fellowship between their communities. In pledge of this union he asks for the Epistles of Saint Paul and offers an equal manuscript in return.*

DURAND, BY THE GRACE OF GOD ALONE ABBOT OF LA CHAISE-DIEU[1]: TO DOM ANSELM, THE VENERABLE PRIOR OF BEC, ETERNAL GREETINGS.

TWO MEN FROM BAYEUX, steeped in learning, young men displaying excellent behavior in every way—the younger of them is Roger by name and the other is William[2]—these two, and many more besides, but most of all these, have poured into our ears the oil and sweetness of both your name and religious observance.

And now: *My life terrifies me, for when I carefully examine it*[3] with what follows in this work and in the others besides this where you uttered and wrote very conscientiously about your contrite spirit and about the devotion of your contrite heart: these works show us your devoted tears when we read them and bring forth ours so that we marvel at both, namely, that the dew of such blessing overflows in your heart and that, without a murmur, a stream runs down from there into our heart. For indeed it is so. The devotion of your written prayer arouses in us the devotion of slumbering compunction to such an extent that we rejoice with you, as if by a leap of the mind, by loving those things in you, or rather you in them, and more than them and through them we love God and you. Intercede therefore—because you can intercede—for us who intercede for you, as much as we can, and send us other prayers you have written, if you have any we have not got; for they are known to us and requested by the love which continues to exist between us.

We ask, moreover, for a share in the fellowship of the members of your community and we send you a legation

charged to act for us in this matter so you can confidently ask about this and grant what is asked through the abundance of your charity. They are prepared to give a pledge of our love and we ask for a pledge in return. Choose what we can give you; we choose Paul's Epistles[4] from you. In this matter we intend no trickery, as if ready to receive first and not prepared first to give: for that is the furthest thing from the sacrament of love which is God. But burning with charity, we do not foresee how to make our request but we are prepared not to refuse what is appropriately asked of us by any member of this holy profession.

May these two brothers, inflamed with longing for you, have your help in all things, therefore, because the will of all in all things depends on you.

*c. 1075/76.*

NOTES

1. Durand became abbot of La Chaise-Dieu in 1073 and was elected Bishop of Clermont in 1077. He died in 1095.
2. See *Ep* 21.
3. Meditation I. 1.1, AOO III: 76; see B. Ward, *Prayers and Meditations* 221.
4. Durand may be referring to Lanfranc's *Commentary on the Epistles of Saint Paul*; see *Ep* 66.

# 71. TO DURAND, ABBOT OF CHAISE-DIEU.

*Anselm protests at being unworthy of Abbot Durand's love and asks for his prayers. He offers his own prayers, and asks to be counted among the community of La Chaise-Dieu. Durand's suggestion has been discussed and the bearers of the letter will inform him of this.*

TO THE LORD AND FATHER DURAND, ABBOT OF THE MONASTERY CALLED LA CHAISE-DIEU[1], DESERVEDLY TO BE REVERED WITH LOVE FOR HIS HOLINESS AND TO BE LOVED WITH REVERENCE: BROTHER ANSELM OF BEC, A SINNER IN THIS LIFE, A MONK BY PROFESSION: WISHING THAT HE MAY SO PERSEVERE IN THIS LIFE IN THE PERFECTION OF SANCTITY THAT HE MAY REJOICE IN ABUNDANT BLISS IN THE LIFE TO COME.

ON RECEIVING THE LETTER of your paternity, great joy flooded my heart; but on reviewing my life, this joy not only ebbed away almost entirely from my heart, but over and above this a genuine sadness profoundly flooded my spirit. When I realized that your holiness has such affection for me, an unknown, worthless creature, as to deign to visit and greet me with your letter from so great a distance, it seemed that my humility ought justly to rejoice at this. But when I consider that I am loved by you for no reason but because you esteem me to be something when I am nothing, then I perceive that you do not love a person vile and contemptible before God and men—which I am—but a man energetic and of some virtue—which I am not at all. Wherefore, fearing not only that your love may profit me nothing, or only a little, because I am not the sort of person whom you love, but also that my lukewarmness, which you do not recognize in me, may hinder me considerably, I pray, I beseech you not to think of me or love me as if I had already made some progress in the spiritual life, but love me that I can make some, and in loving me pray that I may become [this person]. For thus your estimation of me will be true, your love towards me true and my exultation over your love for me free of anxiety.

I beg your reverend paternity, then, with as much humility as I can: by your holy prayers cause whatever I have been guilty of up to now to be taken away from me, whatever I have not yet profitably done to be granted me, and whatever you have mercifully given your indigent neighbor to be repaid to you. Indeed I dare not promise your reverend blessedness our prayers because they are worthless, yet I ought not to refuse them after you have deigned to request them. Wherefore, if these [prayers] are of any use now or become so in the future thanks to the pleading of your merits, then in true charity they should be [useful] to you and to the holy men of your monastery who are now entrusted to you by divine providence, or shall be in the future. And although what I grant you from me may be of very little or no use, yet I presume to demand something very great from you. My spirit prostrates itself in the presence of your reverend paternity and in the presence of all the brothers of your holy community, therefore, begging with humble supplication that you permit me to be your servant, a brother of your monastery, like one of you for ever, and that you have my name inscribed last where your names are written.

Indeed, about the matters which have been carried out according to your orders, and those which have been requested, our reverend fellow-monks and brothers, your sons, who have come to us, will be better able to tell you by word of mouth than we can do in writing. May almighty God grant you to live such a life in La Chaise-Dieu in this world, my lord father and your fellow-monks, our brothers in Christ, that you may praise God for ever and ever among the saints who live in the house of God.[2] Amen.

*c. 1075/76.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 70.
2. Anselm puns on *casa Dei* and *domus Dei*.

# 72. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*Anselm sends his teacher, Archbishop Lanfranc, his first philosophical-theological work (later called the* Monologion*) for approval, and asks him to suggest a title. The book is to be given to Maurice, who was one of those who urged Anselm to write the work. If Lanfranc disapproves of the work, his copy as well as Anselm's copy at Bec, are to be destroyed.*

THE SERVANT TO HIS LORD, THE SON TO HIS FATHER, REVEREND ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC: BROTHER ANSELM.

HAD THE OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED ITSELF I would myself gladly have read aloud, for your examination, in your presence, the little work which I am now sending to your paternity for criticism.[1] But since at the moment this cannot be, I would like earnestly to request that your paternal prudence, dear to me, not disdain listening[2] to it and deciding what should be done about it even though it is read by someone else, if I did not fear being unnecessarily burdensome to your honor, who is, I do not doubt, continually engaged in numerous and weighty deliberations on more important matters. Wherefore, since I want nothing to please me in a way that displeases you, just as it rests entirely with your experience to judge how much you will allow of what I say I greatly desire, so it is up to you to decide whether it pleases you. However, I will not cease demanding this of your authority, even with importunity: that your authority decide what is to be done about this little work, whether heard or unheard.

I have not, however, suggested any title for it since I consider it of so little importance that I do not think it deserves a name of its own. If therefore it suits your judgement that what I have written, I have written,[3] then, from him, from whom it receives confirmation, let it receive a name. And let it be given by you to your servant, my beloved brother and fellow-servant, Dom Maurice,[4] who is one of those at whose insistence it was mostly written. If, however, your

examination should decide otherwise, the copy I am sending you should not be returned either to me or to the aforementioned brother, but have it disposed of by one of the elements, either buried or sunk or burnt or somehow scattered abroad.[5] So whatever your judgement decides, I beseech you to let me know somehow what you have ordered done, so the copy I have kept may receive the same fate as the one I sent you.

As to my most beloved, your nephew,[6] I pray with heart and tongue and letter as hard as I can that when you perceive that he has regained his normal health, you should let his lovable company be lacking to me no longer. For indeed I must tell you this: while he was here he showed such qualities to me and to all our brothers who love good behavior that we are forced to long for him while he is away, if only he can be sent back without any inconvenience to himself—which we in no way wish.

*end of 1076.*

## NOTES

1. The *opusculum*—Anselm's way of using a topos of humility (cf. *Epp* 74, 77, 83)—was the *Monologion;* it seems to have been completed during the second half of 1076, see *AOO* 56*. Its genesis is described in the letter of dedication, in this letter and in *Epp* 74 and 77. Lanfranc did not give a very favorable judgement nor did he suggest a title for the work. Anselm called it *Exemplum meditandi de ratione fidei;* see AOO 70*. At the request of Archbishop Hugh of Lyon he changed it to *Monoloquium de ratione fidei,* see *Ep* 100 about 1083/84. Soon after, by deleting *de ratione fidei,* he gave it the final title *Monologion;* see *Ep* 109; also *VA* 29; Preface of *Proslogion, AOO* I: 93, 94; J. Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St Anselm* (Minneapolis, 1972) 10, 11.
2. Was Lanfranc's eyesight failing, or is it merely that solitary reading was a rare practice in medieval life?
3. Cf. Jn 19:22.
4. See *Ep* 34.
5. Cf. 2 Th 2:7.
6. Lanfranc, the Archbishop's nephew, had been sent to Canterbury to be treated by Albert the physician; see *Ep* 39.

# 73. TO PRIOR HENRY.

*Anselm thanks Prior Henry of Christ Church, Canterbury, for gifts he had sent to his old monastery. On behalf of Abbot Herluin Anselm gives Henry advice on obedience and patience in his troubles with Archbishop Lanfranc.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK AND DEAREST BROTHER, DOM PRIOR HENRY: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HE MAY DESERVE, THROUGH A LONG-LASTING GOOD LIFE, A BLESSED LIFE IN ETERNITY.

DOM ABBOT[1] AND THE COMMUNITY of our brothers received with joy, praised and loved the gifts of your charity, but certainly [they cherished] much more that very charity which is never unwilling to do whatever it can but ever willing to do whatever it can. Dom Abbot also gratefully accepted, and my humble self gratefully read and heard, that your prudence asked his advice as a father and mine as a brother, and that you promised to act according to it in all things. Thus it becomes the wise man to make use of wise counsel. Indeed it is wise counsel, as you know, that one takes care to do everything with counsel.[2]

Since, therefore, the whole matter on which you consult us concerns advice in obedience and patience, and it is written that God prefers obedience to sacrifice,[3] and that patience has its perfect work[4] you seek and receive advice nowhere more rightly than from someone to whom you owe obedience, and you serve no one more perfectly than when you hold firmly to patience. Dom Abbot therefore advises this, begs this, and, that your exertions find satisfaction not merely in consulting and asking—which is to be praised—but also obey on being commanded—which is to be crowned with glory—he commands this, and I, your brother and loving friend, advise and urge this: that the basis of your whole life should rest on these two pillars, namely, obedience and patience.

And indeed, as to patience, your love knows well that it is absolutely essential not only when someone deserves to be punished, but even when someone innocent is

crushed it should be freely displayed. In the former case impatience is to be cursed, lest the guilty be more miserably damned; but in the latter case patience is to be preserved, so that the innocent may more happily be crowned. As to obedience however, Dom Abbot orders this—which I think you should not question—: that whenever you obey the reverend lord, our father Archbishop Lanfranc,[5] the abbot will accept it as if he himself were being obeyed; indeed even more gratefully than if you obey him because he wants you to obey Lanfranc through him; and he will consider this obedience of yours greater the more you not only obey him for his own sake, but also obey Lanfranc because of him. However, if we consider ourselves and him whom we invite you to obey, we can, without doubt, find many reasons in ourselves and in him why we should freely and diligently obey him.[6] Farewell.

*c. end of 1076.*

NOTES

1. Herluin, first abbot of Bec, to whom Henry had professed in 1061/62.
2. Cf. Si 32:24; RB 3:13.
3. 1 Sam 15:22, Si 4:17.
4. Jm 1:4.
5. See also *Ep* 63.
6. This letter was probably sent with *Epp* 72, 74, and 75.

# 74. TO THE MONK MAURICE.

*Anselm assures Maurice of their mutual fraternal love despite their separation, which is to be borne in obedience to their superiors. He rejoices at the prospect of Maurice's return to Bec. Anselm informs him that he is sending Archbishop Lanfranc the* Monologion *and instructs him to beg the archbishop to decide the fate of his work. Finally he extends greetings to friends at Canterbury.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK, BROTHER AND DEAREST SON MAURICE: BROTHER ANSELM OFFERS HIM THE REVERENCE OF A SERVANT, THE AFFECTION OF A BROTHER AND THE LOVING CARE OF A FATHER.

I ALWAYS LONG FOR YOU, most beloved son, and I do not doubt you always long for me. But since neither of us is his own, nor are we bound to one another save through the affection of charity, I advise and exhort you that as long as those whom divine providence has set over us order us to be separated, we should in no way seek to hasten the opportunity of being able to dwell together against their will. And if they did kindly consent to our desire we should brook no delay. Wherefore with regard to what we heard through Dom Robert,[1] that our lord archbishop has promised to send your beloved person back to us in the near future: if he does graciously favor your wish, Dom Abbot will not be at all displeased and I shall be very gratified.[2] If, however, he is not favorably disposed to your supplication but permits you to be taken away only under pressure, it will not please either Dom Abbot or me to have you return in such a way.

The work[3] which I wrote at your request and that of certain other brothers, and which you asked to have sent to you, I am sending by Dom Robert to our lord and father, the archbishop, to examine. And I am asking him by letter to give the copy he received back to you, if he does not order it to be destroyed. Ask him, therefore, to give directions about what is to be done with this work before you return, if you are going to return soon, so you may either bring his approval of it or inform me of its destruction. But if, after having received it, you delay in returning, send me that copy as quickly as you can through a trusty messenger, so

that, if the same lord our archbishop has corrected anything in it, the copy I have kept here should also be corrected according to it, and I shall then speedily return one of the two to you. If, however, this same little work so received a judgement of approval as not to be considered in need of any correction, keep that copy as long as you wish; in any case, whether this way or otherwise, whatever our lord archbishop may decide in this matter, or whatever title he orders to be given to it, let me know by letter as quickly as you can.[4]

Greet our beloved brother Dom Herluin,[5] and encourage him in my place not to waver in any way from the good beginnings I have perceived in him for the love of transitory pleasures; but he should so make haste from today towards the last day that he may daily progress in despising the things of this world and loving those of eternity. Greet Dom Arnulf of Beauvais,[6] Dom Hulvard[7] the Englishman, my cousin Dom Osbern,[8] and Dom Vitalis and Dom Roger[9] and brother Samuel[10] of Caen. Farewell, and always advance in the Lord, dearly beloved.

*c. end of 1076.*

NOTES

1. The monk Robert of Bec seems to have been a frequent messenger between Bec and Canterbury, see *Epp* 7, 14, 30.
2. Yet another reference to Maurice's hoped-for return to Bec; see *Epp* 60, 69.
3. *Monologion*; see *Ep* 72.
4. See *Ep* 72.
5. See *Ep* 5.
6. See *Ep* 38.
7. See *Epp* 33, 69.
8. See *Ep* 39.
9. For Vitalis and Roger see Rule I: 191f. Both came to Bec and made profession to Abbot Herluin shortly before his death on 26 August 1078; they are one hundred twenty-ninth and one hundred thirty-second in the Bec profession-roll.
10. Samuel of Caen has not yet been identified.

# 75. TO THE MONK LANFRANC.

*Anselm hopes that young Lanfranc will regain his health but is sad about his long absence. He assures him of his fraternal love and implores him to return despite his blood relationship with Archbishop Lanfranc. Anselm greets Wido and encourages him to persevere on the path of virtue.*

TO LANFRANC[1], HIS MOST BELOVED FRIEND AND SOMEONE WHO LOVES HIM VERY FAITHFULLY: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HIM PERFECT HEALTH OF BODY AND SOUL.

AS OFTEN AS I RECALL your love, dear to me, I am indeed wearied by the long delay in your return. Although until now the hope of your return to health has greatly consoled the distress of my heart over your absence, I cannot now but be sad, however, that your full health is being so long withheld from you and your amiable presence from me. And what is commonly said, 'out of sight, out of mind', is not true. Not, I assure you, that the longer your kind gentleness is absent from me in time or place the more my love for you cools down; rather, the less I can enjoy your presence as I wish the more this longing for you increases in the mind of your true friend. Wherefore, although you are with someone of whom I neither dare say that I love you as much as he does, nor should demand that you love me as much as you love him, nevertheless I presume to beg that as soon as you can, with his kind permission and without any inconvenience to yourself, you rejoice me, your friend, by your return.

I greet my dearest fellow-monk and brother, Dom Wido,[2] who is with you. In truth—if I may frankly disclose the sentiment of my heart—in love I incessantly desire him with me and in obedience I patiently bear his absence. As a loving friend to a dear friend I admonish and entreat that, in the midst of his other activities,he earnestly examine his life and daily progress in the good things which I hear about him from all who come from there; and if any traces of the

old man still remain in him he should abandon them unremittingly. Farewell to you both!

*c. end of 1076.*

NOTES

1. Young Lanfranc had been sent to Canterbury because of his ill-health, see *Epp* 39, 72.
2. See *Epp* 31, 39, 69, and also Rule I: 191.

# 76. TO ROGER.

*Anselm urges Roger to come to Bec as he had planned.*

TO HIS BELOVED IN CHRIST, LONGED FOR, HOPED FOR, AND LONG-AWAITED, ROGER[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, HIS LOVING FRIEND, WISHING THAT HE MAY PRUDENTLY CHOOSE, PERSISTENTLY HOLD, AND SUCCESSFULLY ACCOMPLISH WHAT IS MORE PLEASING TO GOD AND BETTER FOR HIM.

WHAT HAS BEEN COMMITTED to the decision of God alone I dare not deliberate by my own free choice. Yet I am permitted to express my wish. Certainly your delay irks me and in fact this long drawn-out waiting for you torments me. Indeed, my heart cannot and will not forget the certainty with which you predicted, I do not say promised, that I could expect you to return and stay. And certainly, what you said, you said in all seriousness. Therefore *my eyes* direct their attention *to your words, saying, When will you comfort me?*[2] I hope I am not deceived in hoping for you; I hope I need not blush in waiting for you. I hope that they to whom you sent your first fruits[3] and the pledge of your coming will not be astonished and say, why did you send those people to a place where you disdained either to precede or to follow them? Especially as, in the hope of your following them, they came to us very willingly and were received by us in the hope that you would follow shortly.

May the Lord direct your path in his sight,[4] and having guided your heart, may the Lord *grant you what your heart desires and fulfill all your mind.*[5] Amen.

*c. spring, 1077.*

NOTES

1. Roger seems to have stayed on at Canterbury after Vitalis had left for Bec, see *Ep* 74 and Rule I: 193-4.
2. Ps 118:32.
3. Cf. Ex 23:19.
4. Ps 5:9.
5. Ps 19:5.

# 77. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*Anselm thanks Lanfranc for his comments on the* Monologion. *Despite the painfulness of the criticism, Anselm assures Lanfranc of his enduring filial love. He demonstrates that Lanfranc's objection that the work lacks authorities is irrelevant and again begs for Lanfranc's decision on the fate of his work.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC, WORTHY OF THE LOVE AND RESPECT OF THE SONS OF THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH: BROTHER ANSELM, HIS SERVANT IN OBEDIENCE, HIS SON IN AFFECTION, HIS DISCIPLE IN TEACHING, WISHES HIM THE BEST HE CAN.

MY HEART GIVES BOUNDLESS THANKS to your highness who, amid so many important duties of your dignity, neither feels annoyed at the idleness of my verbosity nor refuses to pay attention to it with paternal kindness and to correct it with kind wisdom.[1] That you ask that my love for you not grow cool because of these [corrections]—since God and his saints witness that you do this with love and indeed I myself attest to your conscientiousness in this particular matter. Far be it from me, therefore, to feel irritated at receiving advice which I sought from regions across the

sea with keen desire and which you with sincere affection sent me. Gratefully, therefore, do I receive your paternal admonition and humbly do I offer you my answer.

With regard to the things which are mentioned in that little work and which you advise with wholesome and wise counsel should be very meticulously weighed in the balance of the mind and discussed with those learned in the holy books [of the Bible], and should be fortified by divine authority when reason fails: this I have done as well as I could, both before and after your amiable paternal admonition. This was my intention throughout the whole disputation, whatever its quality, that in it I should never state anything at all unless I saw that it could readily be defended either by canonical writings or by the words of blessed Augustine. And now, whenever I reconsider what I said, I cannot conceive of having stated anything else myself. No reasoning of mine could convince me, however necessary it seemed, to venture to speak first about the things you included in your letter about that little work of mine, and certain other things which you did not include. For blessed Augustine with his profound arguments so proves these same points in his book *De Trinitate* that, discerning the same things with my own limited reasoning, I might speak, trusting in his authority.[2]

I say this not to defend any of the things I said to you but to demonstrate that I did not presume to state them on my own but took them over from someone else. But whatever the situation: that work awaits your command, to be either preserved or destroyed on your authority. Certain things I said there could, however, have been better said in a different way, and they have been said so badly by me that they can more easily be understood wrongly than rightly. And just as I distrust my own lack of understanding, which I do not deny, so I trust your wisdom and I hope that these matters can be corrected. Wherefore, what you say about this little work is to be discussed with you,

may it be done according to the benevolent will of God, so that what I wish for and the other works may be granted.[3]

*c. spring 1077.*

NOTES

1. The work in question is the *Monologion*; see *Ep* 72. Anselm did not preserve Lanfranc's answer to *Ep* 72, to which he himself here replies; see Southern, *Anselm*, 51; and *Introduction* above.
2. Anselm insists that his work conforms to the authority of Saint Augustine and does not contain anything new or unorthodox. This point is repeated in the Preface to the *Monologion*: 'If it shall seem to anyone that in this short work I have set forth some doctrine which either is altogether new or else departs from the truth, then ... let him first look carefully at the books of *On The Trinity* by ... Augustine, and then let him judge my short work by comparison with these books.' He adds, 'I beseech and adjure anyone who wants to copy this short work to make sure to append this preface at the very front before the chapter-titles themselves. For if someone knows at the outset with what intent and in what manner the discussion has been conducted, I believe that he will be greatly aided in understanding what he will read in the work itself.' *AOO* I:8, trans. by J. Hopkins and H.W. Richardson, in *Anselm of Canterbury* (Toronto, 1974) 1:4.
3. For the early circulation of the *Monologion*, see *AOO* 68*-78*.

# 78. TO GUNDULF, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

*Anselm rejoices at Gundulf's elevation to the see of Rochester and consoles his friend that ensuing tribulations will only advance him towards perfection. Anselm gives thanks to God for having raised Gundulf up as an example.*

TO HIS ONCE DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER, NOW HIS DEAREST FATHER, FORMERLY AND PRESENTLY HIS REVEREND LORD, THE VENERABLE BISHOP GUNDULF: BROTHER ANSELM, ALWAYS HIS, WISHING THAT HE MAY SO DISCHARGE HIS EPISCOPAL OFFICE THAT HE MAY ATTAIN ETERNAL REWARD.

BEFORE I COULD SEND A LETTER of joy about your promotion, your dearest holiness, I heard that your election to the bishopric[1] had brought you not rest but labor, not enjoyment but tribulation. On the one hand, then, I want to rejoice with your paternity as with one whose past life divine grace has shown itself to be pleased with, to the extent that God has deigned to reckon you among the princes of his Church. On the other hand, however, I am forced to pity your fraternity as someone who, after having been so greatly exalted, is burdened with greater tribulation by this very fact. But when I consider that, as holy Scripture bears witness, of tribulation are born *patience* which *has its perfect work*[2] and endurance which creates hope and in its turn is *not confounded*,[3] I clearly realize that in tribulation your holiness is not so much to be pitied for the labor you take on yourself with it as to be congratulated for the perfection and hope to which you will advance through it.

Glory be to God on high,[4] therefore, to whom your life has been so pleasing that he raised it up to be an example. And glory be to God on high who has loved you so much that he has placed you in the fire of tribulation that he might distil your works continually to perfection and your hope to real steadfastness. For if *all things work together for good to those who love God*,[5] why do those who love him not render thanks for the good, rejoicing in all things? Since *man does*

*not know whether he is worthy of love or displeasure,*[6] they ought indeed to act in such a way that they serve *the Lord in fear* and rejoice in *him with trembling.*[7]

Every servant of the Lord ought to observe this lest he imagine tribulation where there is no tribulation. Lest, along with what he ought not to feel he assign tribulation where he decides it should be and thinks he ought not to suffer what he does suffer and imagines he has overcome through the fortitude of patience what he has succumbed to in the weakness of his infirmity. Thus, considering himself *something when he is nothing, he deludes himself.*[8] Therefore I admonish your holiness not to consider a tribulation what harms neither body nor soul, lest, if the damage to those things which a servant of God should despise saddens you, you prove you love the things of this world more than is right and love eternal things less than is fitting. For every man plainly shows he loves such things if he cannot endure their destruction without grief. Nobody considers suffering a nuisance except when he has to tolerate damage to the things he loves.

I commend our beloved brother Richard to your paternity with as much charitable care as possible, so that being cut off from our companionship may not harm but rather being joined to your household may be good for him.

*c. spring 1077.*

NOTES

1. Gundulf was consecrated bishop by Archbishop Lanfranc at Christ Church, Canterbury, on 19 March 1077; see also *Ep* 4.
2. Cf. Jm 1:4.
3. Cf. Rom 5:3.
4. Cf. Lk 2:14.
5. Rom 8:28.
6. Si 9:1.
7. Ps 2:11.
8. Gal 6:3.

# 79. TO THE MONK MAURICE.

*Anselm rejoices at Maurice's progress in living a good monastic life but greatly misses his friend's company and desires his return to Bec. He patiently subordinates this desire in obedience to his superior.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK, BROTHER AND DEAREST SON,
DOM MAURICE: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HE MAY PLEASE
GOD AND MAN.

ALTHOUGH THE MORE I LOVE YOU the more I want to have you with me, yet because I cannot have you I love you even more. For since I love you not so much for myself as for God and for yourself, I love you more because you show yourself to be of such character that those who have you with them hardly want to send away someone they love rather than gladly wanting to dismiss someone they disregard. Therefore I beseech you as a brother and admonish you as a dearest son, because of the concern and affection which you are well aware I have always had towards you: insofar as you progess more and more towards good conduct, you—with me—should patiently bear our separation as being ordered by Providence, as long as our lord and father, the venerable Archbishop Lanfranc, commands it; lest by impatience you in any way diminish the very qualities for which I love you most. For although I love you greatly and desire you to cling to me by living in our community with me, yet I desire even more that you cleave inseparably to a good way of life. Therefore, let it be your sole endeavor, wherever you may be, to live in a way befitting a good man and servant of God; and be assured that God will provide for you whatever is good for you.

*Spring 1077.*

# 80. TO ABBOT PAUL.

*Anselm rejoices at Paul's promotion to the abbacy of Saint Alban's and thanks God for raising Paul up as an example. He tells the abbot-elect that the difference of language ought not to prevent him from teaching his monks through the example of a kind and gentle father, and admonishes him to rule wisely and prudently.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, THE REVEREND AND BELOVED ABBOT PAUL[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HE MAY SO LIVE IN HOLY PROSPERITY IN THIS WORLD THAT HE MAY LIVE IN BLESSED HAPPINESS IN THE WORLD TO COME.

GLORY BE TO GOD ON HIGH[2]; in his eyes your life in private was so pleasing that he elevated it to be an example in public and made it a guide to those directing their course along the narrow path of virtue from earth to heaven. Wherefore you should rejoice not only at the reward for the holiness of your life in the heavenly kingdom but also multiply the joy of eternal happiness over the many whom you have gained for God.

For although your holiness is placed over barbarians[3] whom you cannot teach by words because of the difference of your languages, yet you will not be able to make any excuses before the just Judge if you fail to win others for God. For what you cannot say to them in words you can show by your life. And, just as good convinces more effectively by example than by word, so good habits are loved in someone silent and eloquence despised in someone sluggish. Strive therefore rather to be loved by everybody for your gentleness and mercy than to be greatly feared[4] for an austere justice which spares no one. Let men from all walks of life who are committed to you rejoice at being entrusted to a father and shepherd; and let them not shudder at being handed over to a tyrant and extortioner. Let those connected with you be glad that an advisor and helper has come to them from God, not complain that an invader of other men's property or a persecutor has forced his way in from an alien place.

There are many prelates of our order who, fearing that God's cause will be ruined in their hands, behave in such a way that God's law is destroyed in their hearts.[5] They try so hard to be wise for fear of being cheated by others that they become cunning at cheating others. They try so hard to be cautious for fear of being too generous and squandering unwisely what they possess that they become misers and what they have saved rots uselessly away. They are always trying so hard to procure something for God's servants and the poor and for his holy place that they are always deceitfully attempting to extort something from somebody. They are so animated with zeal for correcting the foolish that they burn with cruelty or with greed for collecting money.

All this, then, your prudence should diligently beware of. Arrange the public matters entrusted to you in such a way that your interior disposition conforms to divine precepts and your mind always says to God: *Let my sentence come forth from your presence.*[6] Against those who would harm you defend yourself through prudence so that by your single-mindedness you intend harm to no one; as it is written *Be wise as serpents and innocent as doves.*[7] So guard the possessions of your monastery that you do not forget what is written: *Someone who possesses the goods of this world and sees his brother in need and shuts off his compassion towards him, how can the love of God dwell in him?*[8] And also: *Give and it shall be given unto you.*[9] Take the trouble to increase these very possessions without banishing from your mind *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's* goods.[10] Censure sinners in a way that involves neither cruelty nor greed, for it is written: *If a man be overtaken in a fault, you who are spiritual restore him in a spirit of meekness, taking care of yourselves lest you also should be tempted.*[11] And *The covetous... will not inherit the kingdom of God.*[12]

I write about these things to your paternity, my dearly beloved, not because I think you would act otherwise, but because you

ordered it and I want a letter of mine to reach you; in order to achieve this I had to say something.

*Summer 1077.*

## NOTES

1. Paul's election as abbot of Saint Alban's took place on 28 June 1077 (see *AOO* III:203) or on 4 July 1077 (see *AOO* 56*); see also *Heads* 66. Paul was another nephew of Archbishop Lanfranc. He had been a monk at Caen. With the help of his uncle he 'set his house, hitherto comparatively undistinguished, in the high intellectual and religious position which it was to retain for centuries'—D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England,* (Cambridge, 1966) 113. Paul died on 11 November 1093.
2. Lk 2:14.
3. Abbot Paul upset his Anglo-Saxon community by slighting 'the tombs of his predecessors, and referring to them as uneducated simpletons'; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order,* 118-9.
4. RB 64.15; CSEL 75/2:165.
5. Ps 118:126.
6. Ps 16:2.
7. Mt 10:16.
8. 1 Jn 3:7.
9. Lk 6:38.
10. Ex 20:17.
11. Gal 6:1.
12. 1 Cor 6:10.

# 81. TO HUNFRID.

*Anselm advises Hunfrid to give up the world with all its transitory glory to follow Christ.*

TO HUNFRID,[1] HIS LORD AND DEAREST BROTHER IN CHRIST: BROTHER ANSELM OF BEC, A SINNER IN LIFE, A MONK BY PROFESSION, WISHING HE MAY DESPISE THE GOODS OF THE EARTH FOR THOSE OF HEAVEN AND OBTAIN HEAVENLY FOR EARTHLY ONES.

FIRST OF ALL I GIVE THANKS and give you back the love I owe you for your freely-given kindness, which the bearer of this letter confirms he has perceived in you towards me. Trusting in this not a little, he begged me earnestly to help him with regard to your love, that having been encouraged by my entreaties you may lavish on him the favor of your teaching still more attentively than you mercifully do already. If this were either harmful or useless to you—I do not speak for anybody else—I would scarcely presume to ask, or would not ask at all, even for myself. Now, however, since it is neither harmful nor useless, the divine reward will be incomparably more beneficial to you than your generosity to him. Neither boldly nor shamelessly—I think—but in a friendly way, I beg and beseech you to remember what is written: *Freely you have received, freely give.*[2] For even if you perhaps paid a man to teach you, he could jar upon your ears, but he would not open your heart to understanding without God, to whom *nobody gave first* so that *it might be repaid him again.*[3] If we are commanded to make friends who *may welcome* us *into the everlasting habitations through the mammon of unrighteousness,*[4] how much more [should we win friends] through the understanding of truth? If you do not want to do something for me because you owe me nothing, do it to put me in your debt.

I have said this for someone else, but let me add a few words for your beloved fraternity for whom I would wish more. Remember, dearest friend, and turn over in your

mind without interruption that it is written: *Love not the world nor the things that are in the world,*[5] for *the world and its lust pass away;*[6] and that *the friends of this world will be reckoned* as the enemies of God.[7] I beg and beseech you not to trust the world even when it favors you since it favors you not to mother but to smother you. The world is in darkness and its glory is not glory at all but a devouring fire. Do not, therefore, dearest friend, run after that glory like a moth flying into a night-time fire, for whomever it lures by shining it afterwards torments by searing. Oh how much wiser, how much happier will you be if you give up the world and follow Christ, so that when Christ comes in majesty you will judge the world with him[8] and, receiving a hundredfold, you will possess eternal life.[9] Oh may it be so! Amen.

*c. 1077/78.*

NOTES

1. Hunfrid was probably a secular cleric and teacher. Anselm considered such a person a prime candidate for monastic life.
2. Mt 10:8.
3. Cf. Rom 11:35.
4. Lk 16:9.
5. 1 Jn 2:15.
6. 1 Jn 6:17.
7. Cf. Jm 4:4.
8. Cf. Mt 25:31.
9. Mt 19:28.

# 82. TO COUNTESS IDA.

*Anselm thanks Countess Ida of Boulogne for her kind deeds and particularly for the generosity she lavished on a certain brother.*

TO HIS REVEREND AND DEAREST LADY, COUNTESS IDA,[1] MOST DISTINGUISHED BY NOBILITY BOTH OF BIRTH AND OF LIFE: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING SHE MAY PROGRESS FROM VIRTUE TO VIRTUE AND RISE FROM EARTHLY DIGNITY TO THE HEAVENLY KINGDOM.

TO SAY NOTHING of your other good works, for which the reputation of your nobility breathes the scent of your gentle holiness far and wide and all around; you surely lavish so many and such great acts of kindness on people in all walks of life who travel to or from our monastery that we are already so accustomed to them and they are so familiar to us that it could be burdensome to you for us to order thanks to be given you by word or letter for every single act, nor are we able to repay whatever we might according to your merits. Wherefore we commend you to God and we place him between us and you, so that just as you do what you do for his sake, so he may repay you on behalf of us for whom you do good.

Therefore at the insistence of the brother abandoned by his family whom you sent to us and to whom you showed very generous consolation in his great desolation, I write this letter to your reverend holiness. From it you will discover that I am as grateful for what you did for him as [I would be] if you had done it for me, and that everything he said about himself and his situation is true and that he observed your instructions in all the things you ordered us through him, and your man, serving him faithfully, kindly brought him to us according to your command. May God reward you for these and your other good works with eternal happiness. Do not fail *in doing good* for *in his good time* you will reap *if you do not fail*.[2]

*c. 1077/78.*

NOTES

1. Countess Ida of Boulogne received several letters from Anselm: *Epp* 114, 131, 167, 244, 247. She was the sister of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine. Her uncle Frederick, who was a monk, was called to Rome by Pope Leo IX to assist in church reforms, became abbot of Montecassino and finally Pope Stephen IX from 2 August 1057-29 March 1058; see also *Ep* 325. Ida was the second wife of Count Eustace II of Boulogne and brought him the county of Bouillon. They had three sons: Eustace III inherited Boulogne and his father's English honors; Godfrey and Baldwin were leaders in the first Crusade. Baldwin eventually became first king of Jerusalem from 24 December 1100-2 April 1118; see *Epp* 235, 324. See also J.C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1947) 10, 19; F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (London, 1970) 307-8; J.F.A. Mason, 'St Anselm's Relations with Laymen: Selected Letters', in *Spicilegium Beccense* (Paris, 1959) 556-559.
2. Cf. Gal 6:9.

# 83. TO ABBOT RAINALD.

*As requested, Anselm sends Abbot Reginald of Saint Cyprian of Poitiers his* Monologion, *but fears that critics might unjustly label him a heretic. Following Saint Augustine, Anselm has already successfully refuted some of his critics and warns Reginald not to spread his work to prattlers; if there should be any serious criticism, however, he is to inform him by letter.*

TO HIS LORD AND REVEREND FATHER, ABBOT RAINALD[1]: BROTHER ANSELM SENDS GREETING.

THIS LITTLE WORK[2] which from so great a distance you so earnestly ask of me, I would never send to you if I were able to disobey your will. I fear it may fall into the hands of people who are more interested in criticizing what they hear than in understanding it, who, if they chance to read in it something they had not heard or noticed before, would immediately cry that I had written something unheard-of or contrary to the truth. Since, being so far away, I would be unable to reply to them, they would not only consider themselves to be serving the truth by denying it, but would persuade others that I am a champion of untruth, and these would believe them blindly before they hear what they are censuring.

I have already suffered not a little from such hasty criticism because of what I said, following blessed Augustine, about the persons and substance of God. They now realize that they criticized rashly and in the event are glad to know something they were not previously aware of.[3] They did not know that, strictly speaking, it cannot be said that in God there are three persons any more than that there are three substances; for the same reason, for want of a word literally expressing that plurality which is understood in the Most Holy Trinity, the Latins say that we must believe that there are three persons in one substance, whereas the Greeks, no less faithfully, hold that there are three substances in one person.[4]

Wherefore, I urgently entreat your holiness to show this little work not to people who are prattlers or contentious but instead to those who are sensible and discreet. If anyone should happen to criticize anything in it in such a way that you consider his reasoning worthy of being answered, I beg you to inform me charitably by letter, yours or his, of the reason by which he sustains his criticism. Thus, having preserved both the peace of charity and the love of truth either I may be corrected by his criticism or he by my reply.

*c. 1078.*

NOTES

1. Reginald, one of the first readers of Anselm's *Monologion,* was abbot of Saint Cyprian in Poitiers from 4 November 1073-23 May 1100. Previously he had been master of a famous school at the monastery of La Chaise-Dieu, and monk and prior there; see *Epp* 70, 71 and his epitaph in L.F.X. Rédet, *Archives historiques du Poitou* III (Poitiers, 1874).
2. The 'little work' in question is the *Monologion;* see *Ep* 72.
3. It is quite likely that Anselm is referring to Lanfranc's criticism of *Monologion;* see *Ep* 77.
4. This is Anselm's basic argument for the sermon he gave at the invitation of Pope Urban II at the Synod of Bari on 1 October 1098 to confirm the *filioque* in the Creed. Eventually he developed it into *De processione Spiritus Sancti, AOO* II:177-219; see W. Fröhlich, 'Bischof Walram von Naumburg', *AA* 5 (1976) 272-74.

# 84. TO THE MONK GILBERT.

*Anselm expresses to his friend Gilbert Crispin his profound grief at their separation.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK, BROTHER, FRIEND, AS ONE BELOVED TO HIS BELOVED GILBERT[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING WHAT HE CANNOT EXPRESS IN WRITING.

THE GIFTS of your affection, dearest friend, are dear to me. But they can never console my heart, deprived of you in my longing for your beloved person. In fact, if you sent me every aromatic perfume, every gleaming metal, every gem of great value, every variety of fabric, my soul would reject them. Indeed it will never be consoled[2] for its separation except by recovering its other half, my sundered soul. The anguish of my heart whenever I think about it is my witness; the tears shrouding my eyes and pouring down my face and over my fingers as I write are my witness. And surely you knew of my love for you as well as I did, but, in fact, I myself was not aware of it. He who cut us off one from another taught me how much I loved you. Truly, a person does not have knowledge of good and evil if he has not experienced both. For never having experienced your absence, I did not know how delectable it was for me to be with you, how bitter without you.

But, through this very separation of ours, you have the presence of another whom you certainly love not less but more.[3] But you, you, I affirm, have been snatched away from me, and nobody has been set in your place. While you rejoice in your consolation, for me there remains only the wound in my soul. Perhaps those who rejoice over you will feel offended at my speaking to you this way. But if those who hold what they longed for rejoice, why should they forbid someone to grieve who has lost what he will always love? If they see themselves in my place, they will excuse me for this. In any event, you at least should understand how they could do this more compassionately and more

consolingly so as to lessen my grief which no one who could console me wants to do so and no one who wants to, can. But may he who can do whatever he wills so console me that no one be saddened. May he make no one sad so that he may preserve love for you everywhere unimpaired. Amen.

*c. 1077/78.*

NOTES

1. Gilbert Crispin was a very close friend of Anselm's. He had become a monk at Bec before Anselm's arrival. He is fifty-ninth in the Bec profession-roll. Lanfranc called him to Canterbury to be a member of his household. In 1085 he was made abbot of Westminster (*Ep* 103), where he ruled till his death on 6 December 1117. See *Heads* 77, and A.J. Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster, A Study of the Abbey under Norman Rule* (Cambridge, 1911). For the spiritual relationship between Anselm and Gilbert, see R.W. Southern, 'St Anselm and Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster', *MARS* 3 (1954) 78-115; Southern, *Anselm*, 88-91, 205-209, 246-247 and *passim*.
2. Ps 76:3.
3. Possibly Archbishop Lanfranc.

# 85. TO THE MONK WALTER.

*Anselm thanks Walter, a monk of Saint Wandrille, for his fraternal love and refers him to Abbot Gerbert for an answer to his question.*

TO HIS LORD WALTER,[1] LOVING FREELY, DESERVEDLY LOVED, NOT AS A STRANGER BUT AS A CLOSE FRIEND: BROTHER ANSELM SENDS WHAT IS HIS.

IF MY HEART WERE HARDER than stone and colder than ice, then it would still have to grow warm at the fire of your love and be softened by the oil of your sweet address. Your letter, so full of the wholesome advice by which your sweet love and beloved prudence deigned to make yourself known to my poverty is aglow with such ardor of charity, scented with such fragrance of kindness and merry with such

sweetness that my mind will not rest until my eyes have seen his face, my ears have heard his voice and my soul has enjoyed the presence of him who, without knowing me, obscure as I am, freely took me on with such love. By letter he strove to exhort me, though absent, so helpfully towards perfection; he advised me so prudently to preserve my good qualities—if any I have. O, if only the reputation were so true, which the report of men, heedlessly speaking about something they do not know, has told you about me, how necessary to me is your admonition, which proceeds from the abundance of your good will and your wise understanding of human weakness! Blessed in all things be God, who enriched you with such charity, inspired you with such charitable solicitude. May he see my desire so that someday I may so deserve the enjoyment of a life pleasing to God in your company that we may not be separated by any change of circumstances as long as we live.

As to the solution of the question you ask me to write about, you should know that I have neither the leisure nor the ability to consider myself capable of it. You have with you our lord and father, the reverend Abbot Gerbert, who can better discuss with you in person the questions you wrote about, and the others you mentioned, for which you wanted to have recourse to my poverty, than I can competently answer either by speaking or writing. I pray you therefore, lest by despising my foolishness you refuse to have regard for our charity. Charity should be loved more than knowledge. *For knowledge puffs up but charity edifies.*[2] Moreover, since all useful knowledge depends on charity—on it indeed *depend all the law and the prophets*[3]—and since where *two or three are gathered together in the name* of Truth, it says that it is *in the midst of them,*[4] I trust in the promise of Truth that, if we come together in its name with the affection of charity, the knowledge of Truth will be with us.

If I knew you wanted to visit us I would give you a definite time when this would be convenient lest, coming at a time

when I am not at home, you may cause useless trouble to yourself and disappointment to me.

*c. 1077/78.*

NOTES

1. Walter was a monk of Saint Wandrille at Fontenelle under Abbot Gerbert, who ruled from 1062-4 September 1089; See *OV* II:296. Later Walter became prior; see *Ep* 138.
2. 1 Cor 8:1.
3. Mt 22:40.
4. Mt 18:20.

# 86. TO COUNTESS ADELA.

*Anselm begs Countess Adela to intercede with her son Robert the Frisian to release the aged Engelhard so that he may become a monk for the few years left to him.*

TO HIS REVEREND LADY, COUNTESS ADELA[1]: BROTHER ANSELM OF BEC, A SINNER IN LIFE, MONK BY PROFESSION, WISHING THAT SHE MAY PASS THROUGH ENDURING PROSPERITY IN THIS LIFE TO ETERNAL HAPPINESS IN THE LIFE TO COME.

ALTHOUGH I KNOW that I have deserved nothing of your highness for which you should assent to my entreaties, except that you have deigned to take notice of my poverty, yet I have always, in the sight of God, wanted you to share in our prayers, whatever they may be worth—if they are even worth mentioning. Yet Dom Englehard, our friend, begged me earnestly to help him gain favor with your holiness about the castle commonly known as Lenis, so that he might have your support in his dealings with your son.[2]

Already very old, a man broken with age, he wants to give up warfare, or rather wrong-doing[3], which, as long as he was able, he has efficiently exercised up to now. He wants to pass through however little life remains to him in such a way that even if he can do no good at least he can keep away from evil, lest sinning till the end he may

be punished without end. Wherefore he hopes, desires, implores that through me he may have your help, and through your help he may obtain from your son relief from responsibilities for his lands. Your prudence knows well that everyone ought to encourage those striving towards good, and that the partners of those who do good become heirs to their rewards. For this reason, even though I may have deserved nothing from you, yet I, your servant, beg your holiness, not presumptuously, that for God's sake you give assistance to the afore-mentioned man in gaining what he wishes not only because it will benefit you but also because you should do it even without having been asked.

*c. 1077/78.*

NOTES

1. Adela, daughter of Robert II, King of the French (996-1031), was wife of Count Baldwin V of Flanders (1035-1067). Their children were Baldwin VI of Flanders (1067-1070), Robert the Frisian, Count of Flanders (1071-1093), Mathilda, wife of William I of England (d. 2 November 1083) and Odo, Archbishop of Trier; see *OV* II: 89, and *EHD* II: 999.
2. Count Robert the Frisian of Flanders had challenged the authority of his nephew, Count Arnulf, who was a boy of fifteen when his father died in 1070.
3. *militiam, immo malitiam*—a pun expressing Anselm's view of a vassal's military service and armed combat in general.

# 87. TO BISHOP ODO.

*Anselm promises to carry out willingly what Bishop Odo of Bayeux ordered about Osbern who recently died.*

TO HIS REVEREND [FATHER] AND MOST DEARLY BELOVED LORD, BISHOP ODO[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THAT HE MAY SO PASS THROUGH TEMPORAL GOODS THAT HE MAY DWELL IN ETERNITY.

WE HAVE RECEIVED with humble obedience and obedient humility the letter which your paternal highness sent me and our brothers[2] about your faithful Osbern, who has just died. We have decided to refuse nothing of your petition but in every way the most beloved lord and kindest father is to be obeyed we determined to submit to your command. Since we recognize that you have deserved the reward of love and good conduct, we would show ourselves greatly culpable if we refused to subject ourselves obediently to your will. What is in the letter I accept most gratefully since I read in it the certitude of the mutual love between your highness and my lowliness. Although I cannot doubt it, having learned it in my own conscience and through my own experience, nevertheless it is a delightful mark of honor and an honorable delight to me when such an important person deigns to show this to someone so insignificant.

*early September 1078.*

NOTES

1. Odo, a half-brother of William the Conqueror, was bishop of Bayeux from 1050-1097; see D.C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London, 1964) 119-132, 243-245 and *passim*; D. Bates, 'The character and career of Odo, bishop of Bayeux (1049/50-1097)', *Speculum* 56 (1975) 1-20, and D. Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, (London, 1982) 202-16 *et passim*; *EHD* II:983.
2. As Abbot Herluin is not mentioned this letter must have been written after his death on 26 August 1078. MS N confirms this by stating that this letter is *epistola ultima prioratus*. Anselm has not yet been elected abbot; see also *VA* 44.

# LETTERS WRITTEN BY ANSELM AS ABBOT OF BEC

MS London, British Library, Cotton: Nero A VII, fol. 94r: up to this point are included the letters of Dom Abbot Anselm which he wrote while he was Prior of Bec. Those which follow, however, he sent after he had taken on the title and office of Abbot.

# 88. FROM ABBOT FULK.

*Abbot Fulk of Saint Pierre-sur-Dives, quoting the advice Anselm sent him in the same situation, implores Anselm to accept the burden of the abbacy in obedience to the will of God.*

TO HIS LORD AND VENERABLE FATHER, ANSELM, HIS SPECIAL AND DEAREST FRIEND OF FRIENDS, TO BE ENCIRCLED WITH THE EMBRACE OF HIS WHOLE HEART AND WORTHY OF BEING NAMED WITH HONOR: HIS MOST FAITHFUL FRIEND FULK,[1] WISHING HIM EVERY GOOD, HAPPINESS, BLESSING, AND GRACE A MORTAL CAN OBTAIN FROM THE LORD.

MOST LONGED-FOR FATHER, greatly to be blessed, even though my knowledge compared to your knowledge should be called foolishness rather than knowledge, yet God, when he wishes, may shape rational words[2] even through dumb animals. I pray that your piety may accept kindly the words of my foolishness.

First of all, therefore, I glorify God who so deigned to direct your actions that all the brothers of your monastery, by unanimous decision, chose your paternity to preside over them.[3] Next I pray, I admonish you as my dearest lord, that you allow to be carried out what is demanded of you by brotherly love, trusting in the help of Christ, remembering what was said by the Apostle: *Charity does not seek its own.*[4] Then I speak to you in your words and set before you your own advice; with it you once advised me when I inquired about a similar matter. It is indeed a wonderful victory to prevail over somebody with his own weapons.

'We know, in fact,' you say, 'that it is safer for a man to flee such a burden as much as possible, fearing his weakness, than to take it lightly on his shoulders, trusting in his strength. But since it is written: *No one lives for himself, and no one dies for himself* but *whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's;*[5] we ought so to walk in the path of righteousness between the fear of our own weakness and obedience to the Lord's will that we are seen to disregard

neither. First of all, therefore, commend yourself by pure affection of mind to divine Mercy, that he may arrange your life according to his good pleasure. And then with a simple mind and humble effort, in whatever way you can—excepting only by sin—refuse to take on the burden. And if you cannot decline it except by sin then submit obediently and bear it conscientiously.'[6]

See, dearest father, the words with which you advised me. See how someone behaves when the same thing happens to him, just as you pointed out. Therefore I can see no way how you can refuse this burden inasmuch as brotherly love has imposed it on you since, at God's command, you ought to lay down even your life for them. Overcome by brotherly prayers accept patiently the yoke of the Lord lest—God forbid!—there be any disagreement in the Lord's flock because of you. You should know that our prayers and those of our brothers—whatever they may be worth—will not be lacking to you.

Moreover, dearest father, I pray that you deign to tell my poverty the date on which you are going to receive the blessing, if you know it, because I want to be present, at least in spirit. Farewell my lord; farewell, my dear friend; farewell, my kindest father. God grant that I may rejoice at your promotion.

*September 1078-22 February 1079.*

NOTES

1. Fulk, Abbot of St Pierre-sur-Dives, see *Ep* 61.
2. Cf. Num 28:22.
3. *RB* 5:12; CSEL 75 [2], 39.
4. 1 Cor 13:5.
5. Rom 14:7.
6. A verbatim quotation from *Ep* 61.

# 89. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*Abbot Anselm thanks Archbishop Lanfranc for the money he sent to Bec during their bitter need and asks him for information concerning various properties belonging to the monastery.*

TO HIS LORD AND REVEREND FATHER, ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC: BROTHER ANSELM, SERVANT OF HIS FELLOW SERVANTS[1], THE BROTHERS OF BEC, WISHING HIM WITH THESE SAME FELLOW-MONKS ENDURING PROSPERITY IN THIS LIFE AND ETERNAL HAPPINESS IN THE LIFE TO COME.

WE FOREVER GIVE THANKS for the various benefits of your paternal highness. Even if we do not always express it, yet we keep it always in our hearts. And indeed, as it is written, *a helper in tribulation* [is a helper] *in favorable times,*[2] the blessing of your generosity, that is, the twenty pounds which Dom Abbot Herbert[3] brought us recently, came *like the rain of winter and spring,*[4] at such an opportune moment when we were straitened by such great poverty that when everything had been very speedily consumed with relish there remained no greater trace of our abundance than when in Pharaoh's dream the full ears of corn and the fat cattle had been devoured by the barren and, so to speak, starving consumers.[5] It has sustained us, but only to the point that we are not utterly lacking everything.

To be sure, the expensive purchase of beans and oats throughout nearly the entire period since the death of Dom Abbot Herluin,[6] as well as the purchase of lands which we likewise bought after his death, drained us excessively. I pass over the large bell which we improvidently began [to cast] out of one cracked and another out of tune. As we had to add much more metal and pay more than we had planned we could scarcely finish it. We spent more in other ways on many things beyond what had been planned. Indeed the year[7] we have just managed to emerge from has almost buried us with problems and the one we are entering

threatens us far more seriously with a deficit of many things. Yet may *God* who *looks down from heaven upon the children of men*[8] be mindful of us and turn to us the hearts of those in abundance.

Besides, although we are always in need of your advice and help, at the moment we crave your generous and speedy financial aid. [At the death of Archbishop John[9] we sought the land of Ramsonetum[10] as part of the gift of William, son of Osbern. But when the king questioned whether he had granted this gift himself, we found absolutely nobody who remembered it. If you can remember anything about this grant from the king, either when that same William gave us what he possessed in the district of Brionne[11] or when he gave anything to our monastery, or when the afore-mentioned archbishop gave what he gave at Pont Authou[12]: insofar as it appears advantageous to you, inform us and the king. Tell us also whether the same archbishop made a donation to us before making one to the bishopric of Avranches, which he did twelve years ago;[13] and if you know how the tithes possessed by Fulbert, clerk of Liveth, which Dom Abbot Herluin held from Bishop Hugh of Lisieux,[14] came under the jurisdiction of our monastery; concerning all these matters we are commanded to plead our case in the king's presence[15] on the Sunday after the Feast of Saint Andrew.[16]]

*c. 1080.*

NOTES

1. Modeled on *servus servorum Dei*. By this Anselm intimates that he is now abbot of Bec.
2. Cf. Ps 9:10.
3. This is perhaps Abbot Herbert of Fontenay, who was a monk of Caen.
4. Hos 6:3.
5. Cf. Gen 41:1-31.
6. 26 August 1078; see *Ep* 87.
7. 1079/80.
8. Ps 52:3.

9. Archbishop John of Rouen died on 9 September 1079. Before his promotion to the see of Rouen he had been Bishop of Avranches from 1060-1069.
10. A tract of land, possibly close to Bec.
11. Brionne, a district where the dioceses of Rouen, Evreux and Lisieux meet. The monastery was founded on the edge of it.
12. Pont Authou, the bridge crossed the river Risle a short distance from Brionne and the Abbey of Bec.
13. In 1069 John was translated from Avranches to Rouen.
14. Hugh was Bishop of Lisieux from 1049/50-1077.
15. William the Conqueror, not in his capacity as King of England or Duke of Normandy, but as Count of Brionne.
16. 30 November 1080. A later revision leaves out the lines between brackets (*AOO* III:216, ll. 26-37) and in their place has: in what affects the interests of our church, we have considered it necessary to charge the bearer of this letter to tell you about them by word of mouth. When you have learned these things, if you know anything which could help us in this matter we beg that your holiness should strive to inform us as quickly as possible concerning all these matters.

# 90. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*Anselm expresses his gratitude for Archbishop Lanfranc's help in their great need, sends monks to Canterbury as requested, and confesses that he has meanwhile used for urgent needs the gold sent to be made into a chalice.*

TO HIS REVEREND LORD AND MOST GRACIOUS FATHER, ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC: BROTHER ANSELM WITH HIS CO-SERVANTS AND FELLOW-MONKS, THE BROTHERS OF THE MONASTERY OF BEC, WISHING WHAT IS THEIRS.

IN THIS DOCUMENT we send great thanks for your great and repeated generosity and we keep great thanks in our hearts for your great and constant goodwill. Your abundance is by God's bounty so great that no matter how often you supply our need it cannot in any way decrease. In any case, your goodwill is so great that your abundance could more quickly dry up than your goodwill diminish. May God, who caused you to will and to act according to his goodwill,[1] preserve both these qualities. We choose him to recompense your holiness for bestowing so many things on us, indeed, for giving us financial help we offer him as debtor and sponsor on our behalf. In the security of knowing that you will receive a thousandfold, continue giving joyfully, therefore, as you have begun well for we neither want, nor is our guarantor able, to deceive either you or us.

We send your servants and sons, our brothers,[2] to follow in your footsteps, and just as they go at your command so we have told them either to stay or return or do anything at all according to your disposition.

Your son, whom they call the abbot of Bec,[3] has borrowed from your servant, brother Anselm, the gold you sent for a chalice. The latter did not have anyone to make the chalice and the former meanwhile needed the gold. But according to our agreement the gold will be returned, formed into a chalice, and in the form you most like for a chalice. In the meantime however, your servant will use the chalice[4] which

you used as Prior of Bec, and had given to your successor as prior.[5] Indeed you should know that the latter would never have consigned the gold except with your sanction. Since you commanded, you sanctioned. It is obvious enough to anyone who wants to see that the son, except under the sanction of the father and lord, cannot deceive the servant.

*c. 1080.*

NOTES

1. Cf. Phil 2:13.
2. At the request of Richard and Rohais of Clare, Anselm is sending monks of Bec to England to form the nucleus of what later became the Priory of Saint Neots in Huntingdonshire. The small group of monks numbered Richard, Henry the cellarer, Henry de Gournay and others; see *Ep* 96 and M. Chibnall, 'The Relations of St Anselm with the English Dependencies of the Abbey of Bec 1079-1093', in *Spicilegium Beccense* I (Paris, 1959) 525-526, and M. Chibnall, 'Some Aspects of the Norman Monastic Plantation in England', *La Normandie Bénédictine* (Lille, 1967) 399-415, here 405. Anselm recommended these monks to Archbishop Lanfranc, to Bishop Gundulf (*Ep* 91), to Abbot Baldwin of Bury St Edmunds (*Ep* 92), and to Prior Henry at Christ Church, Canterbury (*Ep* 93).
3. Anselm is speaking of himself.
4. See *Ep* 1.
5. Prior Anselm.

# 91. TO GUNDULF, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

*Despite their difference of rank Anselm extols the lasting and mutual fraternal love between Gundulf and himself and recommends the monks he is sending to Saint Neots to his care and protection.*

TO HIS LORD AND FRIEND, FATHER AND BROTHER, THE REVEREND AND BELOVED BISHOP GUNDULF: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HIM WHAT HE PREVIOUSLY WISHED AND WHAT MAKES US LOVE EACH OTHER MORE.

ALTHOUGH EPISCOPAL DIGNITY and the reverence of holiness so exalt your person above me that they leave me far below, nevertheless—and I say this not out of conceit but out of love—our former closeness and our close friendship always raise me up to equality with you. So however much the energetic bishop and the indolent monk are separated by dignity and merits Gundulf and Anselm are still forever linked by close affection. Wherefore I may never claim less from you because of your episcopal office, never feel less confidence in you because of your sacred office, since we are always one at heart because of the equal closeness of our affection. Or rather—whenever the situation demands—the more your ability in earthly matters corresponds to your dignity, the more your aptitude in spiritual matters corresponds to your sanctity. As this will is equal in both of us, so that each of us wants to be as useful as he can to the other, it is necessary that he who is able to do more should do more.

It is therefore right and proper that you take care that your great devotion to God is more profitable to me than you can expect mine—which in fact is either really nothing or nearly nothing—to be profitable to you. I say this not to be excused from praying for my true friends as well as I can, but in order to show that what I am capable of is exceedingly little. Therefore, the one who can do more must help the one who can do less, so that he can be more useful to the

other and to himself. Nor should your prayer for me turn cold because mine for you cannot burn equally. Whoever loves anyone or profits him should know that he profits himself more than the other. Now, it is much more important for him to hold on to that very charity than to distinguish himself to the other through his charity. What charity can make possible is granted to the latter only temporarily, whereas that same charity is granted to the former in this world and whatever is due will be repaid to him in the world to come.

I commend to your paternal charity and charitable paternity our brothers and yours whom we are sending to England[1] so that, whenever necessary, they may be sustained by your help and guided by your counsel. May their lives be examined by your diligence and approved or corrected by your criticism.

*c. 1080.*

NOTES

1. See *Epp* 90, 92, 93, 94, which were probably sent at the same time.

# 92. TO ABBOT BALDWIN.

*Anselm recommends the monks he is sending to Saint Neots to Abbot Baldwin's kindness and charity.*

TO HIS LORD AND REVEREND FATHER, ABBOT BALDWIN[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THAT HE MAY LIVE A LIFE HOLY IN THIS WORLD AND BLESSED IN THE NEXT.

ALTHOUGH I KNOW that I have deserved nothing from your holiness except through your goodwill alone, yet your well-known kindness causes me to expect it, so that, when the need is great, I do not doubt it would be appropriate for me to solicit it of you. Indeed I acknowledge that my will is prepared to render you obedience should your paternity demand to have anything done by my lowliness. In

fact, just as the charity which we always owe to one another makes us prepared to obey, so it renders us confident in making a request. Wherefore, trusting in the precept of charity, with my experience of your kindness and in the knowledge of our will, I commend to your paternal charity and charitable paternity our brothers, whom we are sending to England,[2] so that, whenever necessary, they may be sustained by your help and guided by your counsel. May their lives be examined by your diligence and approved or corrected by your criticism.

*c. 1080.*

NOTES

1. Baldwin was Abbot of Bury St Edmunds from 1065-1097/8. Born at Chartres he was a monk of Saint Denis, Prior of Leberaw (Germany) and Deerhurst, as well as physician to King Edward the Confessor; see *Heads*, 32.
2. See *Epp* 90, 91, 93, 94.

# 93. TO PRIOR HENRY.

*Anselm assures Prior Henry at Christ Church, Canterbury, of their mutual fraternal love and recommends the monks he is sending to Saint Neots to his charity.*

TO HIS LORD AND DEAREST BROTHER HENRY[1]: BROTHER ANSELM SENDS GREETING.

EVEN THOUGH MY FRATERNITY addresses your charity only very rarely by letter, yet in no way does my love grow cool in my mind. Once love is born for good reason between reasonable men, it can never be extinguished as long as that root is alive. Wherefore, neither I nor you should be in doubt about our mutual love, even though we cannot enjoy each other's company. But we should always persevere in the certitude of its existence as long as we hold on to the unchangeable cause of its origin.

I commend to your fraternal charity and charitable fraternity our brothers and yours, whom we are sending to England,[2] so that, whenever necessary, they may be supported by your help and guided by your counsel. May their lives be examined by your diligence and approved or corrected by your criticism.

*c. 1080.*

NOTES

1. For Henry, see *Ep* 5.
2. See *Epp* 90, 91, 92, 94.

# 94. TO RICHARD AND ROHAIS.

*Anselm thanks Lord Richard and Lady Rohais of Tonbridge and Clare for the donations to the abbey of Bec and for provisions to its dependency in England to which he is sending a small group of monks at their request.*

TO HIS DEAREST LORD RICHARD AND DEAREST LADY ROHAIS[1]: BROTHER ANSELM AND BROTHER RICHARD, THE VERY YOUNG MONK,[2] SEND GREETINGS AND FAITHFUL PRAYERS FROM THE WHOLE COMMUNITY OF BEC.

WE GIVE GREAT THANKS FIRST OF ALL to God, from whom every good will comes and for whose love all good things are granted us; and then to you for all the good things you are doing and promise to do for us.[3] For thus you make it clear that the love you have always had for our monastery does not at all diminish but increases more and more. The more you do for us and promise yet greater good, the more you demonstrate your very faithful love. May almighty God and his holy mother Mary, to whom we pray for you daily and for whose love you do everything for us, repay you in the heavenly kingdom.

We are sending you our brothers[4] as you commanded. Therefore we commend them to you that just as they are

traveling to England at your command and with your expectation, so in whatever they do, or however or from whatever source they may live, they should be totally under your care and providence.

*c. 1080.*

NOTES

1. Richard FitzGilbert, son of Count Gilbert of Brionne, Lord of Tonbridge and Clare, a very large tenant-in-chief in the Domesday book, and Rohais, daughter of the elder Walter Giffard; see *EHD* II: 992.
2. Son of Richard and Rohais, he was a monk at Bec and became abbot of Ely in 1100. Deposed by the Council of Westminster in 1102, he resumed his abbacy though not recognized by pope and archbishop until May 1107. He died on 16 June 1107; see *Epp* 96, 114, 280, 397, 422 and *Heads* 45.
3. For provisions and gifts for Bec and its dependencies see M. Chibnall, 'The Relations of St Anselm with the English Dependencies of the Abbey of Bec 1079-1093,' *Spicilegium Beccense* I (Paris, 1959) 524-525; *idem*, 'The English Possessions of Bec in the time of Anselm', *Spicilegium Beccense* II (Paris, 1984) 273-282.
4. See also *Epp* 90, 91, 92, 93.

# 95. TO ODO.

*Anselm encourages Odo to leave the world and become a monk.*

TO HIS LORD AND BELOVED BROTHER IN CHRIST, ODO: BROTHER ANSELM SENDS GREETING.

IF YOUR LOVE, WEIGHED DOWN till now with love of the world, has labored under the thorny cares[1] of its riches, it might be good to call to mind the words of the Lord who said, *Come to me all you who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.*[2] Yet since someone who already perceives that *the world and its gratifications will pass away,*[3] no longer loves *the world or what is in the world,*[4] but seeks *those things which are above, not things on the earth,*[5] I see nothing more appropriate to be said to him than what is written: son, *do*

*not put off changing your life from day to day,*[6] and *whatever your hand finds to do, do it with all your strength.*[7] This short letter of ours may be a sure sign to you that our brotherly allegiance is prepared for this.[8]

*c. 1080.*

NOTES

1. Cf. Lk 8:14.
2. Mt 11:28.
3. 1 Jn 2:17.
4. 1 Jn 2:15.
5. Col 3:1-2.
6. Si 5:8.
7. Qo 9:10.
8. This is another 'lettre de vocation'; see *Epp* 2, 37, 56, 99, 101. The form here is unusual, however, because Anselm uses a medley of scriptural quotations.

# 96. TO RICHARD AND THE OTHER MONKS.

*Anselm assures Dom Richard and the other monks of Bec living at Saint Neots in England of his fraternal and paternal love. He admonishes them to live a truly monastic life. He forbids Dom Henry, the cellarer, to drink in public places and asks Dom Henry de Gournay to wait patiently for a reply to his letter.*

BROTHER ANSELM, STYLED ABBOT OF BEC: TO HIS BROTHERS AND DEAREST SONS, RICHARD AND THE OTHERS OF THE COMMUNITY OF BEC LIVING IN ENGLAND,[1] GREETINGS AND PATERNAL BLESSING WITH LOVE.

IF YOU ARE HEALTHY, if you are prospering, and in short, if you are living in harmony and according to God's will, then my soul congratulates your charity with fraternal and paternal affection. My conscience is my witness that nothing makes me happier than the prosperity and righteousness of those who—I know not by what divine judgement—are committed to my lowliness; nothing grieves me more than

opposition and injustice towards them. Wherefore I beseech you as brothers, I admonish you as dearest sons, that you always bear your monastic obligation in mind so that what the habit of your profession publicly declares you may display in your lives and conduct.

To be sure, neither place nor time excuses anybody from being able to live a good life, since no one, wherever he may be, can ever exclude goodwill from the hearts of men against their will, and a code of good behavior founded on the harmony of the world can endure in any confusion. God never demands deeds beyond our abilities when he perceives the soundness of our goodwill and good behavior. Therefore I want you so to present yourselves in public in everything, without looking for excuses, that you show yourselves to be lovers, not of the world or of those things *which are in the world*,[2] but of God and those things which belong to God. To the extent that others praise God for your good way of life, you will be able to rejoice in God in this life and in the next, and I indeed will be able to rejoice with you, my brothers and sons.

As for Dom Henry, who was cellarer, I hear he is behaving in a disorderly fashion in many respects and particularly in drinking, to the point that he drinks in taverns with drunkards and gets drunk with them. If this is true I cannot say how much my heart grieves over this brother's great downfall. Nor will this wretched sin long remain the only one, for unless it is corrected swiftly by God's solicitude, he will be dragged by it to other precipices of death. Therefore, to the extent that an abbot ought to forbid a monk, this I forbid—although I am a sinner—by the authority of God and his saints and by our own, that after he has been informed about this our prohibition, he may no longer venture to drink in taverns or in the company of those who get together only to get drunk. This also I command, that if he is unable to avoid the afore-mentioned disorderly conduct, he should not neglect to do penance according to the judgement of our lord Archbishop Lanfranc, or the lord

Bishop Gundulf, or yourselves, and thenceforth he should with God's help take care to protect himself from drunkenness and foul language. And if he refuses to amend, then—regardless of all the advantages we might have through his presence in England—I would much rather he return to us to be guided by our discipline than that, by staying away from discipline for so long, he be irretrievably lost.

I kindly request Dom Henry of Gournay to await patiently and with a calm mind what he so earnestly enquired about in his letter until Dom Richard, who, I heard from the king, is shortly about to come to us, has arrived. He should bear with gentle patience and patient gentleness what will then be arranged on our advice and that of our brothers for him and for all of you who have been sent to England for the sake of that same lord Richard.[3]

*c. 1080-81.*

NOTES

1. See *Epp* 90, 91, 92, 93, 94.
2. Cf. 1 Jn 2:15.
3. Dom Henry of Gournay and Dom Richard were monks of Bec sent to England to found the community at Saint Neots at the request of Lord Richard and Lady Rohais; see *Ep* 94.

# 97. TO THE MONK MAURICE.

*Anselm advises Maurice and the other monks at Conflans Sainte-Honorine how to deal with the long stay of Theduinus at the French royal court and his disobedience to the Rule. He informs Maurice that he has recently completed a tract on 'evil' and appends it to the letter.*

BROTHER ANSELM, STYLED ABBOT OF BEC: TO HIS BELOVED BROTHER AND SON, MAURICE, GREETING AND THE BLESSING OF GOD.

FROM NOW ON I WANT YOU and the other brothers with you[1] to behave in the following way towards that brother[2] you wrote me about, as circumstances required, who, following the fancy of his own will, neglects the cloistral life and lingers at the king's court.[3] If he comes to you I permit you to receive him and treat him with brotherly charity. Show him, however, that on your own account you are afraid this might displease me. Make clear to him, with all due reserve, the extent of his foolhardiness and disobedience. He is already delaying without either our command or permission; indeed he does not hesitate openly to contravene our command. I neither command him to return home, nor do I give him permission to stay at court. I sense that there are certain reasons which compel me to tolerate this presumption of his a little longer by pretending not to see it. But, unless he corrects himself fairly soon, then putting aside all the reasons for which I have waited for him till now, I shall be forced to apply the severity of the Rule to him. I would, however, prefer him to correct himself on his own initiative rather than have me bring any more rigorous measures of punishment down on him.

Moreover, at the request of certain brothers repeatedly begging me to do so—as you know—I recently completed that treatise[4] which deals with the question of how, when evil is said to be nothing, the word 'evil' signifies something. I have arranged for it to be attached to this letter as you requested and brought to you by the bearer.

If evil is nothing, how does the word for it signify something? Again, if in hearing the word 'evil' we understand something which horrifies us and which we think should be avoided, how is it that either evil is nothing or the word 'evil' signifies nothing? But then what is nothing itself? Indeed since 'to be nothing' and 'not to be something' in no way differ, how can we say a thing that is is not something? The very noun we call 'nothing', if it signifies nothing, that is, if it does not signify something, is not a noun. But it is a noun. Therefore, although no one could say that nothing is something (rather we are always forced to admit that nothing is 'nothing') nevertheless, no one can deny that the noun 'nothing' is meaningful.

On the contrary, if this very noun signifies not nothing but something, it seems that what is signified cannot be nothing but [is] rather something. If, therefore, what is signified is not nothing, but something, how can it be true that it is signified by this noun? Indeed, what is truly called 'nothing' truly is nothing and therefore it is not something. Hence, if what is signified by this noun is something and not-nothing—as the argument seems to show—then the noun is applied falsely and inappropriately. Still, on the contrary, if in everyone's judgement what is called 'nothing' really is nothing and not in any way something, does it not seem altogether more logical that the noun would signify nothing, that is, that it does not signify something? How then can it be that this noun 'nothing' does not signify nothing, but something, and yet does not signify something but nothing?

Or perhaps there is no conflict in the significance of 'something' and 'nothing'? But if they are not in conflict, either something would have to be found which is both something and nothing, which cannot be conceived, or else the word in question signifies nothing and something in different respects. It is clear that this word 'nothing' is no different, as far as its significance goes, to the expression 'not-something'. Nothing is more obvious than that this

word 'not-something' signifies in its utterance that entirely every thing, and whatever is something, is to be set aside from the understanding and that nothing whatever, not anything at all that is something is to be posited. But since the exclusion of a thing cannot be signified at all except by way of the signification of the very thing whose removal is signified, it is necessary that the word 'not-something', in excluding what is something, signifies something. But since in removing whatever is something it signifies no essence which the hearer's mind can hold as something existent, it follows that the word 'not-something' does not signify a reality or does not signify what is something.

Thus for these different reasons this word 'not-something' to some extent signifies a reality and something, and [equally] does not at all signify a reality or something. For it signifies by way of negation; it does not signify by way of affirmation. For this reason the word 'nothing', which excludes whatever is something, in its eliminative role signifies not nothing but something, and in its constitutive role signifies not something but nothing. It follows that there is no need for nothing to be something on the grounds that the word for it signifies something in a general way; what is necessary instead is that nothing is nothing, since the word for it signifies something in this particular way. In this manner there is no contradiction in saying that evil is nothing and that the word 'evil' has significance; it refers to something by exclusion while being constitutive of nothing.

By this reasoning, however, evil and nothing may really signify something, and yet what is thus signified is not evil or nothing. There is yet a further reason by which they signify something and what is signified is something, albeit not really something but quasi-something. Indeed, many expressions belong to the formal mode without being real. The verb 'to fear' is said to be active in form though it is passive in reality. So too 'blindness' refers to something in the formal mode of speech though it is not something in

reality. For as we say of someone that he has sight and sight is in him so we say that a person has blindness and blindness is in him, even though blindness is not something but is instead not-something. To have blindness is not to have something, indeed it is rather to lack what is something. Blindness, now, is nothing but non-sight, or the absence of sight where sight should be present. But non-sight or the absence of sight is no more something in situations where sight should be present than in situations where it does not belong. Thus blindness is no more something in the eye because sight should be present there than non-sight or the absence of sight is something in a stone, where it has no place. A great many other things are also expressed in the formal mode of speech, things which are not something, even though we speak of them in the same way we do of existing things. In this manner evil and nothing signify something, though what is signified is something not in reality, but in the formal mode of speech. For nothing does not signify something other than not-something or the absence of those things which are something. And evil is not something other than not-good or the absence of good where good ought to be or would be appropriate. But what is not other than the absence of what is something is certainly not something. Evil therefore is really nothing and nothing is not something. And yet they are something in some way, because we speak of them as if they were something as when we say: 'he did nothing or evil', or 'what he did is nothing or is evil'. This is the same when we say: 'he did something or good', or: 'what he did is something or it is good'.

*c. 1083.*

NOTES

1. Maurice and the other brothers were at Conflans Sainte-Honorine, where a dependency of Bec was founded in 1080; see also *Ep* 104. It is situated north-west of Paris where the river Oise joins the river Seine.

2. The brother in question is Theduinus, the first monk to make profession in the new church after it had been consecrated by Archbishop Lanfranc on 23 October 1077. He is one hundred-fourth in the Bec profession-roll.
3. The court of King Philip I of France (1060-1108) was quite close in Paris.
4. About the relationship of the tract appended to *Ep* 97 and 'De casu diaboli' see *AOO* 48*-49*, 164* footnote 29; and *VA* 28.

# 98. TO THE MONKS OF BEC.

*Anselm writes from England to his community at Bec. He informs them about his safe journey and his cordial reception by Archbishop Lanfranc. He admonishes his brothers to live diligently according to their monastic vows and begs them to pass this information to Lady Eve.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONKS AND MOST BELOVED BROTHERS WHO SERVE GOD AT THE MONASTERY OF BEC: BROTHER ANSELM,[1] THEIR SERVANT AND CO-SERVANT, WISHING THEY MAY ALWAYS LIVE IN A HOLY WAY AND RECEIVE THE REWARD OF A HOLY LIFE.

SINCE I KNOW AND KNOW for certain that your love, ever most dear to me, longs with your full attention for news about my health and well-being, I cannot weary you by any delay. Accordingly, having set out by sea on the same day Dom Girard[2] left me, at the hour called the first, divine protection brought me by your prayers to the soil of England at the ninth hour, after a successful voyage and without any of the mishaps many voyagers usually have to suffer, and allowed me to reach our lord and father Archbishop Lanfranc by evening, when I was received with joy at his country house called Lyminge.[3]

I am writing this letter the following day, and by it I wish to satisfy your afore-mentioned desire and remind you always to be fervent in your holy intent and to progress towards the better. Therefore I beg of you as a brother, exhort you as a father, that you so strive to live in peace and according to your monastic obligations that as the reward for your efforts you may succeed in being blessed and I may someday rejoice at your blessedness. May the almighty Lord

guard you with his protection from all adversity and show you his mercy in the continuing prosperity of your body and soul.

Tell our mother and lady, Eve,[4] since she, with you, is waiting with the same longing to hear about her eldest son,[5] to pray that, just as she, with you, obtained my safe journey by her prayers, despite your fears, so she may obtain my joyous return to you rejoicing.

*c. 1079/80.*

NOTES

1. Concerning Anselm's first visit to England Eadmer states: 'In the very year of his consecration therefore Anselm set out for England' (VA, 48), which would point to a date not later than February, 1080. This is questioned by F.S. Schmitt (AOO III: 228) and M. Chibnall, 'The Relations of St Anselm with the English Dependencies of the Abbey of Bec 1079-1093', *Spicilegium Beccense* 1 [Paris 1959] 522). They both suggest 1081 or possibly late 1080 as the likely date for Anselm's first journey to England. The purpose of this journey was to inspect Bec's many possessions in England and to see Lanfranc; see *VA*, 48, which also contains a list of the Bec estates in England.
2. Dom Girard of Arras would have been the most suitable guide to Wissant, the port of embarkation for England between Boulogne and Calais, as he was familiar with the roads, customs, and language of Flanders; see *Epp* 14, 15, 23, 164.
3. The archbishop's villa at Lyminge, on the road from Lympne to Canterbury, stood on the site of a Roman military station which had been superceded by a residence of the kings of Kent in Anglo-Saxon times; see Rule I: 228.
4. The widow of William Crispin and mother of Gilbert Crispin, see *Ep* 147 and Rule I: 226.
5. Anselm regarded Lady Eve as his mother and she regarded him as the eldest son of her adopted children, the monks of Bec.

# 99. TO THE NOVICE RALPH.

*Anselm writes from England to congratulate the novice Ralph on having entered the monastery of Bec and warns him of the devil's tricks which might lure him into betraying his decision.*

BROTHER ANSELM, STYLED ABBOT OF BEC: TO HIS ONCE MOST LONGED-FOR FRIEND, NOW HIS DEAREST FELLOW-MONK AND BROTHER AND SON, RALPH,[1] THE NEW SOLDIER OF CHRIST: BY DESPISING THE FALSE RICHES OF THE EARTH MAY HE OBTAIN THE TRUE RICHES OF HEAVEN.

'GLORY BE TO GOD ON HIGH', who gives good will to men on earth,[2] whose mighty right hand, according to my desire, turned the will of my beloved and longed-for friend away from the vanity of this world, which in the end does nobody any good but harms all those who love it, towards truth which, far from harming anybody, does good to all who seek it.

I speak to you briefly in this letter, friend most dear to my heart, whom, my conscience attests, I desire to see more than anyone else and with whom I long to converse face to face, more than with any other human being in the land of the living. For I know the malicious jealousy of the devil who is grinding his teeth, wasting away with envy at the thought that you are escaping from his hands, nay rather from his jaws. So I am certain he will attempt to deceive you in countless ways, by showing you either the hardship of the service of God which you have chosen or the delights of serving himself through love of the world which you have relinquished. Therefore, since by God's grace I hope I can guard you against all his sly tricks—which abound in fallacy and folly, as long as your sure hope in God does not falter—and I know for certain that at the moment no advice can satisfy your longings better than mine. My soul will have no peace within me until my eyes have seen him whom I long for, and my mouth has spoken to my dearest son, and my heart has armed my new fellow-soldier against the devil's arrows.

Therefore I beseech almighty God, who has cut you off from love of worldly vanity, and his most holy mother, who received you into her protection when you fled to her, to guard you against all confusion at the outset of your newly-begun life. And I ask you also through him, by whose grace you were inspired to do this, not to let any of the enemy's snares or temptations terrify you. For this reason this same enemy endeavors to harm you that he may rejoice at having overcome you. But God allows him to do this so you may thus earn the crown of victory which he may grant you. For nobody will be crowned, says the Apostle, *unless he has fought according to the rules of the game.*[3] Wait patiently until I return,[4] therefore, for by God's gift you will receive consolation for everything that is now troubling you. May the Lord protect you from all evils.[5] Amen.

*c. 1079/80.*

NOTES

1. Ralph, son of Lanzelinus (see *Ep* 115), was treasurer of the cathedral of Beauvais; see *Ep* 117. He remained at Bec and was professed as one hundred forty-third in the Bec profession-roll. This is another 'lettre de vocation', see *Epp* 2, 37, 56, 95, 101.
2. Lk 2:14.
3. 2 Tim 2:5.
4. For Anselm's first journey to England see *Ep* 98.
5. Ps 120:7.

# 100. TO HUGH, ARCHBISHOP OF LYON.

*Anselm thanks Hugh, Archbishop of Lyon, for the honor of his friendship, and sends him, as requested, the* Monologion *and* Proslogion, *but apologizes for not having completed any other work. Anselm beseeches him as primate of Gaul to assist certain brothers in their troubles. He excuses himself for having added the title abbot to his name at the beginning of his work.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER WHO IS TO BE REVERED WITH LOVE AND LOVED WITH REVERENCE, HUGH, ARCHBISHOP OF LYON[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, STYLED ABBOT OF BEC, WISHING HIM WHAT A FAITHFUL SON WISHES A BELOVED FATHER.

IF I WANTED TO WRITE how great and how gratifying to me are the honor and the delight of your friendship, which, according to your promise, I trust I have, and how much, even if I do not deserve to receive it, I desire by my steadfast service of will, if I can earn it no other way, not to lose it, then perhaps something ought to be withdrawn from my words lest I appear to be exaggerating the truth. But what I dare not confide adequately to a letter I will take care to preserve faithfullly, God granting, in the shrine of my heart.

Through the brothers bearing this letter, whom I know your holiness loves, I am sending your highness those writings of mine[2] you asked for. In doing this I know I am serving not my advantage but your will. Wherefore, if reading them causes you to regret having wasted time in vain, because you did not find what you thought you would, then you should put the blame not on the one who sent but on the one who ordered them. But with regard to the questions about which I said I wanted to write and your reverence asked me[3]: if I told you how many things had prevented me from dictating, anybody who does not know my way of life could not believe it. If, however, at any time I am permitted by God's grace to carry out what I intend, your prudence will be informed, if I am able.

The afore-mentioned brothers, tearfully bewailing the ruination of the inner life of their monastery, beseech me with devoted affection that, at my intercession, they may be comforted in their tribulation by the consolation of your paternal advice. But just as your wisdom has no need of our advice, so your kindness has no need of our prayers. Yet if you allow me to say what would be good for them at present, until by the visitation of divine grace the monastic way of life may be restored in their church by the presence of a regularly-elected abbot, this is what I feel: I am of the opinion that it would be better for them in the meantime to choose, with your permission, where they can live more usefully according to their intention, rather than to force them to stay where they are now living uselessly, lacking physical and spiritual necessities, unbearably weighed down by that very lack, to scatter in disobedience.

As to the fact that I have added the title abbot to our name in the superscription of our little work: I did this not in order to confer more honor on my person but to exclude any confusion of names.[4]

*c. 1083/84.*

NOTES

1. Hugh of Romans was Bishop of Die from 1074, he became archbishop of Lyon and primate of Gaul in 1082. After 1077 he acted as papal legate and after his promotion to the primacy as the papal vicar in France. He was the champion of the Gregorian reform in France, which brought him into conflict with King Philip I and his fellow-bishops. He was Anselm's friend and chief advisor in matters of church politics. Anselm stayed with Hugh in Lyon during his exiles: January-15 March 1098; June 1099-early August 1100; 20 December 1103-April 1105. For their relationship see F. Liebermann, 'Anselm von Canterbury und Hugo von Lyon', in *Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an G. Waitz gewidmet* (Hannover, 1886) 156-203 and W. Lühe, *Hugo von Die und Lyon* (Leipzig, 1898).
2. The *Monologion* and *Proslogion*; see *Ep* 109.
3. Anselm had not completed any other work when this letter was written; see *AOO* 49*-51*, 62*.
4. See *Ep* 72

# 101. TO HELINAND.

*Anselm praises Helinand for having chosen the monastic way of life and warns him of the various traps of the devil which might lead him to desert his vow to despise the world. He extols the monastic way of life to encourage Helinand to persevere.*

THE SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD DWELLING TOGETHER IN THE MONASTERY OF BEC, BROTHER ANSELM: TO HIS BELOVED BROTHER, HIS LONGED-FOR SON HELINAND, WISHING THAT HE MAY HAPPILY COMPLETE WHAT HE BEGAN WELL.[1]

BLESSED BE GOD from whom comes *every good gift and every perfect gift,*[2] who turns your eyes away *from beholding vanity*[3] and raises your soul to follow truth. It is up to you, therefore, my longed-for friend, to ponder with assiduous care that *no man, putting his hand to the plough and looking back is fit for the kingdom of heaven.*[4] For the ancient enemy will certainly not cease assailing you more rigorously with all kinds of tricks once he sees you anxiously trying to avoid his snares.

Frequently he will recall to your mind's eye how delightful were those things you used to enjoy and thus continually insinuate how difficult it will be to avoid the pleasures you were accustomed to, how impossible it will be for you to persevere in that austere rigor and rigorous austerity throughout your whole life, wherefore, at the memory of accustomed delights, your soul may be more horrified at the temperance of a more sublime way of life. Someday under the guise of wisdom, he will feign giving you better advice than what you yourself propose; that, for example, by deserting depravity with the intention of embracing the life of a cleric you want to continue living religiously. And that you can save your soul by the improvement of your life without imprudently taking on a burden you cannot bear. But if he realizes that there is no way he can turn you from your intention of [living] a more perfect life, he will pretend to agree with you, as if approving your plan, and

he will not stop laying various snares along your path. At some other time, having offered you the opportunity of sinning here and urging temptation on you there, this sly fellow will add eloquence of this kind: 'What you have determined to do is so good that it can destroy any amount of maliciousness. Therefore, why hesitate to satisfy your will in the meantime since—whether your sins are many or few—you do not doubt they can quickly be wiped out the same way?' Yet another time he will try to deceive you thus: 'Indeed what you want to do is good but the time is not opportune, for only when the wantonness of youth which cannot stand the burden of that regular discipline has cooled down, can the maturity of age accept religious severity'. If he sees that you are so foolish as to let your intention be obstructed if made public, he will try anything by any means to noise this about to those by whom you can be held back either by force, or by love or by any other persuasion. He will promise, too, that if you are willing to delay the good you propose for a little while, you will be able to do it much more fruitfully and profitably, both for the salvation of the many whom you will draw along with you and for the advantage of the future monastery, for which you will have collected money from all around. And what if he attempts to accuse you of having acted with frivolity and unreflected haste in wanting to bind yourself not only by making a promise but also by arranging in advance a pledge by indissoluble vow, when you could carry out that same intention no less well, and perhaps even better, by your own free will?

My dearest friend, I would write a lot more elaborately about what should be replied to all these traps, did the law of letter-writing not force me not to overstep conciseness. Accept, in a few words, therefore, the sincere advice of your friend against this plot.

Anyone who imagines that foregoing the pleasures of the world and persevering in the exercise of virtue is extremely hard, even impossible, has never experienced how praise-

worthy and delightful it is not to submit to but to command one's vices through love and the hope of the heavenly kingdom. Anyone who imagines that it is better for him to live piously in the habit of a cleric than to submit to the insupportable burden of monastic life should consider with how much joy that burden is celebrated throughout the entire world by both sexes, by persons of all ages and conditions. He should also know that it is far more difficult to preserve holiness of life by one's free will in the midst of worldlings than under discipline within the monks' cloister. Now I would not say that the intended way of life, among all the other ways, reaches a higher level of humility which is followed by a higher level of exaltation, if it were not true that nobody abandons the monk's intention in order to live a better life and that all kinds of people flock eagerly to monastic life in order to draw nearer to God.

Someone who heaps sin upon sin because he expects the remission of all his sins proves by loving sin that he does not love at all and therefore does not deserve the absolution of his sins. Someone who puts off correcting his life to a future date, perhaps to a time that may never come, is abandoning a certain for a doubtful good and by despising what he has lost shows that he does not love what he expects and does not deserve to receive it. Someone who is not sure that his constancy is firm enough not to be deflected from its good intention by any means should conceal his goodwill completely and not let it become public until he has carried it out. Someone who puts off doing the good he plans to do with the intention of doing it better, is good, as long as the better thing is assured. But if achieving the greater good is uncertain, abandoning the lesser good is exceedingly ruinous and irreparable. It is advisable to hasten to do the lesser good for fear that by expecting more from the greater good neither the greater nor the lesser good be achieved. Someone who judges it a light-hearted matter so to bind himself by a vow to do something good that he is no longer free not to do it would consider light-

hearted that teacher who says: *make your vow and fulfil it*.[5] For someone who vows what is good should in no way be censured; only someone who does not fulfill what he vowed. Indeed it is certain that anyone who makes a good vow pleases God by this vow. Therefore someone who vows something good will not regret having done it to please God, but will hasten to fulfil what he vowed in order to please him even more.

This advice and these consolations, dearest son, I have considered most necessary for you at present. Not because of my position but by your own free will, have I, whom you chose as your father and advisor, dictated them out of paternal solicitude. Do not meanwhile cease reminding yourself of it until, by God's help, you have carried out what you vowed by his inspiration. Farewell, desired friend of my heart, and hasten to satisfy my desire for you; oh that it may please almighty God to do this! Amen.

*c. 1079/93.*

NOTES

1. Helinand was a secular cleric who had recently become a monk. This is a typical Anselmian 'lettre de vocation'; see also *Ep* 2, 37, 56, 95, 101.
2. Jm 1:17.
3. Ps 118:37.
4. Lk 9:62.
5. Ps 75:12.

# 102. FROM POPE GREGORY.

*Pope Gregory VII entreats Anselm to persevere in praying for him and for the Church and asks him to remedy a complaint against one of his monks.*

GREGORY,[1] BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD: TO ANSELM, THE VENERABLE ABBOT OF BEC, GREETINGS AND APOSTOLIC BLESSING.

WHEREAS THE GOOD SCENT of your fruits has wafted as far as us, for which we give due thanks to God and embrace you heartily in the love of Christ, believing with certainty that by the example of your endeavors the Church of God has been advanced towards virtue and that by your prayers and those of others like you, it may, by the help of Christ's mercy, be rescued from impending perils. You know, brother, if the prayer of one just person prevails with God,[2] what will that of many just persons do? Indeed it will prevail and without doubt will procure what it requests.[3] We are obliged on the authority of Truth himself to acknowledge this: *Knock* he says, *and it will be opened to you, ask and you shall receive*.[4] Knock simply, ask simply even for those things pleasing to him. The door is simple, the Giver is simple. He wants to be asked for simple things and those which are appropriate to him. In this way it will be opened to you, in this way you will receive, in this way the prayer of the just will be heard. Wherefore we desire that your fraternity and your monks pray fervently to God that his Church and we who, though unworthy, preside over it, may be rescued from the impending oppression of heretics and that, once they have renounced their error, he may lead them back into the way of truth.

Some pilgrim has lodged a complaint with us about one of your brethren. *The Lord is just and loves justice; His countenance beholds the righteous*.[5] Imitate your Lord, imitate the Master from whom you have the doctrine of life. We also admonish you to do justice in his sight to Hubert,[6] our beloved son and—as we know—your friend.

*c. 1079.*

NOTES

1. Gregory VII ruled from 22 April 1073-25 May 1085.
2. Cf. Jm 5:16.
3. Cf. 2 Kgs 19:38.
4. Mt 7:7.
5. Ps 10:8.
6. Hubert, sub-deacon of the holy Roman Church, was sent as papal legate to the Anglo-Norman kingdom in 1072 and 1079/80; see *Ep* 125; *OV* II: 252; *EHD* II:643, 647; *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans., H. Clover and M. Gibson (Oxford, 1979) letters 3, 38, 39; Tillmann, *Legaten*, 15-17; *CS* 625-627.

# 103. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*Anselm reluctantly sends Gilbert Crispin back to England after his appointment as abbot of Westminster.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, THE REVEREND ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC: BROTHER ANSELM, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD DWELLING AT BEC, WITH THESE SAME FELLOW-MONKS OF HIS, FAITHFUL SERVANTS OF THEIR LORD AND RESPECTFUL SONS OF THEIR RESPECTED FATHER.

WITH REGARD TO DOM GILBERT[1] we have complied with your command by sending him to you. If it is much later than you commanded, this was surely not done out of negligence, but because of many hindrances which would take too long to relate now. But you should know that if anything occurs to make him remain in the land of the English this will cause exceedingly grave damage—greater indeed than can be briefly stated here—for the present and the future, the inward and outward affairs of our church, as well as great sadness. Wherefore, through the devotion and charity which we know your paternity has always had for us, we pray and beseech as hard as we may, with due respect to the justice and reverence of your holiness that if you can see how this can be done without opposing God's

will, he may, at your insistence, be sent back to his brothers and the friends who long for him, for the sake of his certain salvation and the benefit of others, rather than be forced upon foreigners at the risk of his own ruin and with doubtful benefit to them.[2]

We appeal briefly for what we greatly desire and believe to be expedient, because we are well aware that a few words suffice for your holiness. If your prudence knows that divine disposition so resists our petition that it is necessary to act differently, whatever your prudence would advise me if I were present to permit or to bring about in this matter, I commit to your authority.

*c. 1084/85.*

NOTES

1. Gilbert Crispin; see *Ep* 84.
2. Lanfranc had written after choosing Gilbert to be abbot of Westminster; see *Ep* 106.

# 104. TO THE BROTHERS LIVING AT CONFLANS.

*In his letter to the monks of Bec living at Conflans Anselm orders the monk Benedict, who is staying on in Paris against his abbot's will, to return to his monastery Saint Pierre-sur-Dives. He asks his monks to comply to Dom Ralph's demands and to inform Dom Ursus of Saint Martin-des-Champs about his recovery from a recent illness. He asks Dom Maurice to return his letters.*

BROTHER ANSELM, ABBOT OF BEC: TO THE BROTHERS OF BEC LIVING AT CONFLANS,[1] GREETINGS.

I SEND OUR LETTER TO BENEDICT, the monk of Saint Pierre-sur-Dives who is staying on in Paris because of the schools and living at the monastery of Saint Magloire.[2] I order and advise him to return to his monastery, from which he is absent against the will of his abbot.[3] His abbot has

promised me that out of affection for us he would show him mercy and mildness if he were to return. If he wants to do this, kindly help him with charitable care as much as possible, as if he were a monk of our monastery, so he may come either on horseback to our monastery or by boat as far as Fresne.[4]

Do as Dom Ralph[5] instructed you about his horse and about the monk of Saint Germain: but do not say that you were instructed [to do this] by me but by Dom Ralph. Farewell, and know that by the mercy of God I have completely recovered from the illness I recently had; and make this known to our friend Dom Ursus.[6] We are still waiting for our letters which Dom Maurice is supposed to have sent us.[7] Once more, farewell.

*c. 1085.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 97.
2. Magloire/Maglorius was born and educated in Ireland. Together with Samson he went to Brittany where he founded monasteries under the protection of King Childebert (511-558). He was bishop of Dol and abbot of his monastic foundation on the Isle of Sark and he died c. 575. In the tenth century his relics were translated to the newly-founded abbey of Saint Magloire in Paris; see D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1978) 256.
3. Abbot Fulk of Saint Pierre-sur-Dives; see *Epp* 61, 88, 105.
4. On the river Seine near les Andelys.
5. Possibly the same Dom Ralph as mentioned in *Ep* 55.
6. Dom Ursus was prior of Saint Martin-des-Champs in Paris; see *Ep* 162.
7. See *AOO* 161*-164*; and Introduction above.

# 105. TO FULK, ABBOT OF SAINT PIERRE-SUR-DIVES.

*Anselm beseeches Abbot Fulk of Saint Pierre-sur-Dives to receive his monk Benedict back into the monastery.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, THE REVEREND ABBOT FULK: BROTHER ANSELM SENDS PRAYERS AND FAITHFUL SERVICE.

YOUR SON[1], WHO LEFT your paternity without permission, penitent and prepared to give full satisfaction according to your judgement, is humbly returning. He does not ask you to remit the punishment he deserves but rather, in your mercy, to take him back, even as the last, into the fold deserted through his own fault. I beseech your holiness, therefore, that your strictness not so much consider what he did in sinning, as your mercy carefully weigh what he is doing in humility by repenting. I beseech our other brothers and fellow-monks, your sons, that they, imploring the mercy of your paternity for him, show that they are glad that their brother *was dead and is alive again, was lost and is found*.[2] Indeed you should show your judgement and mercy to that brother by the measure—as it is written, *I shall sing of mercy and judgement to you, O Lord*[3]—that the power and the prudence are yours to the extent that mercy may surpass judgement.[4]

*c. 1085.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 104.
2. Lk 15:32.
3. Ps 100:1.
4. Cf. Jm 2:13; *RB* 64:10 (CSEL 75/2:164).

# 106. TO GILBERT, ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER.

*Anselm congratulates Gilbert Crispin on his promotion to the abbacy of Westminster.*

TO HIS MOST BELOVED GILBERT[1], ONCE HIS SON BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE, NOW BY THE GRACE OF GOD HIS FELLOW ABBOT: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HIM A LONG AND HOLY LIFE IN PROSPERITY IN THIS WORLD AND A BLISSFUL LIFE ETERNALLY IN THE WORLD TO COME.

EVEN IF I WRITE YOU somewhat belatedly, my beloved friend, having been hampered by illness, to congratulate you on the recent grace conferred on you by God, it is not out of indifference for what concerns the kindness of my will that I say: *Glory be to God on high and on earth* joy *to men of goodwill,*[2] because he has publicly shown his judgement of you, which till now he had kept hidden, even though, as far as human assessment was concerned, we always thought very highly of you.

In that way of life in which, by holding you always in his grace,he trained you in wisdom and nurtured you in holiness, then, he set you up as a father, a teacher, and a pastor of souls. Much more is to be expected from you, and others like you, whose life has been nurtured by a holy way of life, than from me and others like me, whose life was once worn down by a worldly way of life. Of you it is to be expected that, since you have been promoted to the care of others, your good example will be successfully followed, as long as you teach others to be like yourself; but, of me, it is to be feared, since I am weighed down by such a burden, that my bad example may be magnified in the secret judgement of God. Therefore the more we can expect from your holiness in having accepted the office, the more cheerfully and freely can we rejoice in your having been granted this grace.

May almighty God, who set you as guardian over others, so help and guard you by his grace that he may reward you with eternal bliss for your good example to others.

*c. 1085.*

NOTES

1. See *Epp* 84, 103, and *Heads*, 77.
2. Lk 2:14.

# 107. TO BISHOP G.

*Anselm thanks Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, for his prayers and his promise of help and begs him to assist Dom Richard.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, THE REVEREND BISHOP G.[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, STYLED ABBOT OF BEC, WISHING HIM TEMPORAL PROSPERITY AND ETERNAL BLISS.

WE GIVE THANKS TO YOUR HOLINESS who, having been entreated by our prayers and those of our brothers, deigned to grant us yours through our beloved brother Dom Riculf,[2] and to promise the help of your kindness whenever the opportunity should present itself. Since we have far too little to be able to repay you worthily, we ought so much the more to give all we can to the service of your highness both by deed and by will; we pray God for whose sake you promised us this, that he may repay you according to his abundant generosity, something we are not able to do because of our poverty.

As regards your son, our brother Dom Richard,[3] although he has behaved quite honorably to us and we prefer rather to serve than to request anything, nevertheless we beg your kindness, since the matter demands it, that, if he should request anything of you or your prebend, you may grant him, for the sake of our love, what is not unbecoming to your honor.

*c. 1077-93.*

NOTES

1. G seems to stand for Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester; see *Ep* 78.
2. Riculf, eightieth in the Bec profession-roll, was sacristan at Bec. Eadmer quotes him as an authority for the life of St Anselm; see *VA* 24-26, 149.
3. Richard/Ricoard; see *Ep* 78 , in which Anselm makes a similar recommendation.

# 108. TO MAINER, ABBOT OF SAINT ÉVROUL.

*Anselm informs Abbot Mainer of Saint-Évroul about the delay of his second journey to England and thanks him for his prayers. He asks to have Dom Serlo sent to him.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, THE REVEREND ABBOT MAINER[1]:
BROTHER ANSELM SENDS GREETING.

YOU SHOULD KNOW that I shall not be going on that journey[2] which I mentioned to you before the Octave of Epiphany. Furthermore, I do not know when I shall travel or whether I shall travel at all. In the meanwhile, if it pleases you to have Dom Serlo[3] come to us, when this is convenient to you, he may stay as long as you command. This would indeed please me and, I think, not displease him. I pray your holiness, if it is no trouble to you, that what I have told you about our journey should be made known by you to our fellow-monks and friends at the monastery of Séez. I know that they, like you, are earnestly praying for me for the safety of this journey. Nor should your charity regret having prayed for our journey, because I am not yet traveling. For God is able to make use of your prayers for me at the right time. Farewell.

*c. 1085.*

NOTES

1. Mainer, son of Gunscelin of Échauffour became a monk of Saint-Évroul, was made prior by Abbot Robert of Grandmesnil (1059-61), and elected abbot in 1066. He ruled capably for twenty-two years and seven months till his death in February 1089; see *OV* II: 144-150 and *passim*.
2. Anselm's second journey to England took place from mid-Lent until just after Whitsun 1086; see *Ep* 115. M. Chibnall, 'The Relations of St Anselm with the English Dependencies of the Abbey of Bec 1079-1093', *Spicilegium Beccense* I (Paris, 1959) 522, suggests that the Domesday survey might have provided the reason for Anselm's second journey to England in order to secure the titles of his abbey to its lands. For the Domesday survey see *ASC* in *EHD* II: 161, and *EHD* II: 851-852; V.H. Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book* (Oxford, 1961). See also *Epp* 116, 118, and H.E. Salter, 'Two Deeds about the Abbey of Bec', *EHR* 40 (1925) 74-6.
3. Serlo succeeded Abbot Mainer in 1089 as abbot of Saint Évroul. In July 1091 he became Bishop of Séez, where he ruled till his death on 27 October 1123.

# 109. TO HUGH, ARCHBISHOP OF LYON.

*Anselm is pleased by the interest and appreciation shown by Archbishop Hugh of Lyon for the works he had sent him. He asks him to change their titles to* Monologion *and* Prosolgion *and states his intention of writing further treatises.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, HUGH, THE VENERABLE ARCHBISHOP OF LYON: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HIM A HOLY LIFE IN THIS WORLD AND A BLESSED ONE IN THE WORLD TO COME.

THE WEIGHT OF AUTHORITY causes me to ascribe weight to my trifles. Since your highness values our little works so highly that you have deigned to ask for them and read them,[1] I flatter myself not a little that they please so great a man. I do not, therefore, think your prudence would deride me if I devised more apt titles for these little works. I pray, that if you could once more obtain the little books I sent at the command of your holiness, you call the one

(which I called *Monoloquium*) *Monologion,*[2] erasing the redundant heading 'On the reason of faith'; and the other you entitle *Proslogion,* and not *Alloquium;* and following this correction to the titles you should emend the end of the Preface of the smaller book, in which these titles are mentioned.

At this point it is neither necessary to explain why I am eagerly asking for this alteration to be made—only if it can be done—nor is it consistent with the brevity I intended for this letter. If you do this according to our request, I wish to repay your paternity so that, if God permits me to write those works I wish to write,[3] I will not withhold them from your sight since I hope they will please you no less than the previous ones.

May God, by his protection, watch over and continue to watch over your fidelity, which I have commended once and for all to my heart which trusts and will no less continue to trust in the kindness of your holiness.

*c. 1085.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 100.
2. For the development of this work, see *Ep* 72.
3. See *Ep* 100.

# 110. TO ABBOT HENRY.

*Anselm mistrusts the oral information that Abbot Henry has given permission for Dom Fulcerald to become a monk at Bec. He requests a written confirmation with Abbot Henry's seal attached.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, THE REVEREND ABBOT HENRY[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING ENDURING PROSPERITY IN THIS LIFE AND ETERNAL BLISS IN THE LIFE TO COME.

THE BEARER OF THIS LETTER reported to me that your holiness is prepared to follow our will concerning Dom Fulcerald, your son. Since I see neither your letter nor your seal, which is a reliable witness to a document, I do not entirely trust your messenger: nor, when I recall to mind that the friend asked by a friend for three loaves of bread, although he did not get up *because he is his friend, yet because of his importunity* gets up and gives *him as many as he needs*,[2] am I entirely incredulous. For if the laziness of the sleepy friend was overwhelmed by his importunity in the middle of the night, how much more will my importunity over so many years procure from your charity?

If, therefore, God has put into your heart to give your afore-named son up altogether to our church under the governance of its abbot[3]—for I do not ask, nor is it expedient for him to return because of the danger and difficulties of the long way he came—I pray by that same importunity that a letter confirmed by your seal should show me your undoubted will. When we are truly certain of this it will be our responsibility to take care of him.

*After Ep 55.*

NOTES

1. For Henry and Fulcerald (Folcerald), see *Epp* 55, 111, 209.
2. Lk 11:8.
3. This general phrase with no mention of either Abbot Herluin or Abbot Anselm may point to the period between the former's death on 26 August 1078 and the latter's consecration on 22 February 1079.

# 111. TO HIS COUSIN FULCERALD.

*Anselm informs his cousin Dom Fulcerald that in the serious matter of changing his monastery he cannot rely on oral information alone. He needs Abbot Henry's written and sealed consent of release before receiving him at Bec.*

TO HIS DEAREST BROTHER IN CHRIST, HIS KINSMAN IN THE FLESH, FULCERALD[1]: BROTHER ANSELM SENDS GREETINGS.

IF DOM ABBOT HENRY IS PREPARED to grant you to our church in perpetuity[2]—for I advise you not to come otherwise, since it is neither proper nor easy for a monk to set out and then to return on so long a journey—, you should have insisted that he inform me of this by his letter and seal as I ordered, so you are not forced, poor man, to toil on such a journey in vain. It is not fitting for me to initiate such an action merely on the word of such an unimportant fellow. I advise you, therefore, either to send a letter with the seal of the afore-named Dom Abbot, as I have said, or to renounce entirely what cannot be done at all and to commit the whole disposition of your life to divine mercy.

*The same time as Ep 110.*

NOTES

1. Fulcerald/Folcerard, see *Epp* 55, 110, 209.
2. See *RB* 61:13 on the reception of monks.

# 112. TO HUGH THE HERMIT.

*At the request of the hermit Hugh, even though he considers Hugh himself much better qualified, Anselm describes briefly the life of love and unity in the kingdom of heaven. Love for God and one's neighbor unimpeded by love for anybody or anything else will win this gift from God. The life of a monk is the surest path to this goal. Anselm refers Hugh to his* Proslogion *for written advice on this matter.*

TO HIS LORD AND DEAREST FRIEND HUGH, THE HERMIT[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, STYLED ABBOT OF BEC, WISHING HIM TO BE EXCLUDED FROM THE EVIL AND INCLUDED WITH THE GOOD.

RECENTLY TWO LAYMEN CAME to me saying they had been sent by your love, to gather from my exhortation something with which to fire their love for the heavenly homeland. Through them, they told me, you also asked to receive something short written by me, with the help of which you could inspire the minds of the secular people who come to you to despise this world and love the eternal kingdom.

This you can carry out far better by yourself because you draw more freely on the sweetness of celestial life. What I contemplate as from far away, you discern by savoring; and what I, with a hungry mind, mutter with my lips, you gulp down to your heart's content. What I conceive about the rectitude of a holy life you achieve in your deeds; and what I can merely talk about, you savor by putting into practice. Therefore, just as a well fed man can belch more agreeably than someone fasting, so your exhortation induces more sweetly what you try to argue. But since I cannot refuse your will in anything, although what you ask of me you would find much better in the breadth of Holy Scripture, yet I shall say something at your request, lest you accuse me of belittling it. Therefore, I consider that an illiterate person, incapable of grasping higher ideas, could be encouraged towards the desire for eternal beatitudes in the following way:

Dearest brother, God proclaims that he has the kingdom of heaven up for sale. For the kingdom of heaven is such that neither the eye of mortal man can see, nor his ear hear, nor his heart imagine its blessedness and glory.[2] So that you may be able to imagine it [I say this]: if anyone deserves to reign there, whatever he wills shall be done in heaven and on earth; whatever he does not will shall be done neither in heaven nor on earth. For so great shall be the love between God and those who shall be there, and between themselves, that they shall all love each other as they love themselves but all shall love God more than themselves. And because of this, no one there shall will anything but what God wills; and what one wills, all shall will; and what one or all will, this shall God himself will. Wherefore, whatever anyone individually wills, shall come about for himself and for all the others, for the whole of creation, and for God himself. And thus they shall each be perfect kings, because what they will individually, shall come about; and all of them shall at the same time be one king with God and, as it were, one person, because they shall all will one thing, and what they will shall come about. From heaven God proclaims that he has such merchandise for sale.

If anyone asks the price, this is the answer: He who wills to give a kingdom in heaven has no need of earthly payment, nor can anyone give God anything he does not already have, for all that is is his. Yet God does not give so great a gift for nothing, for he does not give it to anyone who does not love. No one gives what he holds dear away to someone to whom it is not dear. Since God does not need your gift, therefore, he is not bound to give such a gift to someone who scorns loving it: he asks for nothing but love; without it he is not bound to give. Give love, therefore, and receive the kingdom; love and possess.

Moreover, since reigning in heaven is nothing but being so welded in love into one will with God and all holy angels and men, that all at the same time experience one power:

love God more than yourself and you will already begin to hold what you want to have there in perfection. Be of one heart with God and men—as long as they are not opposed to God—and you shall already begin to reign with God and all the saints. According to how well you are of one heart with God and men in their will, so God and all the saints will be of one heart with you in your will. If, therefore, you will to be king in heaven, love God and men as you should and you will deserve to be what you choose.

But you shall not be able to possess this perfect love until you have emptied your heart of all other love. Indeed with the human heart and this love it is as with the vessel and the oil. The more water, or any other similar liquid, the vessel holds, the less oil it can contain; so, too, to the extent the heart is occupied by any other love, in the same measure it excludes this one. Here is another comparison: as a stench is the opposite of a scent, and darkness of light, so all other love is to this love. Just as opposites cannot exist together at the same time, therefore, so this love cannot reside within a single heart along with any other love. So it is that those who fill their hearts with love of God and their neighbor will nothing but what God wills or another person wills—as long as this is not contrary to God.

From this it follows that they press on eagerly by prayers, conversations, and meditations on heavenly things, because it is pleasant for them to desire God and to speak and hear and meditate about him whom they love so much. From this it follows that they *rejoice with those who rejoice, weep with those who weep,*[3] mourn with those who mourn and give to the needy: because they love others as much as themselves. From this it follows that they despise riches, power and pleasure and being honored and praised. For someone who loves these things often does something contrary to God and his neighbor. For *on these two commandments depend all the law and the prophets.*[4] Therefore, anyone who wishes to possess perfectly this love with which the kingdom of heaven is purchased should love contempt,

poverty, hard work and submission, as do holy men. For *he who humbles himself will be exalted.*[5]

I have briefly expressed these points, dearest friend, as you asked; but your prudence can add much more than I have said when you enlarge upon them. If, however, your holiness wants to read at greater length something written by me about the fullness of eternal blessedness, you can find it at the end of my little book called *Proslogion.*[6] There I dealt with complete joy. Farewell and pray for me.

*c. 1086.*

NOTES

1. In *Ep* 45 Hugh is called the hermit of Caen.
2. Cf. 1 Cor 2:9.
3. Rom 12:15.
4. Mt 22:40.
5. Lk 18:14.
6. See *Ep* 109.

# 113. TO ABBOT PETER.

*Anselm discusses the case of the novice Ursus, who had first come to Bec with the intention of becoming a monk there, and had then gone to Abbot Peter's monastery with the same intention, but eventually returned to make his profession at Bec.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, THE REVEREND ABBOT PETER[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, STYLED ABBOT OF BEC, WISHING THAT THROUGH THE HOLINESS OF THIS LIFE HE MAY OBTAIN THE BLISS OF THAT TO COME.

I ACKNOWLEDGE MYSELF to be the brother of your holiness, as you charged me, and to want to preserve this fraternity as you requested. Since you wish to claim the cleric Ursus,[2] who made his petition and monk's vow[3] with you and is now staying with us, we shall do no less for you in his regard than we would expect to be done for us by your charity.[4]

You should know that he made a petition and the monk's vow to us before doing so to you. If by this, therefore, you—to whom he later made that petition and that vow, having been won over by the insistence of your prayers—consider you can justly recall him, then we to whom he made this [vow] earlier of his own free will, having come from a long distance and not having been forced by any persuasion of ours—can, far more justly, retain him. Furthermore, he is under a much greater obligation to preserve the truth of his first, free, promise than to violate that same first promise. If you have witnesses to the afore-mentioned petition and vow and to his profession, we who hold the statement of his will with witnesses and his profession, and received his earlier promise, have more.

Moreover, it is no secret to your prudence that so long as a novice, without obligation, voluntarily seeking the monastic way of life, lives in a monastery before his profession, according to our Rule he can be relocated to test his stability. Nor in the meantime can anybody force him to remain, but he must be given the unrestricted opportunity to leave. I do not say he does not sin if, having been misled by diabolical persuasion, he takes fright and abandons the good intention he has embraced and what he has often, by word of mouth, truly promised; but, I say, although he can be accused of lying in God's sight, it is not, however, up to the abbot violently to exact what he promised from him. You realize that both you and I are equally bound to observe this reasoning. Wherefore, if you want the afore-mentioned cleric to return to you, send for him; and if he chooses, he may have the unrestricted opportunity of going away from us; if, however, he does not choose to do this, he should not have to suffer accusations from your prudence for wanting to stay with us, nor should we harbor any intention of driving him away. In this way, I suggest, I am behaving towards you with paternal affection, as you requested, if I do not refuse to do to your fraternity what I would expect you to do fairly to me.

We have replied to your accusation, which you say is the reasoning behind our excuse; yet since this matter is being discussed between us and you, we dare not give you advice. Nevertheless we are not prevented from saying how we would act in a similar situation. It is our policy at least never to hold an unwilling novice before his dedication, which he makes by voluntarily accepting the cowl, if he should wish to go to any other monastery; but at the same time absolving him as far as we can, we give him our advice, if he asks for it, and our help. But if, forsaking his good intentions, he should no longer want to be a monk, we do not absolve him from the vow he has obligated himself to carry out; but not bringing any pressure to bear on him, we abandon him to the judgement of God to whom he obligated himself. If, however the afore-mentioned cleric remains with us, and you want to retain the possessions he gave to us just as he gave himself before he made his petition and monk's vow to you, you will not endure any accusation from us because of this. Farewell.

*c. 1087/88.*

NOTES

1. Possibly abbot of Ivry in the diocese of Evreux from about 1071.
2. He seems to be two hundred fifty-sixth in the Bec profession-roll. This would suggest a date about 1087/88; see also *Epp* 37, 146.
3. On the reception of monks, see RB 58:19, 20, 29.
4. See *RB* 61:14.

# 114. TO COUNTESS IDA.

*Anselm thanks Countess Ida of Boulogne for her many substantial gifts. He asks for her encouragement and help for Dom Richard who promised to become a monk at Bec. He extends greetings to her husband and children.*

TO HIS MOST BELOVED LADY, COUNTESS IDA,[1] OUTSTANDING IN NOBILITY OF BIRTH AND CONDUCT: BROTHER ANSELM, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD LIVING AT BEC, TOGETHER WITH HIS FELLOW-MONKS, WISHING SHE MAY BE STEADFAST TO THE END IN THE BURNING DESIRE FOR GOD, THAT SHE MAY REJOICE WITHOUT END IN THE LONGED-FOR SIGHT OF GOD.

WE WOULD WISH TO GIVE THANKS to your reverend highness with our whole mind, but in relation to the magnitude of the kindness and good deeds you have lavished on us and on many for our sake, we cannot in any way adequately do so. Therefore we pray to him, for whose sake you did so many good deeds for us and for anyone else you could, that he may himself repay you according to the multitude of his riches, as we desire. Out of the abundance of such charity we exhort you not to grow weak in doing good,[2] that in due time you may reap boundlessly.

Dom Richard,[3] the bearer of this letter, promised us he would return to us, if God granted him this and from then on remain with us. We implore your reverence, therefore, to strengthen him, according to the understanding of your prudence, and in all things in which he may have need of your help to assist him for the sake of God's love and our own.

Greetings to our lord the Count, your husband, and to your children, and to yourself on our behalf, since we have no more trusty messenger from us to them than your fidelity.

*Not later than 1093.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 82.
2. 2 Th 3:13.
3. See *Ep* 131.

# 115. TO WILENCUS.

*Anselm assures Wilencus of his love and desires his presence. He urges him to leave the world and become a monk at Bec. He informs him of his absence on a second journey to England but assures him he will be joyfully received by many other monks at Bec.*

TO HIS BELOVED, HIS FRIEND, HIS LONGED-FOR WILENCUS: BROTHER ANSELM, STYLED ABBOT OF BEC, WISHING THAT HE MAY NOT LOVE THE WORLD NOR THE THINGS OF THE WORLD BUT BE LOVED BY GOD AND LOVE GOD.

WHAT SHALL I SAY FIRST in my letter to my beloved friend, except what he most expects from my love? For the beloved soul of my soul, by sending a letter burning with love and emitting a fragrance of love asks me for signs of love and a letter of consolation. What is sweeter, however, what more delightful, what gives greater consolation to love than love? What then shall I write which could console you more, my friend, than that my soul loves you so much that unless it holds you fast, my heart will not be consoled for you, or my desire satisfied. When you ask me to love you with such affection and such longing, at least you should act so that I not only love you by will but also desire you by necessity. And certainly nothing consoles someone who desires except what satisfies his desire, nothing torments [him] more than delay.

Your love chooses to be consoled by a letter of my love; my love desires to be delighted by the presence of your love. If, therefore, you do not want to torment my soul, satisfy my desire which you so eagerly, so vehemently, enkindled. How can you tell me you love me and I should love you,

my beloved soul, if you want to torture my inmost heart? Moreover, if your most intimate feelings are burning with the same love as mine, it is inevitable that your soul should melt with the same desire as mine. But how can it be, or is it possible, that you want me to love you and you do not love me the same way? Lest you be cruel towards your soul and mine, therefore, come and console both yours and mine. But when you leave that city of yours, be like Lot: do not look back.[1] Keep your eyes straight ahead to perceive the path for coming [to me]: let them not look back and forget the return path. This way, with the apostle, you will forget those things which are behind you and reach out towards those which are ahead.[2] I speak candidly: come, if you wish, so we may live together and console one another.

From many sayings in Holy Scripture, dearly beloved, I could remind your love to despise the world and its covetousness, did you not already know the very passages I would mention to you. Remember, dearest friend, that through conceit we pass over to truth. Do not love conceit if you want to reach truth.

You should know that I am setting out for England[3] before the middle of this Lent and shall, with God's help, be back at our monastery around Whitsun. If, however, God should inspire you to do what I desire and what would be good for you, you know that *it is always harmful to delay what is ready*,[4] nor will there be any lack of monks to receive you with joy just as they received Dom Ralph,[5] the son of Lanzelinus, once when I was absent. May almighty God further all your wishes and actions by his counsel and support them by his help, my friend, ever dear to my heart.

*Spring 1086.*

NOTES

1. Cf. Gen 19:17.
2. Cf. Phil 3:13.
3. See *Epp* 108, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121.
4. Lucan, *De bello civili*, 1. 281.
5. See *Ep* 99.

# 116. TO THE MONKS OF BEC.

*On landing in England Anselm informs his community at Bec of the success of his journey up to then.*

TO HIS DEAREST AND MOST LONGED-FOR FELLOW-MONKS, THE SERVANTS OF GOD LIVING AT BEC: THEIR SERVANT, BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THAT THEY MAY ADVANCE FROM VIRTUE TO VIRTUE THAT THEY MAY DESERVE TO LOOK UPON THE GOD OF GODS IN SION.[1]

SHORTLY AFTER I DISEMBARKED on English soil on Sunday in the middle of Lent, at the third hour,[2] I dictated this letter to gladden your love about the success of our voyage. For, after I left you, the grace of God having smiled on your prayers, everything on land and at sea went well and honorably, far beyond my expectations, for me and those who were with me. Therefore I pray, that, just as you have done till now, so you should continue supporting our journey abroad by praying; but I pray much more that you may gladden our return by having lived a good life.

*March 1086.*

NOTES

1. Ps 83:8.
2. See *Epp* 108 and 115-121.

# 117. TO THE YOUNG MAN WILLIAM.

*Writing from England, Anselm expresses his love to young William, warns him of the wickedness of the world and beseeches him not to go to Jerusalem to help his brother but to go to Bec to become a monk like Ralph, the treasurer of Beauvais.*

TO HIS BELOVED FRIEND WILLIAM, LONGED-FOR IN GOD, IF ONLY HE HAD A SENSE OF LONGING AND LOVE: BROTHER ANSELM, STYLED ABBOT OF BEC, WISHING HE MAY DESPISE DANGEROUS AND IRKSOME VAINGLORY AND SEEK SECURE AND BLESSED TRUTH.

THE LORD ALMIGHTY, by his grace, not by my merits, has so filled my soul with love for you, my beloved and longed-for friend that, torn between desire for your salvation and fear for your peril, tormented day and night by anxiety for you, it can find no rest. And blessed be God in his gifts; O that he would take as far from you the hatred for your own soul as he has let me love your salvation! Bear with me, dear friend, and put up with someone who loves you, even if I appear importunate, and speak more severely to you than you would like. My love for your soul forces my soul not to permit yours to allow you to hate it, when it is always surrounded by my love. Receive, therefore, dearest friend, with love—which I pray God may give you—the words of someone who loves you.

You, my most beloved friend, you—and my love expresses this with grief and my grief with love!—are the one who has hated your soul loved by my soul; O if only God would lift this from you, because *he who loves wickedness hates his own soul*.[1] Indeed, it is to wickedness and wicked deeds that you are hastening with such fondness, my beloved. It is to wickedness and wicked crimes that your impetuosity for seething worldly destruction is dragging you, my longed-for friend. For the bloody confusion of wars is wickedness; the proud ambition of worldly vanity is wickedness; the insatiable greed for hollow honors and hollow riches is wickedness. It is to this—woe is me—that I see him, whom

I want to hold back by loving him so much, being dragged by that cunning enemy who is deceiving his heart. O God, friend and deliverer of men, do not let this enemy entice your servant away.

You say to me, my longed-for brother: 'I love not those things, but my brother who is involved in them; and for that reason I hasten to be involved with him in them so that I may help and guard him'. Alas for the irksome sorrow of the irksome error of Adam's offspring! Why, O man, do you not rather say: 'I love not those things, but Christ, my God: and for that reason, fleeing them, I hurry to him to be helped and guided by Him'? And you, having heard the crash of the world tumbling in ruin on your brother, despising Christ who is calling you, you rush beneath the same ruins so that one poor little mortal, one worm, may help and guard another poor little mortal, another worm beneath so confused a burden and burdensome confusion? Answer me, my brother: who will help and guard you while you are helping and guarding him? God, whom you strive to follow less than you do that brother of yours? Christ, who calls you to possess the kingdom of heaven as heirs of God and his co-heirs,[2] you scorn following in peace, in your own country, among your relatives. And through so many and such rough hardships along the journey, through the raging of the sea and howling tempest you rush to your brother in bellicose disarray to see him holding—and this is saying a lot—the kingdom of the Greeks? And you really think God helps and guards him more through you than without you, or [helps and guards] you because of your brother rather than because of himself? Indeed he is most unlikely to do this. For he grows angry if he sees anyone being loved by anyone else more than himself.

But perhaps you say: If I begin to follow Christ, I am afraid I may fall away because of my foolishness. Again and again one must grieve and weep over the errors of the sons of men. Are they not afraid of failing at those things they always fail to achieve, indeed the very failure which they

run after with their whole heart? But for fear of failure they dare not follow the God who never fails them and promises them his help? Do they take such pleasure in failing that they fail, and are afraid of making progress for fear of failing? Trust, I beg you, in God's counsel and commit yourself totally to God's help and you will not experience failure in God's service. *Cast*, beloved, longed-for and dear friend, *cast your thought on the Lord* and be assured by the Holy Spirit's promise, that *he himself will sustain you*.[3]

Do not delay so great a good for yourself but comply with my longing for you, that I may have you as my companion in following Christ; and let us struggle on together, so you may regard me as your companion and I you as mine in the inheritance of Christ by his gift. Be not ashamed to break the chains of your intended vanity, because it is not shameful but honorable to cross over into the freedom of truth. You should be ashamed to love God less than the treasurer of Beauvais does[4]: He was a young man about your age, or a little younger, spoiled, very good-looking, extremely rich, of the noblest birth and an immoderate lover of the world. Once, shortly after I had gone to England,[5] he came to Bec, for what reason I do not know, intending to leave again immediately, but suddenly, changed by the grace of the Holy Spirit, he solemnly declared that he wanted to stay on as a monk and immediately received the tonsure and took our habit. He now affirms that he is happier than he ever was in his life. Do not blush at professing yourself the poor man of Christ, for yours will be the kingdom of heaven.[6] Do not be afraid at making yourself the soldier of such a king, for the king himself will be with you in every peril. Do not tarry any longer in this life setting out on the better path as you resolved, lest perhaps you loiter in receiving the crown of blessedness in the life to come. I admonish, advise, beg, beseech, and command you, as my most beloved friend, to abandon that Jerusalem which is now a vision not of peace but of tribulation, and the treasures of Constantinople and Babylon now being

pillaged by cruel hands, and set out on the path to the heavenly Jerusalem which is a vision of peace, where you will find treasures which you can only receive by despising the former ones.

Reluctantly I bring this long letter to a close, since out of the abundance of my heart my mouth wanted to say many things to you.[7] May almighty God who did more for the man about whom I just spoke and whom I desired with a similar but slighter desire, because with less hope than I do you, may he who rejoiced my heart more than I could have hoped, not disappoint my greater hope and greater longing for you. Should God deign to inspire your heart before my return, God is at Bec with our brothers when I am absent just as when I am present. May the Lord direct your heart according to his will and satisfy my wish for you according to his mercy. Amen.

*Spring 1086.*

NOTES

1. Cf. Ps 10:6.
2. Cf. Rom 8:17.
3. Ps 54:23.
4. Ralph, see *Epp* 99, 115.
5. Anselm refers to his first journey to England in 1080/81, see *Ep* 98.
6. Mt 5:3.
7. Cf. Mt 12:34.

# 118. TO THE MONKS OF BEC.

*Anselm writes from England during his second visit. He thanks his brothers for their information about Dom Hugh's inheritance and praises them for handling the matter. He informs them that his dealings are progressing but that he has to wait until the Whitsun court before being able to obtain a royal charter to confirm the abbey's possessions. He exhorts them to live according to their monastic vows and greets Dom Hugh, Dom Odo, Lady Eva, and Lady Basilia.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONKS AND DEAREST BROTHERS, THE SERVANTS OF GOD LIVING AT BEC: BROTHER ANSELM,[1] THEIR SERVANT, WISHING THAT THEY MAY ALWAYS PROGRESS WITH HUMILITY TOWARDS BETTER THINGS AND NEVER FALL AWAY.

YOU DID WELL TO INFORM ME about the affairs of the late Dom Hugh[2] and about these matters concerning yourselves; and by telling me that you and yours are being protected by God's grace, you have given me, who has always desired this, great joy. Since however, I know that you are equally interested in finding out everything that concerns me, you should know that since I left you, with your prayers accompanying me, everything has, through God's mercy, turned out favorably for me and those who are with me. For wherever I either travel or tarry I am, by God's gift, just as if on our own lands.

In what concerns the goods of Dom Hugo which you took possession of, I have spoken with his nephew Roger,[3] and with the king, as I knew fit. But although they replied with words of encouragement, I have not yet attained the goal for which I am striving. Wherefore, if anybody else appropriates what you took possession of, then you should do no more than you have already done; but keep the moveable goods you already have from there. Since the king was willing to confirm our charter for the property we have in England,[4] but only in the donors' presence, who were not all in attendance at the Easter Court, he ordered me to wait at Court until Pentecost,[5] when everyone would once again convene at the same time. Once this confirmation has been enacted, God having granted your prayer, I wish to return to those who long for me and for whom I long.

My beloved ones, your goodness knows well that my desire is that your *religion be pure and unblemished before God the Father*[6] and my joy in this world is your virtuous life. If, therefore I have deserved anything from your charity for this good will, not to mention the reward for living virtuously, which is even greater, I pray, I beseech you, that absent or present you may gladden my heart by living virtuously and satisfy my longing and my joy by your goodness. *And may the peace of God which surpasses all understanding watch over your hearts and minds*[7] so that you strive more and more to preserve what you now are by the grace of God, and [*to preserve*] *the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.*[8]

Greet on our behalf, as kindly as you can, our most beloved Dom Hugh of Gournay[9] and Dom Odo[10], our old friend and new fellow-soldier, and our dearest ladies and mothers Lady Eva[11] and Lady Basilia.[12] Comfort them by serving and honoring them as befits you and them, and as you know I would wish. If I have to remain longer than I said, bear with it, because—as I trust God—it will not be without some profit.

*Shortly after Easter 1086.*

NOTES

1. Anselm's second visit to England lasted from mid-Lent (the middle of March) to shortly after Whitsun, 24 May 1086; see *Epp* 108, 116.
2. Dom Hugh was Count Hugh of Meulan before he became a monk at Bec in 1077. He was one of the last two to be received by Abbot Herluin, one hundred thirty-sixth or seventh in the Bec profession-roll. He died 15 October 1080; see A. Porée, *Histoire de l'Abbaye du Bec* I: 166, 332, 339.
3. Dom Hugh's sister, Adeline, was married to Roger de Beaumont. Being a loyal baron and trusted advisor to William, Duke of Normandy and King of England, he was invested with the castle of Brionne; see Rule I:220, 298.
4. For the possessions of Bec in England, see M. Morgan, *The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec* (Oxford, 1946); M. Chibnall, 'The Relations of St Anselm with the English Dependencies of Bec 1079-1093', *Spicilegium Beccense* I (Paris 1959) 521-530; M. Chibnall, 'The English Possessions of Bec in the Time of Anselm', *Spicilegium* II (Paris, 1984) 273-82.

5. At Westminster, see *ASC* in *EHD* II, 161.
6. Jm 1:27.
7. Phil 4:7.
8. Eph 4:3.
9. See *Ep* 68.
10. He may be the one hundred eighty-sixth in the Bec profession-roll and may have come to Bec from Anselm's native Aosta.
11. See *Ep* 98.
12. See *Ep* 68.

# 119. TO THE MONK ROBERT.

*Writing from England, Anselm expresses his surprise that Dom Robert has left the monastery, and because of their mutual love he exhorts him to return.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK AND KINDEST BROTHER ROBERT[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HE MAY ATTAIN SALVATION AND ETERNAL LIFE.

I WAS TOLD that after I had gone to England[2] you no longer wanted to live in your monastery. If this was done with a good intention and for reasonable cause it can in some degree be tolerated; but if it was done out of some grudge, you should know that I am greatly astonished. Now even if you had some cause by which it appeared right to you to estrange yourself from your monastery, at least for the sake of our love you might appropriately have waited until you had informed me about whatever offended you, and then to have reconciled your heart by our advice, as is appropriate to a servant of God.

Therefore I pray that, if you love me and my advice—just as I have always loved and do love you—, you should go back to your monastery and there, together with others, serve God in a tranquil and gracious way of life. If, however, you do not choose to agree with me, know that this is not good for your soul and you sadden me. But if it is too hard for you to keep [the rules of conduct] I recommended to you, I would rather you abandon them than do anything which would harm your soul or your reputation. I will not now repeat the unpleasant gossip which is being spread

about you in England in connection with this affair. May your charity, dear to me, prosper and not do anything which makes me sad because your kindness is a joy to me.

*Spring 1086.*

NOTES

1. This might be Robert of Brionne, a monk of St Wandrille, about whom Anselm wrote to his prior Walter; see *Ep* 143.
2. For Anselm's second visit to England, see *Epp* 108, 118.

# 120. TO HAIMO AND RAINALD, HIS KINSMEN.

*Writing from England Anselm rejoices at the arrival of his relations Haimo and Rainald at Bec. He supports their wish to give up the vanity of the world and seek the glory of God. He encourages them to take on the monastic vow, thus also becoming his spiritual relations. Finally he implores Jesus and beseeches him to persuade Haimo and Rainald to enter the monastery at Bec.*

TO HIS MOST BELOVED AND LONGED-FOR KINSMEN, HAIMO AND RAINALD[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD LIVING AT BEC, WISHING THEY MAY DESPISE VANITY WITH ALL THEIR STRENGTH AND STRIVE FOR TRUTH WITH THEIR WHOLE HEART.

WHEN I HEARD, souls most beloved of my soul—whom my soul loves as itself and for whom it desires what it desires for itself—when I heard that you had come such a long distance to seek my face[2] I cannot express what great joy flooded my heart, how much my hope for you increased, how high my already ardent longing for you flamed up, even intensely. Already my eyes desire, most dearly beloved, desire to see your faces, already my arms stretch out to take you in their embrace. My mouth yearns for your kisses; whatever remains of my life longs for your company, that my soul may rejoice with you in the complete joy of the life to come. This, the innermost depths of my heart

choose for you, dearly beloved, passionately entreat for you; this I hope for more confidently and yearn for more ardently, because the will of the Most High has already led you to Normandy. For praying I trust and trusting I pray to him who has accomplished so much by his grace, that according to my wish he may bring what he began to a perfect end.

But since my longing torments me until I have seen what I desire, in the meantime my *mouth speaks out of the abundance of my heart.*[3] *Taste,* most cherished friends, *how sweet the Lord is,*[4] something you can never know as long as the world is still sweet to you. You know, my dearly beloved, that *the world and its desires will pass away,*[5] but God and all his glory shall remain. Someone who loves the world, therefore, chases vanity and will attain wretched indigence, but someone who, having despised the world, binds himself to God, follows truth and will attain blissful abundance.

But why do I hesitate openly to express the desire of my heart? I may speak, but let God persuade. My longed-for friends, you can do nothing so good as to grasp the intention of monastic life. Nowhere can you do this better than with him who desires this for you and who can, God granting, serve and advise you. In any case, I do not deceive you, because I am your friend and certainly I am not deceived, because I have experienced it. Let us, therefore, be monks together, let us serve God together, so that we may rejoice together over each other now and in the future. We are one flesh and one blood; let us be one soul and one spirit.

Moreover, you have approached, by approaching you enkindled the fire, by enkindling you burst into flame, by bursting into flame you fused my soul with your souls. It can be torn away but it can no longer be separated. You cannot drag it into the world with you. Either you remain with it, therefore, or you tear yourselves away from it. But if you cling to it you will be not only blood kinsmen but also spiritually akin[6]. Indeed, if you cut yourselves off from

it you will no longer be blood kinsmen but really men of flesh and blood. If you should come to this, judge for yourselves who you will be and what will be said about you. Heaven forbid, dearest friends. God avert this, dearly beloved, lest you irreparably wound the soul which loves you and unselfishly cares for you, lest you so insupportably confound my good expectations for you.

O, how my love burns within my heart; how all my affection strives to break out at once! How it seeks to express itself in words but no words suffice; how much it wants to disclose itself, but neither time nor parchment can contain it. O, speak to their hearts, good Jesus; without you no voice can prevail on their ears. Tell them to give up everything and follow you. Promise them that when you come to judge, they will sit with you and judge with you. Do not separate from me those whom you have joined to me by such affection of flesh and spirit, but gather them up with those serving you, whom you commanded me to serve. Lord, you are my witness within, and the tears I shed while writing this are my outward witnesses to how much my heart would rejoice if they were to enter the monastery with me, which is what I want: if they should do this elsewhere, how anxious and uncertain my mind would be since I know better what is good for them; if they held on to the world how grieved and sad my soul would be. I talk too much but I am compelled to do so by my immense love. O, you whom I love and long for, farewell, and stay well. Stay, I say, and remain. O that before I return I may hear that you have started on this way, and that when I come I shall find this.[7]

*Spring 1086.*

NOTES

1. Only Haimo seems to have followed Anselm's fervent plea by becoming a monk at Bec. He may be the one hundred ninety-sixth in the Bec profession-roll; see also Rule I: 252-255.

2. Anselm was away from Bec on his second visit of England; see *Epp* 108, 118.
3. Cf. Mt 12:34.
4. Cf. Ps 33:9.
5. 1 Jn 2:17.
6. consanguines/conspirituales.
7. For the extraordinary passion and the desire of unification and identification, see Southern, *Anselm*, 72-73; W. Fröhlich, 'Anselm's Weltbild as revealed in his letters', *Anselm Studies* 2 (1988) 483-525; B.P. McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350-1250.* (Kalamazoo, 1988).

# 121. TO HENRY.

*Writing from England Anselm tries to persuade Henry to make his monastic profession soon. He does this by demonstrating that a monk can more certainly win his salvation than a man living in the world and loving both God and the world.*

TO HIS LORD, BROTHER, AND FRIEND, HENRY: BROTHER ANSELM, STYLED ABBOT OF BEC, WISHING HIM THE PERFECTION AND ACHIEVEMENT OF HIS GOOD WILL.

BLESSED BE GOD IN HIS GIFTS and *holy in all his works.*[1] He permits your love to achieve so much of our desire for which you have gone away; and we pray that he may deign to accomplish what is still lacking in our vow and your reward. I am sending our advice on this matter through our brothers.

With regard to the grace and favor of the Duke, about which you wrote to me: I am very glad and give thanks for it to God, to him, and to you. This I plan to do through a letter to him when your messenger returns to him, as I heard this had been decided. And since I do not know whether this ought to be done before I return[2] please send me his first name and the names of his wife and children as soon as you can. For I remember only his name, that he is called Vitalis.

By its uprightness your love, so dear to me, has so adhered itself to me that my heart desires the very same

for you as for myself, and for this reason I have already conceived a great hope from your discourse. My mind cannot rest until this same desire of mine about you is satisfied. Although no discourse can satisfy me until God has fulfilled what I desire, then, I am going to mention only a few things about this matter because of our intimate friendship—since I do not speak to someone who is ignorant.

Ponder, therefore, dear friend: however much of the world's glory you may acquire, what would be the end, and in the end what would be the fruit, what would be the reward? And on the other hand, [ponder] what awaits those who trample the glory of the world under foot. If you say, 'not only monks reach salvation,' it is true. But who are more certain [to do so], who higher? Those who strive to love God alone or those who want to couple love of God and love of the world at the same time? But perhaps someone may say that there is also danger in a community of monks. O why does the person who says this not consider what he says? O rational nature, but, since there is danger everywhere, is it rational advice which says that you choose to remain where the danger is greater? Moreover, if someone who endeavors to love God alone keeps his intention to the end, his salvation is certain. But if someone who wishes to love the world does not abandon his intention before the end, his salvation is either non-existent or doubtful or of a lesser degree. Surely someone who does not choose to pursue that good when he perceives it to be more certain and better, proves clearly that he does not love what is good at all, or he loves it only a little.

But many say: God is more angered at the monk who sins than at others, because he falls from a loftier commitment. This is true as long as he is in sin. But surely God receives the penitent monk more kindly and more tenderly if he returns to his commitment than [he does] the non-monk who has not even reached this commitment. For even after serious sin, the man whose commitment, both before and afterwards, is such that he cannot have a greater, pleases

God more than someone who, either before or after a similar sin, neither wishes nor intends to do better, because he is unable to do it. If, therefore, it is better for the innocent and the penitent to come and to return to monastic life rather than to stay away, why do you delay? If you are snatched away from this life before [taking this step], the loss incurred is irreparable.[3]

I could tell you much, dearest friend, about the sublimity and moral certainty, the tranquility and the joy of monastic life if this letter did not already exceed its limits. Hurry therefore, towards so great a good because you will not reach the supreme good more successfully by any other means. I have seen many who promised this and then delayed it, whom death carried off so they were able neither to complete the affairs holding them back nor to begin what they had promised. I greatly fear this about you, but may God avert it from you. My dearest friend, farewell and do not delay.

*Spring 1086*

NOTES

1. Ps 144:17.
2. For Anselm's second visit to England, see *Epp* 108, 118.
3. This issue is more fully dealt with in 'Liber Anselmi Archiepiscopi de humanis moribus per similitudines', chap. 82, 83, in *Memorials of St Anselm*, ed. R.W. Southern and F.S. Schmitt (London, 1969) 71-73.

# 122. TO WALCHELIN, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

*Anselm informs Walchelin, Bishop of Winchester, that Abbot Rainer of Mont Saint Trinité had never granted any concession to Dom Stephen. At the request of Dom Robert he intercedes with the bishop of Winchester for Robert's brother Gilbert.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, THE REVEREND BISHOP WALCHELIN[1]: BROTHER ANSELM SENDS THE PLEDGE OF HIS PRAYERS AND SERVICE.

I HAVE SPOKEN TO THE LORD ABBOT of La Trinité-du-Mont[2] according to what I know to be your wish. He utterly denies that a concession was made to you by lord abbot Rainer[3] concerning Dom Stephen. The abbot considers himself in a position to confirm this denial because, he says, at your entreaties, he did concede to this same brother something to the effect that he could be recalled by himself or, after him, by the prior of his monastery and that he must return without excuse; and that your reverence, not unwillingly, accepted this interpretation. I persuaded him as well as I could, however, not to do anything rash against your will. Finally, he has already written to you or will be writing what his wishes are. In the meantime let all obstacles to delay in this brother's return be removed. During this time, if there is anything more I can do, I shall try to work it out with him according to what I know you want.

Dom Robert,[4] our brother and fellow-servant under your holiness, whom I would also like to call your friend, since I know it to be so, but dare not because perhaps not everyone who hears it will believe it: insists, I know not why, but trusting me excessively, despite myself, [insists] that I intercede with your piety for his brother Gilbert. Yet it is always extremely difficult for me to have to ask anything from somebody against his will, and most of all from someone whose kindness I want never to offend. So *I am surrounded by difficulties on all sides*.[5] For if I were not moved by devout entreaties, I should be excessively hard; if,

however, I extorted by entreaties something from someone who was unwilling—even something he would willingly give—I would be afraid of appearing importunate. Since, therefore, I dare neither to keep silent, nor to beg, at least your kind prudence will allow your servant to pose a question humbly that he may learn. *For the lips of the priest should keep knowledge and they should seek the law at his mouth because he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts.*[6]

Therefore I desire to be taught by your wisdom whether, before God, the father does not bear the iniquity of the son, or the son the iniquity of the father,[7] or whether, before kinsmen, the brother should bear the crime of a brother. We see this happening not only among many strangers but also among certain kinsmen whose authority cannot easily be censured. Finally, how can it be true that *just as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son*[8] pertains to God: in the same way it can be seen that like the flesh of one brother, so the flesh of the other brother belongs to his kinsman. If any guilt passes to the kinsman, the son is closer to his father than the brother to his brother. If, therefore, it appears to your holiness that a solution to this question can be found, tell your solution to the afore-named Gilbert, who is close to you, and the responsibility for supplying my hesitation with the answer will be on him. Farewell.

*Before 1093.*

NOTES

1. Walchelin, Bishop of Winchester, 1070-1098; see W. Fröhlich, 'Bischöfliche Kollegen', *AA* 1 (1969) 232-235; F. Barlow, *English Church*, 62 and *passim*.
2. Abbot Walter (c. 1080-1120) of La-Trinité-du-Mont at Rouen which had been founded by Goscelin of Arques; see *OV* II: 106, IV: 104.
3. Abbot Rainer succeeded Isembert, the first abbot, who had died c. 1070. Rainer died in 1077.
4. He seems to be a monk of Bec.
5. Dan 13:22.
6. Mal 2:7.
7. Cf. Ez 18:20.
8. Ez 18:4.

# 123. TO ERNULF, ABBOT OF TROARN.

*Anselm writes to Abbot Ernulf of Saint Martin of Troarn that a monk's profession of obedience to his superiors is valid until death. Therefore Bishop Odo's demand for its renewal is superfluous and unnecessary.*

TO HIS LORD AND FRIEND ABBOT ERNULF[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HIM WELL-BEING IN THIS LIFE AND IN THE LIFE TO COME.

DOM NICHOLAS, YOUR BROTHER, told me on your behalf that I should give you our advice on a certain matter, because the bishop of Bayeux[2] has summoned you for the blessing due you on your election. But I have already told your love personally how I feel about it.

Surely we know that we ought always to profess by word and demonstrate by action the obedience we promised our superiors according to the Rule. To repeat this promise in writing, so long as we are known never to have withheld it, is surely superfluous. If somebody wants to force us to do this when we are promoted to the office of superior in the abbey, this appears to be done without good reason. When we professed conversion in our way of life and obedience according to the Rule of Saint Benedict,[3] surely we promised obedience not only to abbots, nor only as long as we are under one abbot, but to all our superiors and as long as we live. For this very Rule teaches that a monk must subject himself in total obedience to his superior and that, imitating the Lord's example, we must observe obedience *until death*.[4] Therefore, for anyone who has once written and read out his monastic profession, if he has never withheld it, it is unreasonable for anyone to demand another from him. Farewell.

*c. 1088.*

NOTES

1. The abbey of Saint Martin of Troarn was founded about 1050. Ernulf/Arnulf, previously prior of Séez, was elected fourth abbot by the community of Troarn after the death of Abbot Durand on 11 February 1088. Ernulf ruled till 1112, see *OV* IV: 164; R.N. Sauvage, *L'Abbaye de St Martin de Troarn* (Caen, 1911); and M. Chibnall, 'From Bec to Canterbury', *Anselm Studies* I (1983) 27.
2. Odo, half-brother of William the Conqueror, was Bishop of Bayeux from 1049-1097, see *Ep* 87.
3. *RB* 58:17.
4. Phil 2:8; *RB* 7:34.

# 124. TO LANFRANC, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

*Anselm expresses compassion with Lanfranc in his illness and entreats him to listen to Dom Baldwin whom he is sending to Canterbury because of the needs of the community at Bec.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, THE REVEREND ARCHBISHOP LANFRANC: BROTHER ANSELM AND THE WHOLE COMMUNITY AT THE MONASTERY OF BEC, WITH ALL THEIR DEVOTION.

DEEPLY GRIEVED BY THE ILLNESS of your paternal holiness, we do not cease praying God for your recovery, for we consider your sickness our tribulation and your health our well-being[1] and we consider your life indispensable not only to us but also to mother Church, wherever your name has spread.

Your command regarding the safe-conduct of the Lombards will, God willing, be observed from now on. Dom Baldwin,[2] whom we are sending to England on account of our needs, will be able to tell you about them himself. We beseech you to help us as is your custom, according to what you learn about them and as your paternal kindness pleases.

May almighty God long preserve your life for us and for his Church in health and prosperity and in holiness pleasing to him. Amen.

*c. 1089.*

NOTES

1. This letter was written during Lanfranc's final illness, shortly before his death on 24 May 1089.
2. Baldwin of Tournai, a lawyer, entered the monastery of Bec in about 1088, two-hundred twenty-ninth in the Bec profession-roll. His training and experience in secular matters qualified him to act as advisor during Anselm's career as abbot and archbishop. He appears whenever Anselm finds himself in a critical situation, particularly during the period of the investiture controversy; see *Ep* 151.

# 125. FROM POPE URBAN II.

*At Anselm's intercession Pope Urban II reinstates Fulk, Bishop of Beauvais, and recommends him to Anselm's spiritual care. The pope rebukes Anselm for having received the Roman cleric John as a monk at Bec. He demands the return of any belongings of the deceased subdeacon Hubert, and however much of Peter's Pence he had collected in England.*

URBAN[1], BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD: TO ANSELM, THE VENERABLE AND MOST BELOVED ABBOT, GREETING AND APOSTOLIC BLESSING.

KNOWING THE PRE-EMINENCE of your devotion and learning, we have pardoned the Bishop of Beauvais[2] for what appeared illegal in his ordination[3] and, trusting in the keenness of your diligence, we have laid upon him, unwilling and resisting, the charge of the bishopric. Now, therefore, we commend him to you more attentively so that you may assist him as your son[4] in everything, as helper, counselor, corrector, and advisor; and when you are unable to be with him yourself you should assign one of your brothers to be with him and watch over him with spiritual zeal, so that what was perceived at the beginning of his ministry to be less than canonical may be concealed by the good deeds achieved by him later on. If, however, we send you any instructions either by this bishop of Beauvais or by our son Roger about the service of the holy Roman Church you should, as an energetic and very skillful person, carry them out as befits such a man.

Truly we wanted to keep your monk John,[5] the son of our church, with us. Concerning him there is a suit pending against you in the Roman Church because you presumed to make this cleric a monk and to promote him to higher orders. Nevertheless, swayed by the entreaties of the bishop of Beauvais, we are sending him back to you on the condition that before the end of Lent this year you either send him back to us or, if you come yourself, bring him with you and any other member of your community you know to be useful to us. Furthermore, do this as quickly as you can and do not put off visiting the Apostolic See so we may enjoy the gift of mutual affection with due devotion.

With regard to Hubert,[6] our subdeacon who is said to have died at your monastery, if any of his goods were left with you, dispatch them to us as quickly as possible. For when he received the office of papal legate for the kingdom of England from Lord Gregory, our predecessor of holy memory, he is said to have collected a large amount of Saint Peter's pence. If this is in your possession we would like it to be sent to us as quickly as possible for the future needs of holy Church.

*Early 1090.*

NOTES

1. Pope Urban II, 12 March 1088-29 July 1099.
2. Bishop of Fulk of Beauvais, 1088/89—c. 1095; see also *Epp* 126, 127, 136, 160, 193.
3. Not only had Fulk gained his promotion uncanonically by the appointment of King Philip I of France, but he was also suspected of simony. Together with Bishop Henry of Soissons, who was similarly charged, he visited Urban II in Italy in 1088, confessed, and was reinstated in his bishopric *necessitate exigente ecclesiae*; see Jaffé-Löwenstein, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 5406:1 August 1089; A. Becker, *Papst Urban II, Schriften der MGH* (Stuttgart, 1964) 190; W. Fröhlich, 'The Letters omitted from Anselm's Collection of Letters', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 6 (1984) 63, and Introduction, above.
4. Fulk had been a monk at Bec, one hundred nineteenth in the Bec profession-roll.

5. The Roman cleric John, having gone to study in France, was attracted to Anselm and became a monk at Bec about 1082/83, one hundred seventy-seventh in the Bec profession-roll. After being an assistant to bishop Fulk of Beauvais for some time (see *Epp* 128, 129), he returned to Rome and became abbot of the monastery of Saint Saviour at Telese. In 1099/1100 he was made cardinal bishop of Tusculum (today Frascati) and in 1101 was sent to England as papal legate; see Tillman, *Legaten*, 22-23; *CS* 667-668. John died in 1119 see *VA* 106; *HN* 96-97.
6. For Hubert, subdeacon and papal legate, see *Ep* 102.

# 126. TO POPE URBAN II.

*Anselm begs Urban II to support Bishop Fulk of Beauvais in his endeavor to enforce celibacy and to prevent the ordination of priests' sons. He requests papal protection for Bec.*

TO HIS REVEREND LORD, URBAN, SUPREME PONTIFF OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH: BROTHER ANSELM, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD AT BEC SENDS FAITHFUL SERVICE WITH DUE SUBJECTION.

WITH MY LIPS AND HEART I give thanks to your Highness as much as I can because you have deigned to honor my lowliness with a letter of your kindness and to gladden me with your apostolic blessing. For the tribulation you and the Roman Church suffer—which is our tribulation and indeed that of all the faithful—we do not cease to pray God incessantly that he may relieve you *from the days of adversity until a pit be dug for the wicked.*[1] We are sure, even if it appears to us to be taking a long time, that *he will not permit the rod of the wicked to rest upon the lot of the righteous,*[2] because *he will not forsake his inheritance,*[3] *and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.*[4]

With regard to our most beloved bishop of Beauvais[5]: having closely examined his entry into office as diligently as I could, and knew how to do, I constrained him to take on the episcopal burden, for he was so constrained by various forms of—as far as I could ascertain—pious pressure from

the king of the French, the clergy of Beauvais and many others, with the consent of the archbishop of Rheims[6] and with nobody disagreeing, that, had I not done this I would have feared offending God. Your holiness knows with what resolve he once sought you out after having received the bishopric,[7] what he did and how he returned. Why he now presents himself again to your majesty you can learn more fully from his lips than through my letter. For I know that he himself despises untruth—and above all in this matter and in your presence—and hopes for the sake of his purity of conscience that truth will not oppose him in this matter.[8] Truly your prudence has no need of our advice, nor does your justice need our entreaties in the long drawn-out stages of his case.

Therefore I say only this now because I do not know whether this—as indeed the situation is or will be—has already come to your notice through someone else because that same bishop suffers no less persecution *for the sake of righteousness*[9] than for trying to follow your command in obedience. The canons and priests of his diocese, with very few exceptions, and certain laymen, are so incensed with him and so inflame any strangers they can by whatever means they are able, that they immoderately curse not only him but also those who offer him some consolation, and try to make them appear detestable; and with the prophet he can say, *Every day they wrest my words, all their thoughts are against me for evil. They gather themselves together, they hide themselves, they mark my steps.*[10]

Certainly the canons and priests do this to him because he wants to restrain them from vicious habits and above all from reproachable dealings with women, and because he tries to prevent their sons, or those whom they elect at their pleasure to be their heirs, from hereditary succession to prebends and from promotion to holy orders. But he does not want to favor the laity because of their disorderly intrusion into matters of the Church. For this reason I consider it absolutely necessary that you send him back greatly

strengthened by your letter, and as a suppliant servant I ask this of my lord. And so, by commending him to the Archbishop of Rheims, the other neighboring bishops, the clergy and the people of Beauvais and the nobility of his diocese, may your authority so fortify him against malicious plots that in carrying out your commands he may find them not so much adversaries as helpers.

I presume to beg a favor of your holiness' generosity for the church of Bec; but this presumption does not so much rise from my rashness as descend from your reverend and dearest kindness to me, which you deigned to show to my lowliness by a letter you sent by the afore-named Bishop of Beauvais and by messages conveyed to me by him and certain other persons. Our monastery is a new foundation, not yet confirmed by tradition or by apostolic authority or privilege, but preserved in your time by divine providence and the command of your clemency. So that [our monastery] may rejoice at being honored and confirmed by some gift of your authority as your holy discretion sees fit, we do not plead by any merit of our own but commit ourselves to the divine will and to your holiness. I think it is not unknown to your excellency that a number of bishops rejoice not so much in nourishing monasteries by their paternal piety or in improving them by episcopal solicitude, as in weighing them down with a kind of harsh tyranny and their own personal will. Such a thing, however, we do not fear under the paternal holiness of our reverend Archbishop William,[11] faithful friend.

Your servants, my co-servants and fellow-monks, the brothers of our community, who do not cease praying daily with me for your paternity, desire to commend themselves, with me, to your prayer and blessing.

*c. 1091.*

NOTES

1. Cf. Ps 93:13.
2. Ps 124:3.
3. Ps 93:14.
4. Mt 16:18.
5. See *Ep* 125.
6. Archbishop Reginald/Rainald du Bellay of Rheims had received the archbishopric by royal investiture during the vacancy of the papal see after the death of Gregory VII or Victor III. He had obtained the pallium from the cardinals; see A. Becker, *Papst Urban II* (Stuttgart, 1964) 191.
7. See *Ep* 125.
8. Anselm seems to refer to the suspicion of simony which pursued Bishop Fulk. He was eventually cleared of this charge in 1093; see A. Becker, *Papst Urban II*, 190, 696.
9. Cf. Mt 5:10.
10. Ps 55:6.
11. Archbishop William Bona Anima of Rouen, 1097-1100; see *Ep* 23.

# 127. TO POPE URBAN II.

*Anselm secretly begs Pope Urban II to relieve Bishop Fulk of Beauvais of his episcopal office because he is too weak to bear the burden and informs him that his judgement was overwhelmed by the wishes of those who wanted Dom Fulk of Bec as their bishop.*

TO HIS REVEREND LORD, URBAN, THE UNIVERSAL PONTIFF OF ALL CHRISTIANS: BROTHER ANSELM, TOTALLY HIS.

WHAT I THINK ABOUT THE BISHOP of Beauvais[1] I state briefly but with great feeling and I desire that it be of importance to your piety. Not only does he make no progress in his diocese but he is hindered in his administration, nor does he advance the aims of the Church, nor do I or any of those who know the case and want to examine it before God expect anything better, but rather worse, in future, not because there is any guilt of evil desire in his innocent life but because he is not the quality of person who can sustain such a burden, ward off the onslaught of such malice, or guard against such encompassing snares. Hence I very much fear he will be swallowed up by more excessive

gloom[2] in which his heart dwells with even greater anguish and in which he is bound by no other bond than your command alone.

Wherefore, I and other of his friends in God prostrate ourselves in spirit with him at the feet of your mercy, [begging] that your heart may open to him and mercifully snatch him from the great evil and peril in which he feels himself uselessly trapped. Do not prevent the meek lamb from fleeing from the midst of the wolves and lions surrounding and snapping at him, nor the innocent child from coming out of the Chaldean's furnace.[3] To my lowliness it appears that this can be done quite easily and your excellency can hear him through me if you so deign. In this way, then, unless something else presents itself to your prudence, malice will never pride itself at having prevailed through falsehood, but innocence will give thanks at having escaped through freedom of mind.

Your wisdom may perhaps wonder why I appear to contradict myself by wanting him, whom I persuaded to become bishop, to desert the bishopric. But I admit to him from whom I ought not hide my conscience that I felt and predicted the evils he suffers before he was asked to take on the bishopric; but they who clamored to me, asking for him by common consent and with great importunity, overwhelmed my judgement.[4] In my heart I was afraid to claim that God was greater in my judgement and will alone than in the hearts of the many who unanimously clamoring asked for him, in all simplicity for God's sake. This also impressed itself on my mind, that often God works more through the life of the unlettered seeking the things which are God's than through the cleverness of the learned seeking those things which are their own.[5] Behold, now it lies quite clearly before you why I agreed to his being made bishop and why I now wish to change what, after being persuaded, I conceded. Let it be subject to your judgement whether what I am doing or what I have done is to be punished, corrected, or accepted.

May almighty God long preserve your paternal holiness for us in complete prosperity. Amen. If it please, I desire and beg that this letter be for your eyes alone, whatever you may see fit to do in this matter.

*c. 1091.*

NOTES

1. See *Epp* 125, 126.
2. 2 Cor 2:7; *RB* 27:3 (CSEL 7512:90).
3. Cf. Dan 3:93.
4. Compare this argument with the advice given in *Ep* 52.
5. Ph 2:21.

# 128. FROM JOHN THE MONK.

*Dom John asks Anselm to answer Roscelin's concept of the Trinity.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER ANSELM: BROTHER JOHN,[1] HIS SERVANT AND SON, WISHING WHAT A SERVANT WISHES HIS LORD, A SON HIS FATHER.

WE KNOW FOR SURE, venerable father, indeed we know that your insight proceeds by solving even those knotty problems of Scripture at which most others fail. Therefore your diligence should not be reluctant to write to me and certain other friends what faith, simple prudence and prudent simplicity thinks about the three persons of the godhead for the common good of catholic Christians.

This, now, is the question which Roscelin of Compiègne[2] poses: 'If three persons are merely one thing and not three individual things like three angels or three souls in such a way that in will and power they are entirely the same: therefore the Father and the Holy Spirit became incarnate with the Son'. He says that Dom Lanfranc, the archbishop, has yielded to this argument and that you yielded to him during a disputation. But with regard to the three angels

and the three souls, Saint Augustine's metaphor of trinity and unity, using the sun, which is one and the same thing and which holds heat and splendor inseparably within it entirely contradicts his [Roscelin's] comparison of trinity and identity.

May your integrity be preserved unharmed now and in the future by God whose trinity and unity are being discussed. Amen.

*c. 1090.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 125; Dom John is at Beauvais.
2. Roscelin, born about 1050 at Compiègne, died about 1120/23. He was a canon and a teacher of theology and philosophy at various cathedral schools in France, e.g. Tours and Loches, where Abelard was his pupil. At the synod of Soissons in 1092 his theories about the Trinity were condemned. For Roscelin's theories and Anselm's reply, see *Epp* 129, 136, and *Epistola de incarnatione Verbi*; also J. Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St Anselm* (Minneapolis, 1972) 100-107.

# 129. TO THE MONK JOHN.

*Anselm replies to Dom John about Roscelin's theory of the Trinity and refutes it. He discourages him from coming to Bec before returning to Rome.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONK AND BELOVED BROTHER JOHN[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THAT HE MAY ALWAYS PROGRESS TOWARDS BETTER THINGS.

I HAVE DELAYED A LONG TIME in replying to the letter your love sent me about the man[2] who says that in God the three persons are three things, or that the Father and the Holy Spirit became incarnate with the Son, because I wanted to speak at some length on the matter.[3] But as this was not permitted to me, hindered by many activities since receiving your letter, I am therefore answering you briefly in the meantime. In the future, however, if God deigns to

grant me the opportunity, I have every intention of dealing with the matter at greater length.

About what he says, therefore, that three persons are three things: either he intends it to be understood that they are three relations, that is to say, that God is said to be Father and Son and the Spirit proceeding from the Father and from the Son, or referring to God as he is said to be God. But if he says that these three relations are three things, then his assertion is superfluous. For nobody denies that in this way three persons are three things. Thus, however, it may be properly understood how these relations can be called things and what kind of things [they are], and whether or not these relations have any effect on the substance—as many accidents do. Yet it seems that he does not understand the three things to which he refers in this way because he adds that the three persons are one in will or power. For these three persons do not have will or power according to their relationships but rather according to the fact that each single person is God. But if he says that the three persons are three things insofar as each person is God, he either wants to set up three Gods or does not understand what he is saying. These reflections may suffice for the moment to show your love what I think about the problem as stated. May you always fare well.

As to your request to be able to spend some time with me before you set out for Rome, you should know that as far as my love for your honor is concerned, I would be very glad of it. But as far as I can see it would be of little use to you because of my numerous engagements and it might even be a nuisance to you. I have fully realized that unless you stay with the bishop[4] until you set off for Rome, either he will be of no use to you, or of very little, in what you have to do. And I cannot do anything for you which might be useful for your journey.

*c. 1091.*

NOTES

1. See *Epp* 125, 128.
2. Roscelin of Compiègne.
3. Anselm refers to his plan for a treatise about this problem which eventually matured to become the *Epistola de incarnatione Verbi.* For the five different stages of this treatise see *AOO* 78*-89*.
4. Bishop Fulk of Beauvais; see *Epp* 125, 126, 127, 136, 160, 193.

# 130. TO GILBERT, ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER.

*Anselm still grieves over his separation from his friend Gilbert Crispin who was made Abbot of Westminster in 1085. He replies to various points in his letter.*

TO HIS FRIEND, BROTHER, FELLOW-MONK, FATHER, BELOVED FRIEND, THE REVEREND ABBOT GILBERT[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING HIM LASTING HOLINESS WITH PROSPERITY IN A LONG LIFE AND UNFAILING BLISS IN ETERNITY.

IF I WISHED TO WRITE about the affection of our mutual love I would be afraid either of appearing to those ignorant of it to overstep the truth, or of being forced to detract something from truth. I often perceived how great and how true this affection was when it displayed itself face to face, lip to lip, embrace to embrace: now when I contemplate how he in whom I delighted with such joy is irretrievably lost, I realize it more. For just as someone who has great possessions knows not what it is to be in need—as someone who feasts on delicacies knows not what it is to be hungry—so someone who finds pleasure in a friend knows not the languor of the soul without one. Since, therefore, it is not possible to express adequately in writing what we mean to each other, and since I am not speaking to someone who is ignorant of this, leaving all this aside for the moment, I pray with you that when we see each other again we should once more revive, face to face, lip to lip, embrace to embrace, our unforgotten love.

I thank God for the details of your daily life which your charity deigned to give me because I can see nothing there that is not praiseworthy. With regard to that brother whom you brought back to the cloister, I grant what you wish so long as nothing else presents itself to you or us; but discussing his secrets, your prudence should advise him as you see fit. As to the injury you mentioned, I am amazed and grieve with you. I give thanks to your honor and your good will that your charity deigns to apologize for not being able to do what you wish. Concerning Dom Lanfranc[2] I do not know how nor am I able to do anything better than what I did and said in England.[3] Farewell.

*c. 1086/89.*

NOTES

1. See *Epp* 84, 106.
2. Anselm is possibly hinting at some breach of the Rule by young Lanfranc which eventually led to his intrusion as Abbot of Saint Wandrille in 1089/90, after the death of Abbot Gerbert on 4 September 1089; see *Epp* 25, 75, 137, 138; and *Rule* I:285. After this affair young Lanfranc is not mentioned again.
3. During his second visit to England from mid-Lent to just after Whitsun 1086; see *Epp* 108, 118.

# 131. TO COUNTESS IDA.

*Anselm encourages Countess Ida to persevere in leading a virtuous life. He informs her about King William I's reaction towards her request for her monastery.*

TO HIS REVEREND AND DEAREST LADY, COUNTESS IDA[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THAT SHE MAY REACH ETERNAL THROUGH TEMPORAL RICHES.

JUST AS THE TRUE LOVE I bear for your reverence for God's sake cannot fail in its purity, so it should never fail in giving wholesome advice. Although I would continually hope, therefore, that your prudence will in every respect be vigilant, lest the crafty enemy by some trick harm your intention of leading a good life, nevertheless, if I go so far as to suggest that you carry out even more assiduously what you are already doing well, this should not be adjudged superfluous. Nobody can maintain the degree of goodness in life which he has already achieved if he does not continually seek to progress towards even higher virtues. Someone who wants to avoid falling back, therefore, must continually strive for perfection. So may your reverence guard itself, nay, rather, may God guard your heart and lips and actions always and everywhere, that your life may never and nowhere fall into any sin great or small.

I told the king of the English[2] what you had asked with regard to your monastery,[3] but he was certainly not pleased that I did so. Please send us Dom Richard's[4] money through the bearer of this letter. Farewell.

*After 1086.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 82.
2. William I, during Anselm's second visit to England from mid-Lent till just after Whitsun 1086; see *Epp* 108, 118.
3. Possibly the monastery of Saint Vaast near Le Touquet where Countess Ida is buried.
4. See *Ep* 114.

# 132. TO ABBOT ROBERT.

*In answering a query of Abbot Robert Anselm distinguishes between the moral values of intention and deed.*

TO HIS LORD AND BROTHER, THE REVEREND ABBOT ROBERT[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, STYLED ABBOT OF BEC, WISHING HIM PROSPERITY FOR THIS LIFE AND FELICITY IN THE LIFE TO COME.

ANSWERING YOUR REVERENCE about the matter on which you deigned to consult my lowliness through your son William, I would wish to propose examples and authorities; but hindered by his haste and my engagements, as he can witness, I am barely allowed to state plainly the truth of the matter in question.

Every prudent Christian knows full well that, just as someone prevented from doing the good deed he intended who later rejoices at having been unable to carry out the good he had intended, is not to be praised for having carried out the good he had planned, in the same way someone who is not permitted to do a wicked deed he had planned, and then rejoices at not having given in to his lust, is in no way to be judged free of the guilt he had intended. If anyone with the intention of committing a crime dies in this state, he is to be judged for it. There is, however, a great difference between someone whom the anger of the supreme Judge abandons even on the verge of an evil deed and someone whom grace leads back from the precipice to the good intention of doing service. Greatly to be reproached, therefore, is anyone who tries to assign guilt in equal measure to those whose wicked wills Divine Wisdom disposes to direct quite differently. For anyone who either stumbles while carrying out an action or is abandoned to a malicious intention is known as a criminal, but not someone who is neither thrown headlong into the work of malice nor dragged down by perverse intention. The first is saved so that he can give thanks, rejoicing; the other is lost so that he must ask pardon grieving. From this it is certain that the former will

receive the reward for this joy, and the other is well served if, by the pain of sin, he flees punishment.

I would have liked to write more, but since, as I said, I am not able to do so, receive this letter, although cut short, without reproof, as testimony of those things about which your afore-named son will tell you personally from us. Farewell.

*c. 1079/89.*

NOTES

1. Possibly Abbot Robert of Saint Martin of Séez, 1073-1089. He was succeeded by Ralph d'Escures, who had become a monk at Séez in 1079, then prior, and later abbot in 1089.

# 133. TO LAMBERT.

*Anselm encourages Lambert to leave the world and become a monk.*

TO HIS BELOVED LAMBERT, LONGED-FOR IN CHRIST: BROTHER ANSELM, ABBOT OF BEC, WISHING THAT HE MAY DESPISE WITH HIS WHOLE HEART THE VANITY OF THIS WORLD AND STRIVE FOR ETERNAL TRUTH.

MY MOST BELOVED BROTHER and son, Dom Ralph of Beauvais,[1] once your companion, now your true friend who longs for you, has told me so much about the nobility and reputation of your conduct which adorns the renown of your family that my heart is forced by great feeling while longing for you to love you, and in loving you to long for you.

Wherefore, since my soul neither wants to love your soul less, nor is able to love it more, than itself, it cannot desire anything else for your soul than for itself. This, then, is my desire for you: that, giving up the world, you follow Christ and through the humility and poverty of the world you achieve the glorification and riches of eternity. Let no occasion of the flesh either hold you back or delay you, my

friend, because in any case it is not advisable and not expedient to lose or to diminish eternal goods or even to defer them for the sake of temporal goods. And if divine grace should deign to inspire you according to my desire—O that my eyes may see this!—and you do not disdain my help and advice in doing it, then my soul, already rushing towards your embrace sings to you: *my heart is ready*, my friend, *my heart is ready*.[2]

Farewell, dearest friend, farewell; always recall to mind how insecure and short is human life and how infinite are the good or the evil which follow.

*c. 1079/92.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 99.
2. Cf. Ps 56:8, 107:2.

# 134. TO ERMENGARD.

*Anselm beseeches Lady Ermengard to permit her husband to become a monk.*

TO ERMENGARD, HIS BELOVED LADY IN GOD: BROTHER ANSELM, ABBOT OF BEC, SENDS GREETINGS AND FAITHFUL PRAYERS.

ALTHOUGH I DO NOT KNOW YOU by sight, yet I belong to an order which ought to wish well and give salutary advice to all men, and nobody should be surprised if I put you in mind of the things which I hear your reverence is in need of.

I have heard, dearest lady, what is taking place between your husband and you, since your nobility does not suffer this to remain secret but carries news of it far and wide. In this case I first of all give thanks to God, from whom all good comes and who gave your husband such constancy to despise temporal glory for the eternal and allowed you to bear so bravely numerous tribulations for the sake of

preserving chastity; therefore he, by despising the world, does not love himself more than you, nor is anything in this world dearer to you than your husband. Surely in this both of you make yourselves loved by God and by men of good will, and both of you are worthy of praise. Thus in such a great and true mutual affection as yours, it can well be believed that you love not so much each other's bodies as each other's souls. By no care or mutual love can you snatch your bodies from temporal death; whereas, if you know how to rule your love, you can acquire eternal life for your souls.

What is it, then, reverend lady, lady of proven chastity, what is it that forces you to hinder your husband from seeking perfectly the salvation of his soul which you love no less than your own? Far be it from anyone to imagine that you might be doing this for the sake of the vile pleasures of the flesh, which you have so despised since he left you that you have suffered many tribulations and refused many persuasions rather than accept another husband when you could not have your own. If you hold his soul back from progress towards his salvation for the sake of the glory and temporal privileges which you love and hope to be able to keep through him, then how do you love his soul to whose certain and eternal privileges you prefer your doubtful, vile and transitory ones? And for what reason can you demand of him that he consider the eternal goods of his soul of secondary importance to the temporal goods of your body, if you prefer the goods of your body to the goods of his soul? Mark this, therefore, dearest lady, mark this, strong, wise woman, mark this: if you do this you will not be governing your love well, nor will you be loving properly the husband who loves you. If you force him to give up the counsel of his soul for the sake of your will, and if death then overtakes either you or him, or any other disaster afflicts you, as often happens, will he be any use to you and will you not have harmed him? In any case, if you harm his soul, you harm your own.

O, how much better, reverend lady, how much more praiseworthily would you show you love your husband if you do not merely allow, but also advise and help him to try, with God's help, to perfect what with God's inspiration he began; if, loving his good, you make it your own, if you believe most firmly that the more bravely you renounce human help for the love of God and neighbor, the more closely and securely you commit yourself to divine protection. May your prudent braveness and brave prudence therefore trust in God. If your husband were dead, you would have to bear his absence unwillingly, without any benefit to him or to yourself; so, too, now, as long as he lives, tolerate [his absence] freely for the sake of great recompense to him and to you. Permit him to do freely what he desires, that you may share the reward with him. For if God takes care of widows who are not widows for his sake, how much more richly will he cherish her whom he knows to be freely a widow for the sake of his love. If it should come about—which perhaps will not happen—that you lose your worldly dignity, do not grieve, because you will receive an even better one in heaven. Surely, what is greatly despised by better and wiser people is not greatly to be lamented if it be lost.

I should like to advise you further but I dare not; I am not, however, afraid to pray. May almighty and merciful God so grant to you contempt for the world, as he granted it to your husband, that you may be equal to your husband in the heavenly kingdom, O sister and lady, beloved in God.[1]

*c. 1079/92.*

NOTES

1. Anselm here reveals the strength of his conviction that the monastic life is practically the only way to salvation. For him there is no question of the love that Ermengard might have for her husband; his desire to become a monk is all important and she is obliged to grant it to him. For his arguments against loving God in the world, see *Ep* 121.

# 135. FROM WILLIAM.

*William begs Anselm to pray for his brother Geoffrey.*

TO ANSELM HIS LORD AND MOST EXCELLENT OF ALL HIS FRIENDS: ONE OF HIS SERVANTS AND THE VERY LEAST OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD, WILLIAM, WISHING HIM THE JOY OF DESIRED SALVATION.

IT IS NOT FOR US to extol the merits of holy men, or to sing their praises, but God, who is glorified in his saints and to whom every heart is open, knows how great the devotion of your humility is towards him and with what affection of soul I love your goodness. Not undeservedly. I am not unmindful of the great zeal with which you would embrace my goodness if there were any in me, however slight. But since I distrust the value of my merits—and in fact the prayer of an unclean man is unclean—as if throwing myself at your knees and feet, I beseech you as submissively as I can that, if you have ever wanted to cheer me, pray more fervently for my brother Geoffrey.

For I know that someday he will obtain the remission of his sins by God's mercy if you cry out to God for him from the bottom of your heart. Nor do I say this groundlessly. But meanwhile, let what I have just said be enough for you until we meet again. I refrain from saying more about this and other things I would like to tell you because there is no hurry about them. But since you see me miserably shipwrecked in the wreck of my brother, uphold the endangered man on the raft of your prayers so that, thanks to your prayers, we who have long borne the shipwreck brought on by our sins may one day be worthy of entering the harbor of salvation.

*Before 1093.*

# 136. TO FULK, BISHOP OF BEAUVAIS.

*Anselm states his position on the Trinity against Roscelin to Bishop Fulk of Beauvais and asks him to publish this statement if need arises.*

TO HIS LORD AND DEAREST FRIEND, FULK[1] THE REVEREND BISHOP OF BEAUVAIS: BROTHER ANSELM, STYLED ABBOT OF BEC, GREETINGS.

I HEAR—SOMETHING I cannot believe without scepticism—that the cleric Roscelin[2] says the three persons in God are three things separate from each other, just as three angels are, but in such a way that there is one will and one power; furthermore, that the Father and the Holy Spirit became incarnate with the Son; and if custom allowed, one could speak of three Gods. He claims that this was the opinion of Archbishop Lanfranc,[3] of venerable memory, and is now mine. I have been told that a council[4] is to be called in the near future by the venerable Archbishop Rainald[5] of Rheims to deal with this matter. Since I think your reverence will be present there, I want you to be informed about what you should answer in my stead should the situation demand.

As far as Archbishop Lanfranc is concerned, his life is known to many religious and wise men; since no such thing has ever been reported of him, he is sufficiently cleared of this accusation, and his absence and death disallow all these new accusations about him. As far as I am concerned, however, I want all men to be aware of my real opinion: I hold what we confess in the Creed when we say 'I believe in God, the Father almighty, creator',[6] and 'I believe in one God, the Father almighty, the maker,[7] and 'Whoever would be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the catholic faith',[8] and all that follows. I say in this way and I believe with my heart and confess with my lips these three opening phrases of christian creeds I have here set forth, so that I am sure that anyone who wishes to deny any part

of them, and anyone—be he man or angel—who expressly states, instead of truth, the blasphemy that I, as I stated above, have heard to be said by Roscelin, he is anathema;[9] and confirming this I say: as long as he persists in this obstinacy, he is anathema. He is no Christian at all. Even though he was baptized and brought up as a Christian, he should not be listened to at all, nor should any grounds for his error be asked of him, nor should we be required by him to offer any arguments for our truth. But once his perfidiousness has been proven beyond doubt, he should either anathematize the poison he has vomited up in his discourses or, if he does not regain his senses, be anathematized by all catholics.

It is utterly foolish and absurd, for the sake of someone lacking understanding, to submit once more to the uncertainty of repeated questioning something which has been very firmly founded on solid rock. Our faith has to be defended by reason against the impious, not against those who admit rejoicing in the honor of being called Christians. Of these, one can justly demand that they hold unshaken the pledge given in baptism; but the former must be shown by reason how irrationally they scorn us. A Christian should progress through faith to understanding, not reach faith through understanding or, if he cannot understand, fall away from faith. Indeed, someone who can attain understanding should rejoice, but someone who cannot understand should venerate what he is unable to comprehend.

I request your holiness to take this letter to the aforementioned council, or if perchance you do not go to send it by one of your scholars. If a reason is demanded in my name, this should be read out in the hearing of the whole assembly; if not, there is no need for it to be shown. Farewell.

*c. 1091/92.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 125.
2. See *Epp* 128, 129.
3. Archbishop Lanfranc died on 24 May 1089.
4. The Synod of Soissons made Roscelin recant in 1092, see *Ep* 128.
5. See *Ep* 126.
6. The Apostles' Creed.
7. The Nicene Creed.
8. The Athanasian Creed.
9. Gal 1:8.

# 137. TO THE MONK LANFRANC.

*Anselm solemnly exhorts young Lanfranc to give up the abbacy of Saint Wandrille which he had assumed against the will of Anselm, his own abbot.*

BROTHER ANSELM, ALTHOUGH UNWORTHY, NEVERTHELESS ABBOT OF THE MONASTERY OF BEC: TO BROTHER LANFRANC[1], MONK OF THE SAME COMMUNITY, WISHING HE MAY TURN FROM EVIL AND DO GOOD.[2]

I, BROTHER ANSELM, your friend in God, your faithful counselor, [and] by divine providence and your election, your abbot: in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ I admonish, I advise and command you, brother Lanfranc, to read through this well-meant letter of mine attentively more than two or three times, and within your heart standing in the presence of the strict Judge in whose sight you always are, to meditate on my words and advice. If by some chance someone should happen to read this letter, you not having seen it or having refused to read it, I adjure him by almighty God not to withhold such saving advice from your soul but to disclose this foregoing command of mine to you either by making you hear it or read it, and to show this same letter to you for you to read entirely. If he refuses to do this, God will demand from him an accounting for your sin such that there will be no excuse for him *on the day... of the revelation of the righteous judgement of God*.[3]

Before you accepted the gift of the abbacy[4] I told you and others, secretly and publicly, with heart and mouth, that I did not want you to accept it, did not approve it, did not advise it, would never command you to accept it; and that if you did accept it without my instructions you would never receive the abbatial blessing from any bishop with my consent. And yet, what I was going to feel when you did accept that gift was hidden from me by I know not what divine judgement. But once it had been done, the grave seriousness of the matter suddenly invaded my heart and the terrible judgement of God revealed itself. *When I heard, my belly trembled.*[5] I considered it and was terrified. *My heart within me is broken, all my bones shake.*[6] I realized what a detestable affair this was before God and before all who are enlightened by him. Hence I say what saddens first you and through you our entire order, and most of all me, your sorrowing and blushing father, and your mother, our church; *we have become a reproach to our neighbors, a scorn and derision to those who are round about us,*[7] and to all those who hear about it. You have become an example of dishonor and destruction to the Church of God, for whose cause you had made yourself the source and the leader in our day and in this country.

Bear with me for speaking so severely my son, for it is not anger out of hatred which pushes me, but grief out of love which compels me. The sorrowing brother longs to come to the rescue of his brother about to perish. The trembling shepherd rushes to snatch the sheep of his awesome master from the jaws of the lion. The sorrowing father pursues the son for whom he must grieve, to prevent him from rushing into hell. Return, therefore, return to your heart. Scrutinize your conduct and examine your mind. You have rejected eternal guidance and held fast to reproachable advice. For *the Lord... rejects the counsel of princes, but the counsel of the Lord remains forever.*[8] Indeed, Christ, the Truth, did not make you abbot; your own greed did, and the foolhardiness of those who do not understand

the things of God.[9] Remember that *he who does not enter by the gate into the sheepfold, but climbs up some other way, is a thief and a robber.*[10] *The thief only comes to steal and kill and destroy.*[11]

My son, you did not enter through the gate because you did not enter through Christ. You did not enter through Christ because you did not enter through Truth. Not through Truth because not through righteousness. A monk does not enter into the abbacy through righteousness if he does not enter through election according to the Rule and through obedience. You cannot excuse yourself by saying to me: I did not enter through disobedience, because you did not forbid me. To forfeit righteousness it is enough that you did not enter through obedience. It is true that I did not say: 'I forbid you' or 'I command you to do it'. I considered it sufficient for an intelligent person that, I repeatedly said: 'my heart does not wish or approve it. My mouth does not advise it, did not command and will not command it. If you accept the abbacy without my instructions, you will never receive a blessing from the archbishop'. For a monk should not wait for an oral command when he knows the will or the advice of his abbot. If you did not enter through the door, therefore, it is difficult for me to say, but you should ponder and perceive what Truth, who witnesses what you have come to, will call you.

*c. 1089/92.*

NOTES

1. The nephew of Archbishop Lanfranc; see *Ep* 25, and Rule I: 285-288.
2. Ps 36:27.
3. Rom 2:5.
4. Abbot Gerbert of Saint Wandrille died on 4 September 1089; see also *VA* 77.
5. Hab 3:16.
6. Jer 23:9.
7. Ps 78:4.
8. Ps 32:10.
9. Cf. 1 Cor 2:14.
10. Jn 10:1.
11. Jn 10:10.

# 138. TO PRIOR WALTER AND THE MONKS OF SAINT WANDRILLE.

*Anselm consoles Prior Walter and the monks of Saint Wandrille in their tribulation because of young Lanfranc's intrusion as abbot.*

TO HIS FELLOW-MONKS AND DEAREST BROTHERS, DOM WALTER, PRIOR OF THE MONASTERY OF SAINT WANDRILLE AND THE OTHER MONKS OF THAT MONASTERY WHO ARE WITH HIM: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THEM TEMPORAL AND ETERNAL CONSOLATION AFTER THIS PRESENT TRIBULATION.

DOM NORMAN HAS ASKED ME on your behalf to write some sort of consolation to your love and inform you of our wish with regard to Lanfranc.[1]

For consolation, in the short time at my disposal, it is enough for me to write what Holy Scripture says: *My brothers, count it all joy when you fall into diverse temptations; knowing that the trial of our faith works patience, but patience has its perfect work.*[2] And elsewhere, *we must enter through many tribulations into the kingdom of God.*[3] And *God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted beyond what you can bear but who, with the temptation, will also provide a way to escape, so that you may be able to bear it.*[4] Since, therefore, so many good things are truthfully promised us from tribulation, we should neither be shattered nor despair nor in any way abandon a good resolution because of some tribulation. But the more we are worn down by the onslaught of tribulation the more fervent we should be in our resolution of goodwill, according to the parable of the mustard seed.[5] Be confident, therefore, that with God's help joy will follow after tribulation. But if any one of you should fail in this tribulation you should say *he left us but he was not of us*,[6] because he was not rooted with us.

Concerning our will, however, our mind and our tongue say this: that even if I had once wanted and ordered

Lanfranc to be your abbot—which I certainly did not—he shows himself so cruel to you that I could not wish it any longer. Farewell.

*c. 1089/92.*

NOTES

1. See *Epp* 130, 137.
2. Jm 1:2.
3. Ac 14:21.
4. 1 Cor 10:13.
5. Cf. Mt 13:31.
6. 1 Jn 2:19.

# 139. TO GILBERT, ABBOT OF SAINT STEPHEN, CAEN.

*Anselm informs Abbot Gilbert of Saint Stephen, Caen, that he fell ill in France after having left Caen and promises to return.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, THE REVEREND ABBOT GILBERT[1], AND THE MONKS AND BROTHERS ENTRUSTED TO HIS HOLINESS LIVING IN THE MONASTERY OF CAEN: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING WHAT A FAITHFUL SERVANT AND BROTHER CAN.

AFTER HAVING LEFT your longed-for presence recently, dragged away by circumstances as you know, I was not able to see Bec again because of many hindrances, before the Feast of Saint Benedict.[2] In this space of time I was afflicted in France with many bodily aches and pains; above all a sudden fever broke out within me, and it dared to attack your servant twice, terrifying me immensely and violently menacing me until I was afraid of never seeing you or our other monks of Bec again. But when it saw me meditating very earnestly on sending for help and the succor of prayers to you and anyone else I could, terrified, it fled from the terrified [victim]. But it robbed me of what little relish I had

for eating and sleeping, and of all my bodily strength, and carried it away with an increasing desire to harm me. Therefore I have not yet been able to rid myself of these three ill effects; loss of appetite, insomnia, and the accompanying weakness that tends to follow upon going-on-all-fours.

I inform your charity of these things because I want you always to be informed about the state of my lowliness and I am not unaware that you want this yourselves. You should know that until I see you again I consider myself a debtor, owing you a visit. Support me with your prayers, therefore, that according to my wish I shall be able to pay my debt. Farewell now and always.

*c. 1079/92.*

NOTES

1. Abbot Gilbert, 1079-1101.
2. 21 March, the observance of Benedict's death.

# 140. TO PRIOR HENRY AND THE BROTHERS AT CANTERBURY.

*Anselm fervently intercedes with Prior Henry for Dom Moses and his companion who had deserted the community of Christ Church, Canterbury, because they now wish to return there.*

TO HIS DEAREST LORDS AND FRIENDS AND BROTHERS, DOM PRIOR HENRY AND THE OTHER SERVANTS OF GOD LIVING IN THE MONASTERY OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THAT IN THEIR INTENTION OF LEADING A HOLY LIFE THEY MAY ALWAYS PROGRESS TOWARDS BETTER THINGS AND NEVER REGRESS.

OUR DEAREST BROTHER, MOSES, who deserted the cloister of your holy community in his youthful frivolity and, deceived by strange trickery—just like any son of our mother Eve who forfeited the delights of paradise after being deceived in paradise—thanks to divine protection he has neither *dissipated his wealth with harlots*[1] nor been forced by starvation to slop foreign swine nor has he been longing to fill himself with the husks the swine feed on. But having not yet exhausted the mental food he had received at your spiritual table, he has at last dropped anchor at our monastery as at a well-known harbor after many voyages over worldly seas.

Although, being aware of his fault, he fears the severity of justice—as the apostle says: *for no man ever hated his own flesh*[2]—he nevertheless longs to be taken, under any conditions, back into the flock in which he was nourished and brought up. And since he does not yet judge himself worthy of being called son or brother, he wants to be made at least like one of your hired servants, so that he may somehow deserve to be among you. For his attendant, whom he led on to consent to and serve his pleasure, he is more afraid than for his own flesh, if he is punished by some penalty, and will regard it as demanded of his own soul by just judgement. About the money accepted from some-

one else under an agreement of repayment, which he heedlessly spent through someone else's conniving, he is so anxious that he will not succeed in freeing himself from his debt without the help of your generosity and your permission to ask for assistance wherever he can, that he fears his heart can never be consoled for this disgrace.

But since, in the face of so many and such great matters, he considers that his prayers neither can nor ought to suffice, he asks me, your servant, to intercede for him, since at the moment he has neither anybody more faithful to you nor anyone whom he trusts more who can beg something from you. Indeed, since there is no greater intercession than giving skin for skin and soul for soul—as the Lord says *greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends*[3]—your love should know that Dom Moses, from the soles of his feet to the crown of his head, all over, is clad in the skin of your servant, brother Anselm, and his mouth is my mouth. If, therefore, there is anyone among you against whom I wilfully sinned at any time, let him first hit my skin in his place for that afore-mentioned sin, and keep my mouth from food. After this sin, I commend my skin most diligently to brother Moses to be taken care of and loved as his own, and to you, however, not exactly to be spared. If, however, because of his sin, my skin is hurt or gravely beaten I shall demand it of him; but if anyone spares it I shall thank him.[4] As regards his attendant, however, you should know—since I have no other skin—that his safety is my safety, his soul is my soul. Yet, with regard to what he asks about the money, since it can be done easily, I do not imagine it will be difficult to get permission for it from your mercy.

About all these matters we would like to hear your will in a letter of yours before he sets out to return. Not that he would refuse even to hasten to torment, if you order it, but because he wishes to return with good hope joyfully to those whom he longs for. Farewell.

*c. 1091.*

NOTES

1. Cf. Lk 15:30.
2. Eph 5:29.
3. Jn 15:13.
4. Anselm's identification of his skin with that of the penitent monk, Moses, displays his compassionate understanding of penitent sinners; see *Ep* 105 and Southern, *Anselm*, 75.

# 141. TO GUNDULF, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

*Anselm thanks Bishop Gundulf of Rochester for his gifts and, on the strength of their mutual love, intercedes for Dom Moses who had deserted Christ Church, Canterbury.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, HIS TRUEST FRIEND, THE REVEREND BISHOP GUNDULF[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THAT HE MAY PERSEVERE IN SANCTITY IN THIS LIFE AND DWELL IN FELICITY IN THE LIFE TO COME.

IF WE KNEW HOW TO REPAY your kindness and your good deeds by giving thanks, we would indeed fill many hides of sheep with our thanksgiving. But since we know that your reward consists not in a passing utterance nor in perishable writings, but in the fullness of eternal bliss, we shall for this reason refrain from giving thanks for every single act of your kindness. Just as we know full well that our mutual affection remains unchanged in you, so we shall take care to preserve it inviolably in ourselves.

With regard to young brother Moses[2] of Canterbury, who is at present in our monastery and wants to go back to his own monastery in England, I pray your holiness, as we trust in you, to grant him pardon for his transgressions for the sake of our love, and to arrange for him to be kindly received by Dom Henry and the whole community. May it please your holiness to read the letter we sent to the afore-named prior and community on this matter, and according to what

we request in it kindly let us know the will of the community in a letter of your kindness, marked with your seal, before brother Moses sets out from here.

*c. 1091.*

NOTES

1. After Lanfranc's death on 24 May 1089, Gundulf, as Bishop of Rochester, was administrator of Christ Church, Canterbury, until the new archbishop took possession of his church.
2. See *Ep* 140.

# 142. TO GILBERT, ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER.

*Anselm assures Abbot Gilbert Crispin of Westminster of their mutual, fraternal love. He informs him about his recent illness in France and intercedes for Dom Richard.*

TO DOM ABBOT GILBERT[1], A SERVANT TO HIS LORD, A FRIEND TO HIS FRIEND, A BELOVED TO HIS BELOVED: BROTHER ANSELM WISHING THAT HE MAY REJOICE ETERNALLY.

IF EVERYTHING IS WELL, GOOD and prosperous with my lord Abbot Gilbert, my beloved friend, in truth my heart rejoices about it because certainly such is my desire. If a stranger granted strangers the affection and kindnesses you grant us and our affairs we would certainly extend great thanks in writing and in speaking so he would not stop. But since he who does this is one in whom we need never lose hope, we trust that greater thanks, together with our ever-enduring goodwill, will be enough, particularly since you are not unaware that it constantly dwells in the depths of our heart.

I know that your love desires to know how we are faring, and by God's protection according to our custom and according to the vicissitudes of the times, we are well and

prosperous in all things. Except that when I was recently in France, burdened by various business matters, a certain light fever[2] suddenly overcame and frightened me more than it harmed me. But when it saw my mind intensely contemplating how I could send to our friends for the help of prayers, being terrified it fled the terrified, twice afflicted victim. So I suffered a long time afterwards from difficulty in getting sleep and considerable feebleness in my limbs, together with a loss of appetite.

I greet our most beloved lords and brothers, your sons, with as much tenderness as I can; as often as I think about it I rejoice at their deep affection for me, of which I am well aware. About your servant Richard, who followed you to England at your command; I wish to ask your indulgence—if it does not displease you—since someone whom God has, by his judgement, excused from blame for the crime committed, if he himself does not fall away from the faithful service he has begun, there is now nothing which might disturb the goodwill in which you used to hold him. For it is more just and more fitting for the authority of your honor that your firmness drive off the onslaught of any wickedness around him rather than that some alien reproachful stubbornness reverse the praiseworthy intention of your kindness. May your love, dear to me, always prosper.

*c. 1090/91.*

NOTES

1. See *Ep* 84.
2. See *Ep* 139.

# 143. TO WALTER (PRIOR OF SAINT WANDRILLE).

*Anselm praises Prior Walter of Saint Wandrille for his diligent care of Dom Robert who has returned to the monastery and encourages him to continue in this way.*

TO HIS DEAREST LORD AND BROTHER, WALTER[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, ABBOT OF BEC, GREETINGS.

DOM ROBERT OF BRIONNE[2] gives you great thanks for the kindness far above his expectations which you showed him, and by expressing his thanks he witnesses that you suffered many troubles through him and through others on his behalf. This is why I give thanks with love, with my thanks I praise, and praising I beseech your discretion that, mindful that a bruised reed should not be broken,[3] and that *they who are whole do not need a physician but they who are sick*,[4] you should persevere in what you have begun. It is to be expected that someone who has already made some progress through your tolerance and by the help of God's mercy, will progress to even greater virtues through the same mercy of God if you persevere in doing what you started. Indeed it is a great indication of his progress that he wants to be highly recommended by me, your friend, to the person through whom he realizes he has made progress; not that you should consent to his vices but that you should be lenient towards his weakness so that he may gradually be relieved of them like a sick man. For he does not yet dare promise to give up entirely in the near future the bad habits in which he was reared in a way not advantageous to him; but he does promise with will and longing that whenever he slides back he will, with God's help and your assistance and advice, as well as your prayers, get up again and one day will stand firm in the practice of virtue.

Greet our brothers and lords, the monks of your community, on our behalf. As a Christian and a friend I ask them to *endeavor to keep the unity of the Spirit in a bond of peace*,[5]

if they want to be *a temple of the Holy Spirit*,[6] who cannot be divided and therefore cannot live in discord. Farewell.

*c. 1090/91*

NOTES

1. See *Epp* 85, 139.
2. See *Ep* 119.
3. Cf. Is 42:3, Mt 12:20.
4. Cf. Lk 5:31.
5. Eph 4:3.
6. 1 Cor 6:19.

# 144. TO GIRARD, BISHOP OF THÉROUANNE.

*Anselm begs Bishop Girard of Thérouanne to relieve a certain monk of Bec of his responsibility for the church of Saint Wulmar.*

TO HIS LORD AND FATHER, THE REVEREND BISHOP GIRARD[1] OF THÉROUANNE: BROTHER ANSELM, STYLED ABBOT OF BEC, TOTALLY HIS.

BECAUSE OF THE URGENCY of this matter it would be expedient to say many things, but because of many circumstances I am prevented from doing this at present. I express myself briefly, therefore, and beg your paternal piety with great feeling to act and to persuade our lord the archbishop of Rheims[2] on your behalf and ours that, in what concerns the discretion of your prudence, this brother of ours[3] should not be harassed any longer without reason, nor the church of Saint Wulmar[4] be robbed of appropriate advice and orderly government because of him. It is impossible for him to remain in that church in peace any longer for many reasons—which would take too long to repeat now—or for him to progress towards anything profitable no matter how hard he works.

Wherefore, I beseech you again and again not to wield your authority with such censure that you irreparably break the spirit of your neighbor to no purpose by your severity. Do not, I beseech you, lead the fleeing lamb any closer to the wolves; do not entrust the taming of lion-cubs to sheep; do not drive an innocent and protesting man into the Chaldean's furnace[5] without achieving any good. Let someone else be established in his stead—for he has proven that he cannot do it—someone whose mind may be better prepared to endure the internal and external battles against bad behavior, and who will attempt somehow, with God's help, to see whether he can purposefully reconcile members of the community. If your judgement has decided otherwise and will not change—we hope not—first restore peace and goodwill in the afore-mentioned church and then recall a man of peace and goodwill into a house of peace and among men of goodwill. Farewell.

*c. 1084/92.*

NOTES

1. Girard was Bishop of Thérouanne from 1084-1096; see *GC* X: 1541-1543. This bishopric in the Pas-de-Calais had been created as a suffragan of Rheims by Saint Omer/Audomar (+c. 669) out of the *civitates Morinorum et Bononiesium*. In 1567, after the destruction of the city of Thérouanne by Emperor Charles V on 20 June 1533, the see was translated to Boulogne-sur-Mer.
2. Archbishop Reginald/Rainald of Rheims, 1083—21 January 1096; see GC IX: 75-77.
3. Possibly Lanfrid, as 'Lanfredus abbas' one hundred ninety-first in the Bec profession-roll; see also *Ep* 186.
4. Saint Wulmar was born near Boulogne-sur-Mer where he also died in 700 or 710. Originally married, he entered the monastery at Hautmont where he was initially employed cutting wood and tending cattle. Later he was admitted to the priesthood. After having been a hermit for a time he founded a monastery for monks at Samer and one for nuns at Wierre-aux-Bois near Boulogne. After his death his body was brought to Boulogne, whence it was later translated to Blandinienberg near Ghent; see H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford 1978) 415.
5. Dan 3:19.

# 145. TO ABBOT R.

*Anselm begs Abbot Ralph of Saint Martin of Séez to receive and assist the bearer of this letter who is to carry out some task.*

TO HIS DEAREST LORD AND FATHER, ABBOT R[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, STYLED ABBOT OF BEC, WISHING WHAT A SON WISHES HIS FATHER, A FRIEND HIS FRIEND.

THE CONFIDENCE OF LOVE often makes one presumptuous. But such presumption should suffer no blows, or only a few. Wherefore, with this presumption your faithful brother Anselm, trusting in your love, does not hesitate to burden you and your church with the presence of his very dear messenger[2] until he has brought about the change of heart for which he is being sent. To bring this about, we ask that he be assisted by your command and by your leave, however you may arrange it, and by the loving insistence of Dom John,[3] our dearest brother and friend, however seems best. But whether or not for his presumption the presumer is to suffer no blows, or only a few, you must judge. If none, according to your judgement, I do not disagree. If only a few, however, then let him who knows I sin because of him meanwhile receive them instead of me.

May almighty God so guide you and the holy community entrusted to your reverend paternity through the snares of this world that he may lead you to eternal bliss. Amen.

*c. 1090/92.*

NOTES

1. Possibly Rodulf/Ralph d'Escures, Abbot of Saint Martin of Séez from 1089-1108, then Bishop of Rochester 1108-1114 and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1114-1112; see *GC* XI:718-20; Fröhlich, 'Bischöfliche Kollegen', *AA* 2 (1970) 157-8; Barlow, *The English Church* 81 ff. *et passim.*
2. This messenger appears to be the young monk Boso; see *Ep* 146.
3. John, a monk of Bec at Saint Martin of Séez. He is two hundred thirty-ninth in the Bec profession-roll.

# 146. TO THE MONKS JOHN AND BOSO.

*Anselm consoles the monks John and Boso of Bec who are at Séez that the booklet of his which they thought they had lost has been found. He promises to send them music they requested when it is returned from Caen.*

A FRIEND TO HIS FRIENDS, ONE WHO IS LOVED TO THOSE HE LOVES, TO DOM JOHN AND DOM BOSO[1]: BROTHER ANSELM, WISHING THEM LASTING HAPPINESS IN THIS LIFE AND IN THE LIFE TO COME.

ALTHOUGH WISDOM AND LOVE may be delightful and sweet, yet in the uncertainties of this life they sometimes engender sorrow and bitterness. The truer and greater they are, the less often but the more severely do they do this. Wiser persons are fooled more rarely, but when it does happen they get hurt more seriously. In the same way, those who love more truly will offend those they love less often; but when this does happen, they grieve more deeply. Wherefore, although what you did negligently was just a little thing—if what you did to my booklet[2] can be called negligence—you tell me that you suffer greatly. In any case, you demonstrate that you did not sink to this out of habit or out of negligence but because of the inevitable fact that there is no man who does not sin.[3] Hence you prove for certain that you are more prudent in caution and more fervent in love.

The more closely I consider this, the more rightly, I confess, ought the injury to your heart injure my heart. When, therefore, you write to me that a wound has been inflicted on your heart because of the love you bear me, whom you were afraid of having offended, you likewise strike a wound to my heart. For the more I realize how much you suffer by zeal for my love, the more I suffer because you are suffering, and rightly so. Heal your wound, therefore, so that it may no longer hurt you, just as you want to heal mine so that it does not pain me. For what you feared had been lost is safe and what you left in a safe place is in our possession.

Greet our most beloved, reverend Dom Abbot Ralph,[4] and our beloved brothers entrusted to his care. As to the music you asked for, we have again asked the prior of Caen,[5] to whom we lent it, to return it and we will send it to you as quickly as we can.

*c. 1090/92.*

## NOTES

1. For John, see *Ep* 145. Boso entered Bec about 1090 (see *VA* 60-61) and is two hundred sixty-first in the Bec profession-roll or 125th of the 163 monks professed while Anselm was abbot. He became fourth abbot of Bec, 1124-1136, see Milo Crispin's *Vita Bosonis*; PL 150: 724-734, translated in S. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State, 1034-1136*, (Woodbridge, 1981) 126-133. *Vita Bosonis* is fully discussed in A. Porée, *Histoire de l'Abbaye du Bec* (Evreux, 1911) I: 280-314. He was a sharp, eager inquisitor among Anselm's young, devoted disciples and Anselm honored him by dedicating *De conceptu virginali et de originali peccato* to him; see *AOO* II: 139 and 162. He also gave the fellow-disputant of *Cur Deus Homo* Boso's name; see *AOO* II: 48; *Ep* 209; Southern, *Anselm*, 202.
2. Anselm seems to be referring to an early stage of *De incarnatione Verbi*, on which he was working at this time; see *Epp* 129, 147 and *AOO* 78*-89*.
3. Cf. Qo 7:21.
4. See *Ep* 146.
5. Prior Helgot, 1075-1092, see *Ep* 25.

# 147. TO PRIOR BALDRIC AND THE OTHER BROTHERS OF BEC.

*Anselm, on his third visit to England, informs his community at Bec about the progress of his journey and that his return is being delayed by the king. He asks them to send him certain of his works and letters.*

TO THOSE HE LONGS FOR AND WHO LONG FOR HIM,[1] TO DOM PRIOR BALDRIC[2] AND THE OTHER BROTHERS WHO ARE WITH HIM: BROTHER ANSELM,ENTIRELY THEIRS, WISHING THEIR WELL-BEING ALWAYS, BOTH WITHIN AND WITHOUT.

I AM NOT YET ABLE to tell you anything about the benefit of our journey to England insofar as it affects our church. The king[3] is still delaying to reply to our petition, although he himself and the other nobles of England are showing me love and honor far beyond my expectations.

As regards our well-being, the bearer of this letter, a monk of Dom Abbot Gilbert,[4] will be better able to inform you than our letter. I want you to receive him most kindly. I have no hope of being able to return before Lent.[5] Inform me by letter about matters concerning you which you know I ought to know about.

Send me the 'Prayer to Saint Nicholas'[6] I wrote, and the 'Letter against the Propositions of Roscelin' I had started writing[7]; and if Dom Maurice[8] has any other letters of ours which he has not sent, send them as well. Greet our mothers Lady Eva and Lady Basilia.[9] Farewell.

*Autumn/winter 1092.*

NOTES

1. In the course of Anselm's third visit to England—he set out from Bec on 26 August 1092—and after many delays in returning, he was made Archbishop of Canterbury on 6 March 1093. On the reasons for this journey and Anselm's reluctance to undertake it, see Rule I: 304; for the attitudes of the monks of Bec to his journey see *HN* lxxxi, 29; M. Chibnall, 'The Relations of St Anselm with the English Dependencies of the Abbey of Bec 1079-1093', *Spicilegium Beccense* I (Paris, 1959)

521-530; Southern, 'St Anselm and Gilbert Crispin', *MARS* 3 (1954) 87-89; S. Vaughn, 'St Anselm: Reluctant Archbishop?', *Albion*, 6 (1974) 240-250; S. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Melun* (Berkeley, 1987) 106-148.

2. Baldric is one hundred forty-seventh in the Bec profession-roll. For Anselm's esteem for Baldric, see *Epp* 157, 179.
3. King William II Rufus, 1087-1100, see F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London, 1983).
4. Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster, 1085-1117; see *Ep* 84.
5. 1093.
6. Prayer 14 in *AOO* III: 55-61, translated in B. Ward, *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm* (London, 1973) 184-195.
7. Anselm is referring to his work *Epistola de incarnatione Verbi*, see *Epp* 129, 146.
8. See *Ep* 32 and Introduction, above.
9. See *Epp* 68, 98.

APPENDIX

# ITINERARY OF ANSELM

| | |
|---|---|
| **1033** | born at Aosta (*VA* 11, 143; *HN* 206; *AEp* 156) |
| **1056** | leaves Aosta (*VA* 5, 7, 8) |
| **till 1059** | in Burgundy and France (*VA* 8) |
| **1058/9** | at Avranches/Normandy (Gibson, Lanfranc 20) |
| **1059** | arrives at Bec (*VA* 11) |
| **1060** | becomes monk at Bec (*VA* 11; *AEp* 156; *OV* III 12) |
| **1063** | made prior of Bec (*VA* 12; *OV* III 12) |
| **1078**<br>*26 August* | death of Abbot Herluin at Bec (*VA* 44) |

| | |
|---|---|
| *a few days later* | Anselm elected second Abbot of Bec (*VA* 44; *OV* III 12) |
| **1079** | |
| *January* | at Gerberoy (*Reg* 115a) |
| *22 February* | at Bec: receives abbatial benediction (*VA* 44, 45) |
| *later that year* | first trip to England. Crossing from Wissant near Bologne to Lympne, he went to Lyminge and Canterbury and then inspected Bec's estates in England (*VA* 48; *Reg* 237a; *VA* 54; *AEp* 98, 99; *EHD* II 650; *VA* ix; *Reg* 214;*AEp* 473; *OV* II 342) |
| *end of that year* | at Rouen (*Reg* 172) |
| **1080** | |
| *7 January* | at Caen (*Reg* 120) |
| *14 July* | at Caen (*Reg* 125) |
| **1082** | |
| *5 September* | at Oxcessus Villa/Normandy (*Reg* 146a) |
| **1086** | |
| *mid-lent (15 March) to just after Whitsun (24 May)* | second trip to England in connection with Domesday Survey (*AEpp* 108, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121) |
| **1087** | |
| *August* | at Rouen to attend to the dying William the Conqueror (*HN* 24) |
| *August/September* | at Emondreville opposite Rouen (*HN* 24) |
| *mid-September* | at Caen at the funeral of William I (*OV* IV 104) |

**1091**

| | |
|---|---|
| *June* | at Rouen (*Reg* 317b, *OV* IV 232) |

**1092**

| | |
|---|---|
| *soon after 26 August* | sets out on third trip to England (*AEp* 147; *HN* 29) |
| *7 September* | arrived at Canterbury in the evening (*VA* 63) |
| *8 September* | left Canterbury early in the morning (*VA* 63) |
| *September* | at the court of William II (*VA* 63-64; *HN* 49) |
| *end of September—end of November* | at Chester (*VA* 64; *HN* 29) |
| *early December* | at Westminster (*HN* 29-30; *AEp* 147) |
| *25 December* | at the court, Westminster |

**1093**

| | |
|---|---|
| *January and February* | at Westminster |
| *early March* | in the neighborhood of Gloucester (*HN* 31; *VA* 64) |
| *6 March* | at Alwestan/Gloucester (Florence; *HN* 31-37; *VA* 64-65) |
| *14 April (Easter)* | at Winchester (*HN* 37; *VA* 65) |
| *5 June (Whitsun)* | at Windsor (*HN* 40) Rochester (*HN* 39-40) |
| *September* | at Winchester (*HN* 41; *VA* 66; *Reg* 336, 337) |
| *23 September* | at Canterbury (*Acta Lanfranci EHD* II 635) |
| *25 September* | at Canterbury (*HN* 41) |
| *4 December* | at Canterbury (*AEpp* 161, 164; *HN* 42-43; Florence) |
| *11 December* | left Canterbury (*HN* 43) |
| *25 December* | at Gloucester (*HN* 43-45; *VA* 67; *Reg* 338, 338a) |

**1094**

| | |
|---|---|
| *January* | at manor at Harrow (*HN* 45; *VA* 67-68; *AEpp* 170, 171) |
| *2 February* | came to Hastings (*ASC*; *HN* 47) |
| *11 February* | at Battle Abbey (*ASC*; Monasterii de Bello 41) |
| *before 19 March* | leaves Hastings (*HN* 47-52; *VA* 69; *ASC*; *Reg* 348) |

**1095**

| | |
|---|---|
| *January* | at Gillingham (*HN* 52-53) |
| *25-27 February* | at Rockingham (*HN* 54-67; *VA* 85-87) |
| *March* | at Canterbury (*HN* 67) |
| *13 May (Whitsun)* | at Mortlake (*HN* 70) |
| *14 May* | at Hayes near Windsor (*HN* 70-71) |
| *May, after Whitsun* | at Windsor (*HN* 71-72) |
| *27 May* | at Canterbury (*HN* 72; *VA* 87; *Annales Wintoniensis*) |
| *25 December* | at Windsor (*ASC*; Florence; Symeon 133) |

**1096**

| | |
|---|---|
| *13 January* | at Salisbury (*ASC*) |
| *13-20 April* | at Winchester (*HN* 74) |
| *1 June* | at Westminster |
| *1 June* | at Lambeth (*HN* 74) |
| *8 June* | at St Paul's, London (*HN* 74; Florence) |
| *28 December* | at Canterbury (*HN* 77) |

**1097**

| | |
|---|---|
| *4 April (Easter)* | at Windsor (*ASC*) |
| *24 May (Whitsun)* | at Windsor (*HN* 79-80; *VA* 88-89) |
| *end of May* | at Hayes near Windsor (*VA* 89) |
| *14-15 October* | at Winchester (*HN* 80-87; *VA* 91-93) |
| *16-24 October* | at episcopal manors (*VA* 93; *HN* 87) |
| *24 October* | arrived at Canterbury (*HN* 87-88) |

| | |
|---|---|
| *25 October* | left Canterbury, arrived at Dover (*ASC*; *VA* 93-97) |
| *25 October to 9 November* | at Dover (*HN* 88; *VA* 97) |
| *9 November* | crossed from Dover to Wissant (*HN* 89; *VA* 98-99) |
| *10 November* | from Wissant to St Bertin at St Omer (*HN* 89) |
| *11-17 November* | at St Omer (*AEp* 207; *HN* 89; *VA* 101) |
| *17 November to 23 December* | traveled through France and Burgundy to Cluny (*HN* 89-91) where he stayed till 1098 |

**1098**

| | |
|---|---|
| *January/ February* | left for Lyon (*HN* 91) and stayed till |
| *15 March* | at Lyon (*HN* 91-94; *VA* 103) |
| *16 March* | left Lyon (*HN* 94-95) |
| *20 March* | at Aspres-sur-Buech (*HN* 95) |
| *21 March* | left Aspres-sur-Buech (*HN* 95) |
| *21-26 March* | at Susa (*VA* 103) |
| *26-28 March* | at Chiusa (*VA* 104; *AEp* 328) |
| *mid-April* | arrived in Rome (*HN* 113; *VA* 105-106) stayed at the Lateran for about 10 days (*HN* 96-97; *VA* 105-106) |
| *early May* | from Rome to Telese near Caserta (*HN* 97) |
| *May* | at Liberi (Sclavia) (*HN* 97; *VA* 106-109) |
| *end of May to end of June* | at the siege of Capua (G. Malaterra, De rebus gestis Rogerii Comitis 303-307; *HN* 97-98; *VA* 109-112) |
| *about 1 July* | at the abbey of St Lawrence of Aversa (*HN* 99-104) |
| *early July to late September* | at Liberi (*HN* 104; *VA* 112) |

| | |
|---|---|
| *3-10 October* | at Bari (Mansi XX 951-952; *HN* 104-110; *VA* 112-113) |
| *11 October* | left for Rome (*HN* 110) where he stayed till 1099 |

**1099**

| | |
|---|---|
| *late April* | in Rome (*HN* 110-115; *VA* 113-115) |
| *1 May* | left for Lyon (*HN* 114; *VA* 116) |
| *early June* | at Lyon (*HN* 114; *VA* 116); stayed there till late August 1100 (*VA* 116-127) |
| *22 September* | at Vienne (*VA* 117) |

**1100**

| | |
|---|---|
| *Spring* | Lyon—Cluny—Macon—Lyon (*VA* 120-122) |
| *30 July* | at Marcigny, 23 km south of Paray-le-Monial (*VA* 124) |
| *1 August* | at Lyon (*VA* 124) |
| *2 August* | at Lyon (*VA* 124) |
| *5 August* | journey to la Chaise-Dieu (*VA* 125) |
| *9-11 August* | at la Chaise-Dieu (*HN* 118) |
| *about 15 August* | returns to Lyon (*VA* 126) |
| *early September* | at Cluny (*HN* 118-119) |
| *23 September* | lands at Dover (*HN* 119) |
| *29 September* | at Salisbury (*HN* 119-120; *VA* 127) |
| *October* | at Lambeth (*HN* 123-125) |
| *11 November* | at Westminster (*ASC*; Florence; *HN* 121-126) |
| *25 December* | at Westminster (*ASC*) |

**1101**

| | |
|---|---|
| *21 April (Easter)* | at Winchester (*ASC*; *HN* 126) |
| *9 June (Whitsun)* | at St Alban's (*HN* 126-127) |
| *21 June—20 July* | at Pevensey (*ASC*; Florence; *HN* 127-128; *Reg* 531) |
| *end of July* | at Alton (*HN* 128) |

| | |
|---|---|
| *3 September* | at Windsor (*Reg* 544, 547-549; *HN* 128-132) |
| *October* | at Winchester (*HN* 132-137; *Reg* 551; HC 13) |
| *25 December* | at Westminster |

**1102**

| | |
|---|---|
| *6 April (Easter)* | at Winchester |
| *25 May (Whitsun)* | at Westminster (*Reg* 570) |
| *September* | at Westminster (*HN* 137-141) |
| *29 September* | at Westminster (*ASC*; *HN* 141-144) |
| *December* | at Westminster (*ASC*; *HN* 144-146) |

**1103**

| | |
|---|---|
| *8-11 March* | at Canterbury (*HN* 146-147; *Reg* 634-636) |
| *29 March (Easter)* | at Winchester (*ASC*; *HN* 148-149; *Reg* 638-639; *VA* 127) |
| *3 April* | at Westminster (*Reg* 644) |
| *6-21 April* | from Winchester to Canterbury (*HN* 148-149) |
| *26 April* | from Canterbury to Dover (*HN* 149) |
| *27 April* | landed at Wissant (*HN* 149) |
| *28 April* | at Boulogne (*HN* 149) |
| *early to mid-May* | at Bec (*HN* 149-151) |
| *17 May (Whitsun)* | at Chartres (*HN* 151) |
| *late May to mid-August* | at Bec (*HN* 151) |
| *about 20 August* | at Chartres (*HN* 151-152) |
| *early October to 18 November* | in Rome (*HN* 152-155; *AEp* 303; *VA* 128) |
| *November* | at Florence (*VA* 128-130) |
| *December* | at Piacenza (*HN* 155-157; *AEp* 305) |
| *about 20 December* | at Lyon (*HN* 157; *VA* 130) and stayed there for one year and four months till late April 1105 (*HN* 159; *HN* 1587-164; *VA* 130-134) |

**1104**

| | |
|---|---|
| *late January* | at Lyon (*HN* 159; *AEp* 310) |

**1105**

| | |
|---|---|
| *late April* | traveled from Lyon to Cluny (*HN* 164; *VA* 134) |
| *May* | leaves Cluny for La Charité (*HN* 164; *AEp* 411) |
| *late May to early July* | at Blois (*HN* 164-165) |
| *early July* | at Chartres (*HN* 165) |
| *22 July* | at l'Aigle about 55 km south of Bec (*HN* 165-167) |
| *late July to mid-May 1106* | at Bec (*HN* 167-169; *AEpp* 392, 393, 394, 397, 398) |
| *in autumn* | visit to Rheims ('detentus perplures dies' *HN* 168-177; *AEpp* 367, 368, 369, 370, 371) |

**1106**

| | |
|---|---|
| *till mid-May* | at Bec |
| *mid-May to late May* | at Rouen (*HN* 177-180; *AEpp* 397, 398; *VA* 135; *OV* VI 69) |
| *June* | at Bec (*HN* 180-182; *VA* 135) |
| *late June to late July* | at Jumièges (*HN* 182; *ASC*) |
| *late July to 16/17 August* | at Bec (*HN* 182-183; *VA* 135-137; Florence) |
| *early September* | landed at Dover (*HN* 183-184; *VA* 137-138) |

**1107**

| | |
|---|---|
| *14 April (Easter)* | at Windsor (*ASC*; *HN* 184-185) |
| *late April to 8 June* | at Bury St Edmund's (*HN* 185; *VA* 139) |
| *1 to 5 August* | at Westminster (*HN* 186-187; *Reg* 825, 826, 282, 830, 831, 832, 833; *VA* 139) |

| | |
|---|---|
| *11 August* | at Canterbury (*HN* 187-188) |
| *15 August* | at Canterbury (*HN* 188) |
| *18 to 21 September* | at Canterbury (*HN* 188) |
| *18 to 21 December* | at Canterbury (*HN* 188) |
| *25 December* | at Westminster |

**1108**

| | |
|---|---|
| *19 to 27 February* | at Lambeth (*HN* 188-192; *Reg* 871) |
| *about 9 March* | at Rochester (Florence; *HN* 192) |
| *5 April (Easter)* | at Winchester (*ASC*; *Reg* 873) |
| *24 May (Whitsun)* | at Westminster (*ASC*; *HN* 193; *Reg* 878, 880, 881, 885) |
| *27 to 30 May* | at Mortlake (*HN* 196) |
| *29 to 30 June* | at Canterbury (*HN* 196-197) |
| *July* | at Chidham or Pagham (*HN* 197; *ASC*) |
| *26 July* | at Pagham (*HN* 197-198) |
| *9 August* | at Canterbury (*HN* 198) |
| *6 September* | at Canterbury (*AEp* 443, 444) |
| *27 September* | at Canterbury (*AEp* 445) |
| *November to April 1109* | at Canterbury (*VA* 141) |

**1109**

| | |
|---|---|
| *18 April* | at Canterbury (*VA* 141) |
| *20 April* | at Canterbury (*VA* 142) |
| *21 April, Wednesday of Holy Week* | Anselm died at Canterbury at dawn (*VA* 143; *HN* 206; *ASC*) |
| *22 April* | funeral at Christ Church, Canterbury (*VA* 143-146; *HN* 206) |
| *25 April (Easter)* | |

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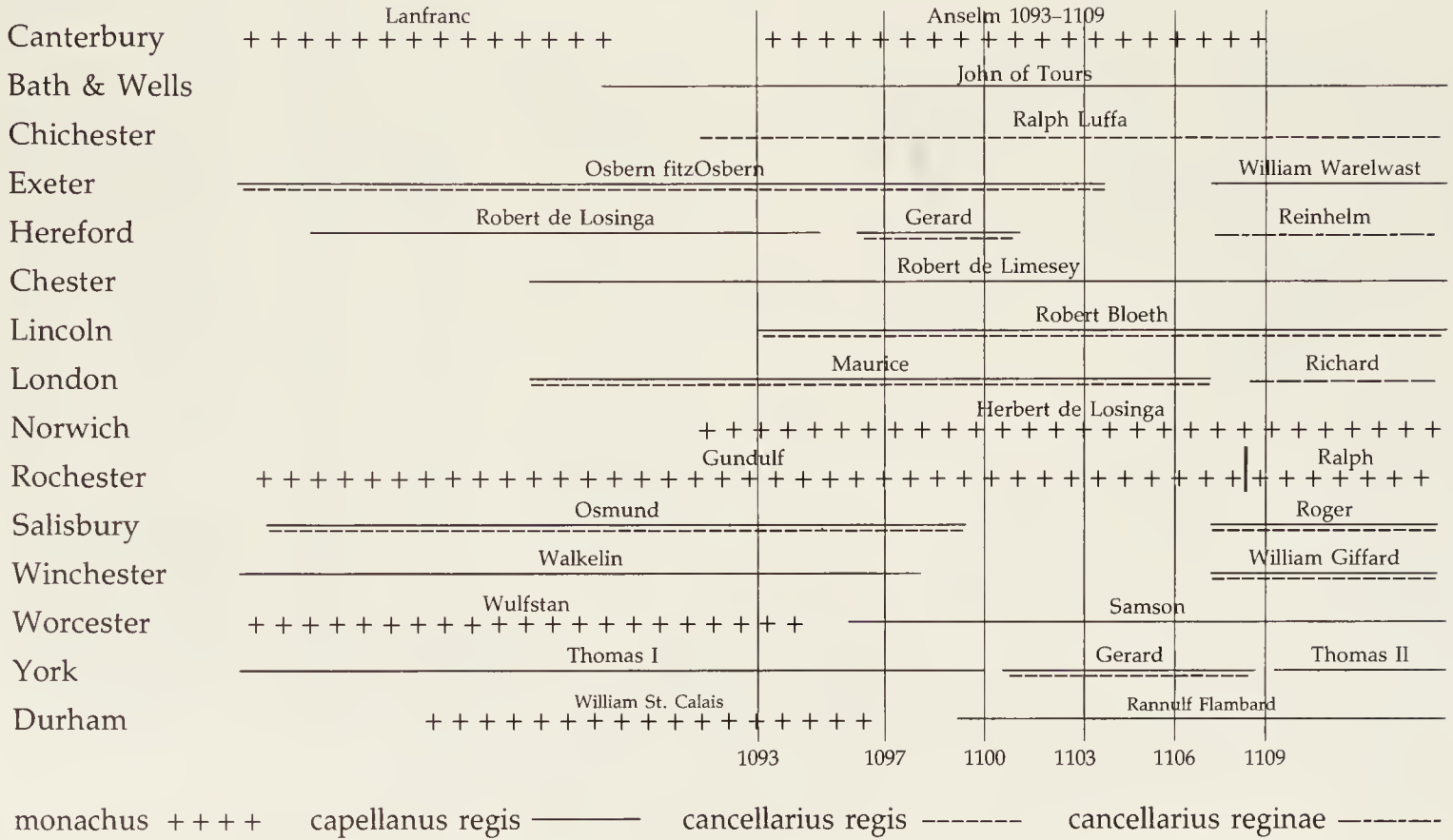
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## Synchronous chart of Anselm's episcopal colleagues I



# Synchronous chart of Anselm's episcopal colleagues II

| | | | country of origin * | monk | capella regis | relationship to roy. family | cathedral new / rebuilt | diocesan activities | usus atque leges +/–/0 1094–1097 | roy. investiture +/–/0 1100–1107 | church reform 1102, 1108 | supremacy of Canterbury 1108 / 1109 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bath and Wells, | John | 1088–1122 | F Tours | | C | friend of W I | new | fulfills ep. duties | + | + | | for Cant. |
| 2. Chichester, | Ralph Luffa | 1091-1123 | N | | C | friend of W II | rebuilt | freq. visitations | 0 | 0 → – | | for Cant. |
| 3. Durham, | Willam of St. Calais | 1081–1096 | N Bayeux | St. Calais St. Vincent | | confidant of W II | new | | + | | | |
| 4. | Rannulf Flambard | 1099–1128 | N Bayeux | | C | | new | | + | | married, 2 sons | 0 |
| 5. Exeter, | Osbern fitzOsbern | 1072–1103 | N | | C | cousin of W I | | blameless | 0 | | | |
| 6. | Willam de Warelwast | 1107-1137 | N | | C | | | estab. canons regular, active | + | + | | for Cant. |
| 7. Hereford, | Robert Losinga | 1079–1095 | | | C | | new | | + | | | |
| 8. | Gerard | 1096–1101 | N | | C ch. 1085–1091 | nephew of Walkelin, (rel. of W I) | | little known | | + → – | | for York |
| 9. | Roger | 1102 | N | | C | | | | | – | | |
| 10. | Reinhelm | 1107–1115 | N | | ch. queen | | | active | | – | | for Cant. |
| 11. Lichfield, | Robert de Limesey | 1086–1117 | N | | C | | | | | + → – | | for Cant. |
| 12. Lincoln, | Robert Bloet | 1093/4–1123 | N Ivry | | C ch. 1091–94 | | consecrated new cath. | | + | + | | for Cant. |
| 13. London, | Maurice | 1085/6–1107 | F Le Mans | | ch. 1078–85 | | new | | | | addicted to women for health reasons | |
| 14. | Richard Beaumais | 1108–1127 | N | | | | | | | | married, dynasty St. Paul's | for Cant. |
| 15. Norwich, | Herbert Losinga | 1091–1119 | N | Fécamp Ramsey | C | friend W II | new | exemplary bp. | | + → – | active in reforms | for Cant. |
| 16. Rochester, | Gundulf | 1076–1108 | F / It | Bec Caen | | | new | freq. visitations | 0 | – | active in reforms | for Cant. |
| 17. | Ralph d'Escures | 1108–1114 | N Sées | | | | | | | | | |
| 18. Salisbury, | Osmund | 1078–1099 | N | | ch. 1070–78 | nephew W I | new | liturgical reform | + | | | for Cant. |
| 19. | Roger le Poer | 1107–1139 | N Caen | | ch. 1101–03 | | | efficient bp. | | + | married, 2 sons | |
| 20. Winchester, | Walkelin | 1070–1098 | N | | C | relative to W I | new | | + | | | for Cant. |
| 21. | William Gifford | 1107–1129 | N Rouen | | C ch. 1094–1101 | | | active | | – | | |
| 22. Worchester, | Wulfstan | 1062–1095 | AS | Worcester | | | new | freq. visitations | | | mon. reform | for Cant. |
| 23. | Samson | 1096–1112 | N Bayeux | | C | | | | 0 | 0 | married, 2 sons, 2 daughters | for Cant. |
| 24. York, | Thomas I | 1070–1100 | N Bayeux | | C | | new | | 0 | | | for York |
| 25 / 8. | Gerard | 1101–1108 | | | | | | bp. above average | | + → – | | for York |
| 26. | Thomas II | 1108/9–1114 | N Bayeux | | C | | | | | | | for York |

* F = France, N = Normandy, It = Italy, AS = Anglo Saxon, C = member of capella regis, ch = king's chancellor




PLACES OF IMPORTANCE IN ANSELM'S LIFE

# THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND IN 1100




The sees of these bishoprics were translated: from Wells to *Bath* in 1090; from Lichfield to *Chester* in 1073, from there to *Coventry* in 1087; from Selsey to *Chichester* in 1075; from Crediton to *Exeter* in 1050; from Dorchester to *Lincoln* in 1072; from Elmham to Thetford in 1075, from there to *Norwich* in 1094/1095; in 1058 Ramsbury was united with Sherborne, translated from there to *Old Sarum* in 1078 and again in 1218 to Salisbury.

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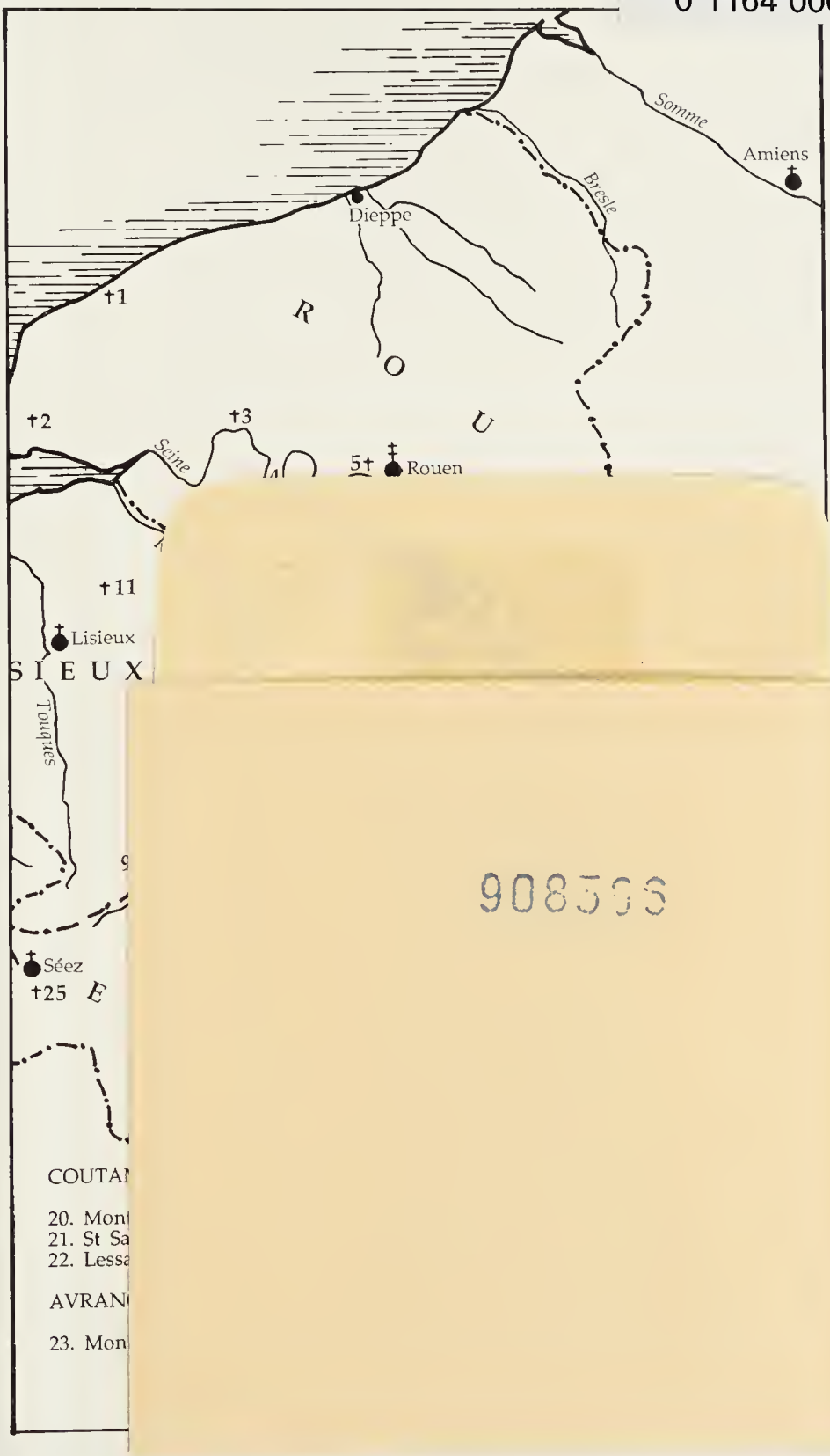
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