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Who wrote Paris, BnF, latin 2342? The identity of the *Anonymus Beccensis* revisited¹

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Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 2342 (hereafter MS Lat. 2342) is a codex that has long fascinated scholars, though precious little is known about the specific circumstances of its production². In its present form, the manuscript is a compendium of eleven Latin works (Appendix 1), over half of which are otherwise unattested and probably represent original compositions. Most of them were written by a single scribe, presumably the author himself. Many attempts have been made to identify this author/scribe, but all we know is that he was almost certainly a monk at the abbey of Le Bec in Normandy (départ. Eure, cant. Brionne) during the first half of the twelfth century, which is why he is commonly referred to as the *Anonymus Beccensis*³. This article offers a fresh study of the composition and authorship of MS Lat. 2342 divided into three sections. The first section provides a holistic codicological and palaeographical discussion of MS Lat. 2342 which for the first time considers the entire book, rather than concentrating on individual segments. The second section builds on this discussion by developing a ‘profile’ of the *Anonymus Beccensis* that includes his education and the authorities he used and cited most frequently. The final section explores some intriguing similarities between this ‘profile’ and the life and career of one particular monk of Le Bec who – as I shall argue – presents a potential match for the person who wrote MS Lat. 2342. In preparing this study, I have benefited from consulting the manuscript both *in situ* and through the digital facsimile made available by «The Polonsky Foundation England and France Project: Manuscripts from the British Library and the Bibliothèque nationale de France, 700-1200».

I. The manuscript

MS Lat. 2342 is widely held to be the work of an otherwise unknown monk of Le Bec who lived and wrote during the early to mid-twelfth century. There are good reasons for this attribution, despite some arguments to the contrary, which will be discussed below⁴. First, however, we must

¹ I would like to thank Samu Niskanen, Richard Allen and Micol Long for providing their feedback on an early version of this article. All remaining errors are, of course, entirely my own.

² See <<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc60171m>> (accessed 1st May 2019); the manuscript is available digitally at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105437825>> (accessed 1st May 2019).

³ A. WILMART, «Les ouvrages d’un moine de Bec: un débat sur la profession monastique au XII^e siècle», *Revue Bénédictine*, 44 (1932), p. 22-46; B. P. MCGUIRE, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350-1250*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010², p. 238; J. WESTON, «Manuscripts and Book Production at Le Bec», in B. POHL and L. L. GATHAGAN (ed.), *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th-13th Centuries)*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, p. 144-170 (p. 162-163); L. DELISLE, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, 4 vol., Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1868-1881), vol. II, p. 340.

⁴ For a concise summary of the *état présent*, see *Three Treatises from Bec on the Nature of Monastic Life*, ed. G. CONSTABLE and trans. B. S. SMITH, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008, p. 3-7 (the manuscript), 10-15 (the author/scribe). Also cf. E. M. C. VAN HOUTS, «The Writing of History at Le Bec», in B. POHL and L. L. GATHAGAN (ed.), *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th-13th Centuries)*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, p. 125-143

establish a clearer sense of (1) the manuscript itself and (2) how much is in fact the work of a single scribe. This means answering some basic questions: which texts are copied in the manuscript, and how many scribes are involved in the copying process? Do the different hands correlate with the book's physical composition, and is this composition the same today as it was originally? Was the book designed as a compendium from the outset, or is it a composite codex combining previously independent units? Is it a fine copy or a working draft? Previous research on MS Lat. 2342 has often tended to operate selectively by focusing on specific segments and their contents, rather than offering an investigation of the entire manuscript⁵. What is required, therefore, is a holistic codicological and palaeographical analysis of MS Lat. 2342.

MS Lat. 2342 does not survive in its original binding, but in an eighteenth-century re-binding whose covers were wrapped in maroon leather and stamped with the French king's coat of arms. Gilded decorations of heraldic and floral patterns run along the board edges, the head/tailcap, and the spine, which, besides the present-day shelfmark, carries the title *Beda in Pentateuchum*. The book opens with three blank flyleaves made from pale vellum, which together with the pastedown form a four-sheet quire (binion) contemporary with the binding. They are succeeded by a quire of four older, smaller (260 × 175 mm) vellum sheets, the first two of which are blank except for two shelfmarks, an owner's mark («Barré 1635»), and a late fifteenth-/early sixteenth-century note: «Beda super eptaticum Moysi. Que secuntur a domino [blank] Becci monacho proprio labore fuisse composita notum est, que plura in hoc non scripta libro, in prima pagina intititata» (FIG. 1a). On fol. 1v-2r, a mid- to late twelfth-century hand has listed fifteen works by an unnamed author («Hęc sunt que ille qui hunc librum scripsit proprio labore composuit») (FIG. 2a and 2b), seven of which are still extant in MS Lat. 2342 (Appendix 2)⁶.

The first text copied in MS Lat. 2342 is a series of readings (*lectiones*) on the Hexateuch attributed mistakenly to Bede (fol. 2v-28v)⁷. Next are two detailed commentaries on the Gospel of Luke 1. 26 (fol. 29r-96r) and 2. 1 (fol. 96v-146r), neither of which has been edited or examined in detail⁸. The following texts, by contrast, have been studied extensively. One is a treatise on the profession of monks (*De professionibus monachorum*, fol. 146v-159r), the other, now incomplete, on the profession of abbots (*De professionibus abbatum*, fol. 159r-162v)⁹. They are succeeded by yet

(p. 133-136). For a different view, see M. GIBSON, «History at Bec in the Twelfth Century», in R. H. C. DAVIS and J. M. WALLACE-HADRILL (ed.), *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981, p. 167-186; M. GIBSON, *Lanfranc of Bec*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978, p. 199-200.

⁵ *Three Treatises*, *op. cit.*, p. 3-9; G. CONSTABLE, «The Canonical Citations in Two Twelfth-Century Treatises from Bec», in R. H. HELMHOLZ *et al.* (ed.), *Grundlagen des Rechts: Festschrift für Peter Landau zum 65. Geburtstag*, Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000, p. 271-276; P. MEYVAERT, «Uncovering a Lost Work of Gregory the Great: Fragments of the Early Commentary on Job», *Traditio*, 50 (1995), p. 55-74; M. GORMAN, «Wigbod and the *Lectioes* on the Hexateuch attributed to Bede in Paris Lat. 2342», *Revue Bénédictine*, 105 (1995), p. 310-347; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 45 vol., Paris: Didot, 1733-2016, vol. XII, p. 335-344. The most detailed discussion is still A. WILMART, «Les ouvrages d'un moine de Bec», *art. cit.*, p. 21-28.

⁶ L. DELISLE, *Bibliotheca Bigotiana manuscripta: Catalogue des manuscrits rassemblés au XVII^e siècle*, Rouen: Boissel, 1877, p. 18-20; A. WILMART, «Les ouvrages d'un moine de Bec», *art. cit.*, p. 22-26; *Three Treatises*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁷ M. GORMAN, «Wigbod and the *Lectioes*», *art. cit.*, *passim*; ID., «The Commentary on the Pentateuch Attributed to Bede in PL. 91.189-394 (First Part)», *Revue Bénédictine*, 106 (1996), p. 61-108; ID., «The Commentary on the Pentateuch Attributed to Bede in PL. 91.189-394 (Second Part)», *Revue Bénédictine*, 106 (1996), p. 255-307. See also P. MEYVAERT, «Bede's *Capitula Lectionum* for the Old and New Testaments», *Revue Bénédictine*, 105 (1995), p. 348-380; G. PARTOENS, «The Canon of Bede's Works and the World of Ps. Bede», *Revue Bénédictine*, 111 (2001), p. 399-445.

⁸ E. M. C. VAN HOUTS, «The Writing of History», *art. cit.*, p. 135-136. The Commentary on Luke 2. 1 (fol. 96v-146r) is currently being studied by Gabriele Passabi as part of his PhD dissertation in History at Cambridge, *The Writing of Universal Chronicles and Ideas about Empire at Bec, Mont-Saint-Michel and Gembloux*, and I am thankful to him for sharing his thoughts with me and reading a draft of this article prior to its publication.

⁹ These have been edited/translated in *Three Treatises*, *op. cit.*, p. 30-105 (*De professionibus monachorum*), 108-133 (*De professionibus abbatum*), 136-167 (*De libertate*). Also cf. A. WILMART, «Les ouvrages d'un moine de Bec»,

another Gospel commentary, this time on Luke 10. 38 (fol. 163r-183v), followed by a ‘reference list’ of eighty-six chapters from Gregory the Great’s *Moralia in Iob* (fol. 184r-185r) and a treatise on the liberty of the church of Le Bec (*De libertate Beccensis ecclesie*, fol. 185v-190v)¹⁰. The last three texts are a short epitaph (fol. 190v) dedicated to Abbot Boso of Le Bec (1124-1136), an account of the miracle of the Church of St Mary of Blachernae in Constantinople (fol. 190v), and Prester John’s (fictional) letter to the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel I Komnenos (fol. 191r-193r)¹¹. The remainder of fol. 193 is blank, except for a seventeenth-century ownership mark («Barré») and a dorsal note by the same hand that wrote the note on fol. Ir: «In 2° libro sententiarum distinctio xliiii. Obstinacio est indurare mentis pertinacia per quam fit homo impenitens. Desperacio est qua quis penitus diffidit de bonitate dei estimans suam maliciam divine bonitatis magnitudinem excedere, sicut Cayn et utrumque istoria dicit peccatum in spiritum sanctum» (FIG. 1b)¹². The final quire shows no pagination/foiation, comprising three pale vellum flyleaves and a pastedown similar to those at the beginning of the book.

We do not know exactly when MS Lat. 2342 obtained its present form, though the re-binding is likely to have occurred around the beginning of the eighteenth century, probably when the book was acquired by the Royal Library under King Louis XIV in 1706¹³. Prior to that, the book had belonged to Jean Bigot (1588-1645), the bibliophile Lord of Sommesnil and Cleuville. The two ownership marks on fol. Ir and fol. 193v locate it in the possession of Nicholas Barré (1621-1686), founder of the congregation of the Dames of Saint-Maur. The earliest marks of ownership on fol. 3r and fol. 147r confirm that in 1579 the manuscripts (or parts thereof) belonged to one «A. Houel», whose identity has yet to be established¹⁴. For the period prior to the sixteenth century, however, our knowledge of the book’s provenance relies exclusively on the palaeographical and artistic evidence. Based on its decorations, the manuscript has been dated more or less unanimously to the transitional period between the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries¹⁵. Besides a large number of decorated initials (fol. 13v, 19v, 23r, 25v, 27v, 47r, 105v, 113v, 121r, 125r, 129r, 138r, 159r, and 191r), these include five more elaborate, articulated initials (fol. 3r, 29r, 96v, 146v, and 163r) that belong to what

art. cit., *passim*; G. CONSTABLE, «Abbatial Profession in Normandy and England in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century, with Particular Attention to Bec», in M. ASCHERI *et al.* (ed.), *‘Ins Wasser geworfen und Ozeane durchquert’: Festschrift für Knut Wolfgang Nörr*, Cologne: Böhlau, 2003, p. 105-120; J. LECLERCQ, «Un traité sur la profession des abbés au XII^e siècle», *Studia Anselmiana*, 50 (1962), p. 177-191; S. VANDERPUTTEN, «Custom and Identity at Le Bec», in B. POHL and L. L. GATHAGAN (ed.), *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th-13th Centuries)*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, p. 228-247.

¹⁰ *Three Treatises*, *op. cit.*, p. 136-167. See also M.-P. DICKSON, «Monachisme et liberté: la liberté de l’église du Bec», *La vie spirituelle*, 128 (1974), p. 136-145; J.-H. FOULON, «La liberté de l’abbaye du Bec entre image et réalité: réflexions autour d’un modèle réformateur normand aux XI^e-XII^e siècles», in J. BARROW *et al.* (ed.), *Autour de Lanfranc (1010-2010): Réforme et réformateurs dans l’Europe du Nord-Ouest (XI^e-XII^e siècles)*, Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2015, p. 57-84; J.-H. FOULON, «Les investitures abbatiales en Normandie: quelques réflexions autour du cas de l’abbaye du Bec-Hellouin (1034-1136)», *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 35 (2012), p. 181-212.

¹¹ Boso’s otherwise unattested epitaph and the copy of the customary Miracle of the Church of St Mary have attracted little critical commentary; see, however, J. LECLERCQ, «Documents sur la mort des moines», *Revue Mabillon*, 46 (1956), p. 65-81 (p. 75); H. BARRÉ, «Un plaidoyer monastique pour le samedi marial», *Revue Bénédictine*, 77 (1967), p. 375-399. On the copy of Prester John’s Letter, see most recently E. M. C. VAN HOUTS, «The Writing of History», *art. cit.*, p. 140-143. Also cf. *Three Treatises*, *op. cit.*, p. 6 n. 17. The most comprehensive study is B. WAGNER, *Die Epistola presbiteri Johannis lateinisch und deutsch: Überlieferung, Textgeschichte, Rezeption und Übertragungen im Mittelalter*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000 (p. 90 on the copy of the *Epistola* in MS Lat. 2342).

¹² I would like to thank Anne Salamon for kindly helping me to transcribe and attribute this note.

¹³ L. DELISLE, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 340. Also cf. the good overview of the manuscript’s ownership history in B. WAGNER, *Die Epistola presbiteri Johannis*, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁴ Given the date, a connection to Nicholas Houël († 1587), a Paris-based apothecary and founder of the *Maison de la Charité chrétienne*, is not impossible.

¹⁵ C. DODWELL, *The Canterbury School of Illumination, 1066-1200*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954, p. 12-13; F. AVRIL, *Manuscrits normands, XI^e-XII^e siècles*, Rouen: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1975, p. 58-59; ID., *Trésors des abbayes normandes*, Caen: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1979, p. 142-143. Also cf. *Three Treatises*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Charles Dodwell has defined as the «clambering style» of illustrations¹⁶, and which bear strong resemblances to the initials found in other eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts connected to Le Bec, particularly during Lanfranc's time (at Le Bec 1042-1070; at Canterbury 1070-1089).

The palaeographical evidence generally seems to confirm this date range, though here the existing literature requires refinement and, in some regards, revision. The *communis opinio* today is still that established by Giles Constable in the introduction to his edition *Three Treatises from Bec on the Nature of Monastic Life* published in 2008. Citing an oral communication by Alison Beach, Constable asserted that «with the possible exception of the insertions on folios 185r-v [*sic*] and 189r it [*MS Lat. 2342*] was written by a single scribe, probably over a period of time, which accounts for the variations¹⁷». Constable/Beach argued against the conclusions reached by André Wilmart in his pioneering study from 1932, according to which the manuscript was «l'œuvre de plusieurs mains [...], une copie exécutée soit sous la direction de l'auteur soit d'après un modèle autorisé¹⁸». Instead, their findings served to confirm Margaret Gibson's notion that MS Lat. 2342 was the author's 'personal manuscript', which he re-worked, revised and expanded continuously during the years c. 1090-1140¹⁹, leading Constable to the conclusion that «[t]he entire manuscript can therefore best be described not as a draft but as a working copy²⁰». What has been summarised briefly in this paragraph is, in a nutshell, the *état actuel* as regards the scribal work behind MS Lat. 2342. Having had the opportunity to study the manuscript at some length, I would like to propose a series of amendments.

Upon closer examination, MS Lat. 2342 turns out to be the work of at least five, perhaps even six different scribes writing between the end of the eleventh and the later twelfth/early thirteenth centuries (Appendix 4). These are, in order of appearance: Scribe E (fol. 1v-2r), dating from the second half of the twelfth century, likely the final quarter; Scribe A (fol. 2v-28v, 29r-96r, 96v-146r, 146v-162v, 163r-183v, and 184r-185r), whom we may identify as the 'main scribe', and whose hand dates from the late eleventh to the early/mid-twelfth century, likely the period c. 1090-1140 suggested by Gibson; Scribe A also undertook a series of corrections to the work of other scribes (fol. 137v, 185v, and 187r-190v), including not just individual words or sentences, but also entire sections which he wrote over erasures; Scribe B (fol. 138r and 190v), dating from the early to mid-twelfth century, probably the first third or shortly afterwards; Scribe C (fol. 185v and 187r-190v), dating from the late eleventh to the early/mid-twelfth century, most probably around the same time as Scribe A; Scribe D (fol. 186r-v), dating from the early to mid-twelfth century, likely the first third or shortly afterwards and therefore contemporary to Scribe B; finally, Scribe F (fol. 191r-193r), dating from the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

As was observed by both Wilmart and Constable/Beach, the hand of Scribe A (the 'main scribe') exhibits some variation across different sections of the manuscript. These variations have relatively little effect on the scribe's personal ductus, but they do have a significant impact on the aspect of the scribe's hand²¹, which in certain segments of the manuscript appears less confident and controlled than in others. In some cases, this probably has to do with the specific occasion and context of the scribe's intervention, for example, when he corrected the work of Scribe C (fol. 185v and 187r-190v) and made amendments to his own previous writing (fol. 137v). In other cases, however, the

¹⁶ C. DODWELL, *The Canterbury School*, *op. cit.*, p. 18-19; J. WESTON, «Manuscripts and Book Production», *art. cit.*, p. 155-158.

¹⁷ *Three Treatises*, *op. cit.*, p. 6. The first insertion referred to should read fol. 186r-v.

¹⁸ A. WILMART, «Les ouvrages d'un moine de Bec», *art. cit.*, p. 22 n. 2.

¹⁹ M. GIBSON, «History at Bec», *art. cit.*, p. 171; EAD., *Lanfranc of Bec*, *op. cit.*, p. 199-202. Also cf. the discussion in *Three Treatises*, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²¹ For these and related palaeographical terms used throughout this article, see the glossary provided in M. B. PARKES, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes. The Lyell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1999*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, p. 149-155.

variations appear to be the effect of more permanent changes, and Gibson's suggestion of an ageing scribe who continued to write over the course of half a century remains the most likely explanation²².

The similarities between the hands of Scribes A and B might thus suggest that the latter is none other than Scribe A writing in his old age, and that the relative lack of control and dexterity exhibited by the handwriting on fol. 138r and, particularly, 190v might well be the result of an age-related deterioration of fine motor skills and/or infirmity²³. The hand of Scribe A is generally dense, narrow and regular in appearance, indicating a well-trained and experienced scribe, but over time it becomes more rounded and spaced out, giving it a less firm and elegant character²⁴. What remains to be determined is the order in which the different sections written by Scribe A – and Scribe B, if the two were indeed the same person – were produced and copied in the manuscript. Gibson believed that the order of composition resembled that of the list on fol. 1v-2r, meaning that the three commentaries on the Gospel of Luke (fol. 29r-96r, 96v-146r, and 163r-183v) were composed first (c. 1100), and that the two works written last were *De libertate* (fol. 185v-190v) and the no longer extant Miracle of the Church of St Mary (c. 1136)²⁵. To revisit this hypothesis, we need to turn to the quire structure.

In its present state, MS Lat. 2342 comprises a total of twenty-five quires (Appendix 3)²⁶. The majority of these quires are quaternions, though there are also two binions (Quire I, fol. 1r-2v; V, fol. 27r-28v), one trinion (XXV, fol. 188r-93v), two quinions (X, fol. 61r-70v; XIX, fol. 136r-145v), and three uneven quires of four and a half sheets each (XIII, fol. 87r-95v; XXI, fol. 154r-162v; XXIV, fol. 179r-187v)²⁷. In two instances, the beginning/end of a quire corresponds precisely to the juncture between two texts, as is the case with the transition between the *Lectiones* on the Hexateuch (fol. 28v) and the Commentary on Luke 1. 26 (fol. 29r), and that between *De professionibus abbatum* (fol. 162v) and the Commentary on Luke 10. 38 (fol. 163r), both indicated with a solid line:

No.	No./list	Quire(s)	Scribe(s)	Fol.
(1)	-	I	E	1v-2r
(2)	-	(I ^{cont.}) II-V	A	2v-28v
(3)	(ii)	VI-XIII (XIV)	A	29r-96r
(4)	(iii)	XIV-XIX (XX)	A, A/B, A ^{corrector}	96v-146r
(5-6)	(vi-vii)	XX XXI	A	146v-162v
(7-9)	(i, xiii-xiv)	XXII-XXIV	A, C, D, A ^{corrector}	163r-187v
(9 ^{cont.} -12)	(xiv ^{cont.} , -)	(XXIV ^{cont.}) XXV	A, A/B, C, F, A ^{corrector}	188r-193v

²² M. GIBSON, «History at Bec», *art. cit.*, p. 171.

²³ I would like to thank Teresa Webber for kindly advising me on the likelihood of this possibility and discussing my identification of the different scribal hands at great length (and with much patience).

²⁴ A similar development of age-related deterioration has been observed with regard to the hand of Micheau Gonnot, a prolific *scribe-remanieur* whose surviving manuscripts were produced between c. 1463-1476; C. E. PICKFORD, *L'évolution du roman arthurien en prose vers la fin du Moyen Âge d'après le manuscrit 112 du fonds français de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris: Nizet, 1960, p. 22: «L'étude de l'écriture de ces cinq manuscrits montre comment la calligraphie d'un seul et même copiste peut évoluer. D'abord pointue et serrée en 1463 (Ms. B.N.fr. 99), elle devient nettement plus ronde en 1466 (Ms. B.N.fr. 93). Celle du 112 (1470) est encore plus lâche et plus espacée, et les Mss Ms. B.N.fr. 916 et Arsenal 5121 marquent la fin de cette évolution vers une écriture moins ferme, moins soignée».

²⁵ M. GIBSON, «History at Bec», *art. cit.*, p. 171.

²⁶ I am grateful to Francesco Siri for confirming my analysis of the manuscript's quire structure and facilitating access to the manuscript during my research in Paris.

²⁷ Two of these four-and-a-half-sheet quires (XIII and XXIV) are quaternions to which a single sheet has been added, rather than quinions from which a single sheet was removed. In both cases, these additions are reflected in the manuscript's foliation, unlike the single-sheet insert in Quire XVI (fol. 112r-119v), whose foliation 113^{bis} was added subsequently in pencil. Quire XXI (fol. 154r-162v), by contrast, is a former sexternion from which three sheets were removed, which is why fol. 154r-v, 155r-v, and 156r-v are now all single sheets, rather than bifolia, and which also explains why the formerly central seam is now off-centre between fol. 159v-160r.

In the other cases (fol. 2r/v, 96r/v, 146r/v, and 187v/188r), indicated with a dashed line, the textual transitions *prima facie* do not seem to correspond to the manuscript's quire structure. Upon closer examination, however, at least three of these exhibit idiosyncrasies which suggest that originally the texts did in fact begin/end precisely on the quire junctures.

On fol. 96r, the final page of the Commentary on Luke 1. 26 has been written over an erasure, which creates the possibility that this folio once might have contained a different text – perhaps a list of contents for the seven treatises that form the Commentary on Luke 2. 1 commencing on its verso? Similarly, the final page of this Commentary on Luke 2. 1 on fol. 146r was almost certainly copied during a different writing session than fol. 145v, as is indicated by a change of ink and quill/nib, and again at least parts of the page seem to have been erased with a pen knife before the text was copied. With regard to fol. 2r/v, the fact that the list of works on fol. 1v-2r was added by Scribe E at least a quarter of a century after the *Lectiones* beginning on fol. 2v had been copied by Scribe A means that we are dealing with two formerly separate units. The text of the *Lectiones* proper only begins with the elaborate illustrated initial on fol. 3r, meaning that the list of *capitula* on the previous page (fol. 2v) could well be a later addition which justified the insertion of an additional binion in front of what is now Quire II, the remainder of which remained blank until it received the list of works.

This only leaves Quire XXIV as a possible exception, which contains two textual junctures: that between the Commentary on Luke 10. 38 and the *capitula* of the *Moralia in Iob* (fol. 183v/184r), and that between the *capitula* and *De libertate* (fol. 187v/188r). We must remember, however, that this is one of the quires into which a single sheet (fol. 186) was inserted subsequently, and that after fol. 185v (the beginning of *De libertate*) the remainder of Quire XXIV and the first pages of Quire XXV were written not by the main scribe, but by Scribe C. There is every chance, therefore, that Quire XXIV originally only contained the texts written by Scribe A, and that *De libertate* was added subsequently by a contemporary whose work he corrected on at least two occasions (fol. 188v and 189r-v). In fact, the *capitula* (fol. 184r-185r) seem to belong to a different writing campaign than the pages by which they are preceded, which likewise may indicate that they were inserted at a different point in time.

What the evidence discussed in the previous paragraphs suggests is that fol. 2r/v, 96r/v, and 146r/v (and perhaps 187v/188r, too) are not merely quire junctures, but they also resemble former textual junctures which were obscured at a later point when the quires were re-ordered and re-assembled to produce the current order of texts in MS Lat. 2342. The difference between this current order and that in the list of works written by Scribe E during the later twelfth century (Appendix 2) supports this possibility. MS Lat. 2342 should thus not be considered a working copy to which texts were added gradually in the chronological order of their composition, but a composite manuscript combining a number of formerly discrete textual, scribal and codicological units:

	<i>Content(s)</i>	<i>Quire(s)</i>	<i>Scribe(s)</i>
(a)	<i>Lectiones</i> on the Hexateuch	II-V	A
(b)	Commentary on Luke 1. 26	VI-XIII	A
(c)	Commentary on Luke 2. 1	XIV-XIX	A, A/B, A ^{corrector}
(d)	<i>De professionibus monachorum</i> , <i>De professionibus abbatum</i>	XX-XXI	A
(e)	Commentary on Luke 10. 38	XXII-XXIV	A
(f)	<i>Moralia in Iob (cap.)</i>	Addition to XXIV	A
(g)	<i>De libertate</i>	Addition to XXIV, XXV	C, D, A ^{corrector}
(h)	Boso's epitaph, Miracle of the Church of St Mary	Addition to XXV	A/B
(i)	Prester John's Letter	Addition to XXV	F

Assuming that Scribes A and B were the same person writing at different points in time, we can conclude that (a-f) and (h) were written – and subsequently revised, in the case of (c) – by Scribe A/B between the later eleventh and the first third of the twelfth century; (g) was written and expanded

by someone else (a contemporary of Scribe A/B, maybe a fellow monk or even an assistant/*amanuensis*) before being revised and corrected by Scribe A/B himself; (i) was written by someone else entirely a generation or two later. If, moreover, Scribe A/B was also the author of (a-g), as is suggested by the rubric of the list of works on fol. 1v, this would make these seven texts his autographs – except for (g), which was authored by Scribe A/B but written/copied by Scribe C.

This would also explain why (b-g) are all mentioned by the list of works on fol. 1v-2r, whereas (a), (h) and (i) are not. To begin with, the hand of Scribe F who copied (i) is of a later date than that of Scribe E, and thus (i) cannot be expected to appear on the latter's list. Meanwhile, the reason why (a) and (h) do not feature on this list has to do less with chronology and more with authorship. Indeed, one possible interpretation of the rubric's wording («Hęc sunt que ille qui hunc librum scripsit proprio labore composuit») (FIG. 2a) – and one that supports the codicological and palaeographical evidence presented throughout this section – is to read «hunc librum scripsit» and «Hęc [...] proprio labore composuit» as differentials that relate not to one, but to two different items. In other words, the rubric distinguishes between, on the one hand, this book (*hunc librum*), which was copied (*scripsit*) but not authored (*composuit*) by Scribe A/B, and, on the other, various different texts that the same scribe had in fact composed himself (*proprio labore composuit*), but which were not part of the same book.

The *Lectiones* on the Hexateuch (a) are most certainly not an authorial work of Scribe A/B – they survive in different versions with a range of (pseudo-)authorial attributions, the earliest of which go back to c. 700²⁸ –, and neither is the customary Miracle of the Church of St Mary (h), an eleventh-century text that exists in several earlier manuscripts²⁹. Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing for certain whether or not Boso's epitaph (h) resembles an original composition. Even if it does, however, its brevity and commemorative function might have enabled it to pass into oral usage not long after Boso's death in 1136. By the time that Scribe E composed his list during the later twelfth century, the work might well have become part of the monastic community's collective and institutional memory, and was thus no longer associated with an individual author³⁰. The most likely explanation, therefore, is that MS Lat. 2342 as it survives today is an amalgamation of two previously separate twelfth-century codices (or parts thereof). One of them was a compendium of original works composed and copied *manu propria* by the author/scribe that resembled items (i-xv) on the list on fol. 1v-2r (Appendix 2), whereas the other contained a work that the same scribe had copied without being the author³¹.

II. The 'profile' of the author/scribe

Having established the codicology and scribal composition of MS Lat. 2342, we can now develop a 'profile' of its main scribe. The basis for this profile must be the autograph works listed on fol. 1v-2r, specifically items (i-iii), (vi-vii), and (xiv)³². As Constable and others have shown, the

²⁸ See M. GORMAN, «Wigbod and the *Lectiones*», *art. cit.*, p. 315-321 for a list of the known surviving manuscripts.

²⁹ V. GRUMEL, «Le "miracle habituel" de Notre-Dame des Blachernes à Constantinople», *Échos d'Orient*, 34 (1931), p. 129-146.

³⁰ It is worth noting, in this context, that Boso's epitaph in MS Lat. 2342, fol. 190v is not printed in *Beati Lanfranci Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et Angliae primatis, ordinis S. Benedicti, opera omnia*, ed. L. D'ACHÉRY, Paris: Jean Billaine, 1648, which in its appendices records three other medieval epitaphs dedicated to Boso (p. 51).

³¹ The combination of these separate manuscripts must have occurred after the list on fol. 1v-2r was drawn up in the later twelfth century, but before Houel left his signature on the *Lectiones* (fol. 3r) and *De professionibus monachorum* (fol. 147r). Interestingly, the notes on the manuscript's first (fol. 1r) and final sheet (fol. 193v) – the same two sheets that also carry Barré's signature from 1635 – indicate that the manuscript also contained a copy of the second book of Peter Lombard's *Libri Quattuor Sententiarum* («In 2° libro sententiarum distinctio xliiii...»); cf. *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris, 1855, vol. CXCII, col. 519-964.

³² The Commentary on Matthew 25. 14 (iv), the Miracles of St Nicholas (v), and the Translation of St Honorina (xv) can only be accessed in non-autograph versions, two of which date from the twelfth century, and the other from the

author of *De libertate* and the two treatises on monastic professions was particularly attached to Augustine and Gregory the Great, as well as to Jerome, Isidore, Leo the Great, and Fulgentius of Ruspe, but he also relied on more contemporary writers such as Anselm and Guitmund of Aversa³³. Given that some of Anselm's letters referred to in *De libertate* are otherwise unknown, there is a strong possibility that the author might have known Anselm personally. He certainly knew Canon Law, quoted Ivo of Chartres and Anselm of Lucca, and seems to have had access to an otherwise unattested canonical collection³⁴. He also had a basic working knowledge of Greek and read Virgil's *Aeneid*³⁵. The quotations identified by Constable and Meyvaert in other parts of the manuscript include, in addition to those mentioned above, Ambrose, Cassiodorus, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Cyril, Eusebius, Gelasius, Hilarius, Jerome, Origen, Paschasius, as well as Lanfranc³⁶. Based on a case study of fol. 134v-135r, van Houts has demonstrated the author's familiarity with Flavius Josephus, Leo Archpresbyter, Julius Valerius, Justinus, Pompeius Trogus, as well as the *Epistola Alexandri Magni ad Aristotelem*³⁷. A full survey of the quotations in the three Commentaries on Luke 1. 26, 2. 1, and 10. 38 now allows me to add the following to this list: Bede, Dionysius Exiguus (uncertain), Eutropius, Lucan, Orosius, Pliny, Sallust, Suetonius (who on one occasion is mistaken for Solinus), and a *Vita Basilii*, probably by Gregory of Nazianzus. Taken together, this results in the following distribution:

fourteenth; see A. WILMART, «Les ouvrages d'un moine de Bec», *art. cit.*, p. 24 n. 2, who suggested tentatively that the Commentary on Matthew 25. 14 might be related to the *Lectiones in festiuitate translationis beatissimi [...] Nicholai* that survive in a twelfth-century manuscript from the Norman Abbey of Lyre, now Évreux, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. Lat. 96, fol. 45r-48v. Also cf. H. OMONT, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Départements*, vol. II, Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1888, p. 449. The Miracles of St Nicholas survive in Évreux, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. Lat. 96, fol. 24r-44v, where they are identified as *Miracula de sancto Nicholao [...] edita a quondam monacho ecclesie Becci*, as well as in a fourteenth-century copy, now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 5368, fol. 41v-60v. They have been edited in *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in bibliotheca nationali Parisiensi, ediderunt hagiographi Bollandiani*, 3 vol., Brussels: Schepens, 1889-1893, vol. II, p. 404-432; also cf. H. OMONT, *Catalogue general, op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 448-449; A. WILMART, «Les ouvrages d'un moine de Bec», *art. cit.*, p. 24-25 n. 3; M. GIBSON, *Lanfranc of Bec, op. cit.*, p. 199-200. The Translation of St Honorina has been edited in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 9 (1890), p. 135-146 on the basis of a twelfth-century copy in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 13774, fol. 10v-17v; see A. WILMART, «Les ouvrages d'un moine de Bec», *art. cit.*, p. 26 n. 3; *Three Treatises, op. cit.*, p. 5 n. 7.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 10-28. See also *Histoire littéraire, op. cit.*, vol. XII, p. 335-344; A. WILMART, «Les ouvrages d'un moine de Bec», *art. cit.*, *passim*; M. GIBSON, «History at Bec», *art. cit.*, p. 171-175; P. MEYVAERT, «Uncovering a Lost Work», *art. cit.*, p. 56-57; E. M. C. VAN HOUTS, «The Writing of History», *art. cit.*, p. 129, 134.

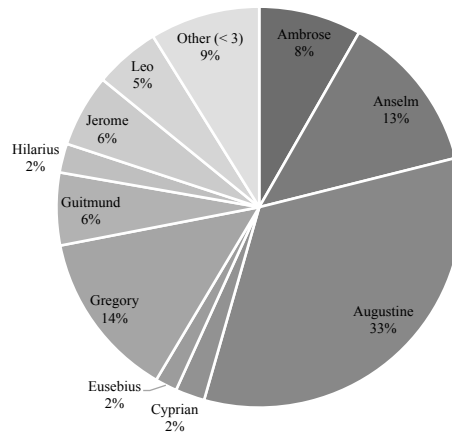
³⁴ In *Three Treatises, op. cit.*, p. 11 n. 30, Constable states categorically that «the author's collection was not the so-called collection of Lanfranc, which came from Bec and of which there is a copy in MS Cambridge, Trinity College, 405 (B.16.44)»; I have been unable to validate this claim. Constable also allows for the possibility that the author might have used Burchard of Worms directly, rather than via Ivo of Chartres's *Decretum* (G. CONSTABLE, «The Canonical Citations», *art. cit.*, p. 272-273), and he further adds the *Decretum Gratiani* to this list of possible citations (*Three Treatises, op. cit.*, p. 173), though it remains unclear how the latter could be reconciled with Constable's previous conclusion that the author of MS Lat. 2342 «probably lived in the first half of the twelfth century» (G. CONSTABLE, «The Canonical Citations», *art. cit.*, p. 271).

³⁵ *Three Treatises, op. cit.*, p. 11.

³⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 11, 173-174; G. CONSTABLE, «The Canonical Citations», *art. cit.*, p. 272; P. MEYVAERT, «Uncovering a Lost Work», *art. cit.*, p. 56.

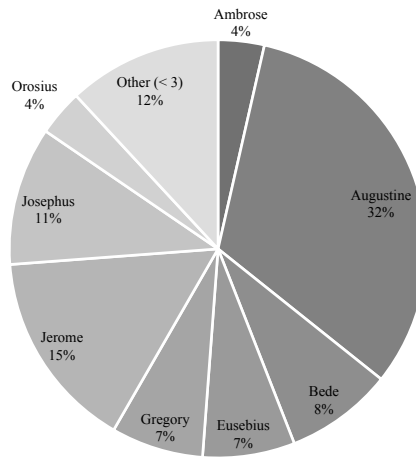
³⁷ E. M. C. VAN HOUTS, «The Writing of History», *art. cit.*, p. 135-136. Fol. 134v-135r are dedicated to Alexander the Great.

Commentary on Luke 1.26 (fols. 29r–96r)

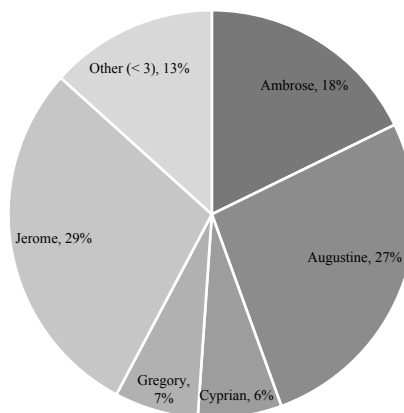


Broken down further into the individual texts, we can see some changes in this distribution:

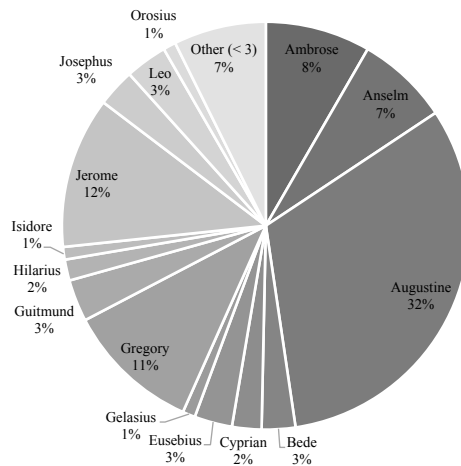
Commentary on Luke 2.1 (fols. 96v–146r)



Commentary on Luke 10.38 (fols. 163r–183v)



Combined (fols. 29r–96r, 96v–146r, 163r–183v)



Augustine clearly claims pride of place in the Commentaries on Luke 1. 26 (33%) and 2. 1 (32%), but not in the Commentary on Luke 10. 38 (27%), where he is just overtaken by Jerome (29%). Ambrose, too, exercises a greater presence in the Commentary on Luke 10. 38 (18%) than he does in either of the other two (8%, 4%), as does Cyprian. Meanwhile, the authorities that rise to particular prominence in the Commentary on Luke 1. 26 are Gregory (14%), Anselm (13%), and Guitmund (6%), whereas in the Commentary on Luke 2. 1 we can witness a noticeable increase in the citations from Josephus (11%), Bede (8%), Eusebius (7%), and Orosius (4%). The explanation for these differences probably lies in the particular context of the three commentaries, each of which relates to a specific pericope within the liturgical year: Luke 1. 26 to 8 December (*Maria Immaculata Concepta*), Luke 2. 1 to 24 December (Holy Night), and Luke 10. 38 to the sixteenth Sunday (Cycle C)³⁸. They are at once works of scriptural exegesis, didactic erudition, and spiritual guidance, and they address a series of important theological, computistical, and historiographical debates.

One of the central debates in the Commentary on Luke 1. 26 concerns the nature of transubstantiation that gave rise to Lanfranc's polemical dispute with Berengar of Tours during the 1060s and 1070s³⁹. Unsurprisingly, the author/scribe takes Lanfranc's side, which he supports further with citations from Guitmund of Aversa's *De corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate in eucharistia*, Alger of Liège's *De sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini*, papal letters, canonical decrees, and the Church Fathers⁴⁰. In terms of its composition and methodology, this commentary is slightly more ambitious than the one on Luke 2. 1, which is in essence a miniature chronicle of the six ages of the

³⁸ See <http://www.perikopen.de/perikopen.html#Start>. Note that even the lost Commentary on Matthew 25. 14 (iv) links to the pericope for the thirty-third Sunday of the year.

³⁹ On this controversy, its development and outcome, and its wider historical and theological context, see J. DE MONTCLOS, *Lanfranc et Bérenger. La controverse eucharistique du XI^e siècle*, Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1971; T. J. HOLOPAINEN, «Lanfranc of Bec» and Berengar of Tours», *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 34 (2011), p. 105-121; H. E. J. COWDREY, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, Archbishop*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 59-74; M. GIBSON, *Lanfranc of Bec, op. cit.*, p. 63-97.

⁴⁰ M. G. VAILLANCOURT, *Lanfranc of Canterbury: On the Body and Blood of the Lord; Guitmund of Aversa: On the Truth of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist*, Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009; *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078-1079*, ed. C. RADDING and F. NEWTON, New York: Columbia University Press, 2003. See also P. D. WATKINS, «Lanfranc at Caen: Teaching by Example», in J. RUBENSTEIN and S. N. VAUGHN (ed.), *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000-1200*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2006, p. 70-97. Alger of Liège's *De sacramentis* is quoted verbatim on fol. 69r: «...in epistola Anatholio episcopo missa...». P. MEYVAERT, «Uncovering a Lost Work», *art. cit.*, p. 56 has argued that the author might have used a *florilegium*, though this seems unlikely given the extent of some of the citations; also cf. G. CONSTABLE, «The Canonical Citations», *art. cit.*, p. 274. On the use of *florilegia* at Le Bec, see E. KUHL, «Education and Schooling at Le Bec: a Case Study of Le Bec's *Florilegia*», in B. POHL and L. L. GATHAGAN (ed.), *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th-13th Centuries)*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, p. 248-277.

world (*sex aetates mundi*) from the Creation to the birth of Christ, and which has been described recently as the work of «an adequate if unimaginative author», perhaps a «budding apprentice historian⁴¹».

What is of interest to the present study is the way in which the author of these commentaries compares and contrasts different authorities on a given subject, and a good example of this methodology is the account of the generations after the Flood recorded in Genesis (fol. 120r-121r). When the discussion turns to the period between the Flood and the birth of Abraham (fol. 120v), the author/scribe states that this period was accepted unequivocally as constituting the second age, but that the Patristic authorities disagreed on just how many years it comprised («De [h]is duabus etatibus omnes doctores in unum concordant excepto in numero annorum»). Rather than choosing one particular calculation, the author reiterates them all, referring to the Septuaginta and the Hebrew Bible, Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, Eusebius's *Chronicon* – *nota bene*: not his *Historia ecclesiastica*⁴² –, Orosius's *De ornesta mundi*, Flavius Josephus's *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, and, as his primary reference work, Bede's *De temporibus*⁴³. At no point is there any suggestion as to which of these should be considered the most authoritative, and this decision is left entirely to the reader.

A similar *modus operandi* is applied to the three subsequent *aetates*, on whose calculation the authorities differed just as much, if not more («De tribus vero aliis etatibus que secuntur diverse inter se sentiunt plurimi»). Some are said to have counted the third age from Abraham to David («Quidam enim tertiam etatem que ab Abraam incipit protenditur usque ad David tempora»), others to Salomon and the dedication of the temple («ad Salomonem et templi dedicationem»); some counted the fourth age from David to the captivity («usque ad captivitatem que facta est a rege Nabuchodonosor»), others from the construction to the restoration of the temple («ad restaurationem eiusdem»); some believed the fifth age to have lasted from the captivity to the birth of Christ, others to the reign of Herod («usque ad tempora Erodus regis»). The result was a multitude of competing timelines, each based on a different Biblical or Patristic authority⁴⁴, whose synchronisation presented the author with a nigh impossible task («Quatuor opiniones posuimus que difficillime sunt prosequi et in unum coaptare»). Claiming to have done his best despite these challenges, the author implores the reader not to be unkind if they find him to be at fault, but to correct him («si cui non placuerit non statim ad subsannandum atque respuendum animum aponatus sit ad emendandum, sed melius potuerit»). The

⁴¹ E. M. C. VAN HOUTS, «The Writing of History», *art. cit.*, p. 135-136, 139; also cf. A. WILMART, «Les ouvrages d'un moine de Bec», *art. cit.*, p. 27-28. For a detailed study of this 'mini world chronicle' in the context of universal historiography, I once again refer the reader to Gabriele Passabi's forthcoming work.

⁴² By the mid-1160s (if not earlier), the monks of Le Bec appear to have owned copies of both Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica* (in Ruffinus's Latin translation) and his *Chronicon*; see L. CLEAVER, «The Monastic Library at Le Bec», in B. POHL and L. L. GATHAGAN (ed.), *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th-13th Centuries)*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, p. 125-143, specifically the entries on p. 201 (= n° 96, *Historia ecclesiastica*) and p. 203 (= n° 114, *Chronicon*).

⁴³ There is a possibility that he might also have known Bede's *De temporum ratione* and/or the *Chronicon* by Romuald of Salerno, given that the quote «Sane inquiens de differentia annorum [...] interpretes facta translatio» on MS Lat. 2342, fol. 120v, which incorporates several passages from Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, could derive from either text; for Romuald's *Chronicon*, see *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, ed. C. A. GARUFI, Città di Castello: Lapi, 1935 (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 7. 1), and the ongoing digital edition by P. MONELLA, especially that of MS A (= Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 3973), available at: <<http://www1.unipa.it/paolo.monella/romualdus/html/tab-msa-al.html>> (accessed 1st May 2019).

⁴⁴ MS Lat. 2342, fol. 120v: «Quidam istas VI etates ita ordinant: prima ab Adam usque ad Noe. Secundam a Noe usque ad Abraam. Tertiam ab Abraam usque ad Moysen. Quarta a Moyse usque ad David. Quinta ad [sic] David usque ad Christum. Sexta que nunc agitur usque ad diem iudicii. Beatus vero Gregorius et alii que plures ita eas ordinant: prima ab Adam usque ad Noe. Secunda a Noe usque ad Abraam. Tercia ab Abraam usque ad Moysen. Quarta a Moyse usque ad captivitatem Iudaici populi in Babylone. Quinta ab ipsa captivitate usque ad Christum. Sexta in qua nos modo sumus». Interestingly, *beatus Gregorius* might refer not to Gregory the Great, but to Gregory of Tours, whose *Historia Francorum* provides a possible template in Book IV.51: «A principio usque ad diluuium anni 2242 [...] Quod sunt simul anni 5774 tantum», *Gregorii Turonensis Opera. Teil 1: Libri historiarum X*, ed. W. ARNDT and B. KRUSCH, Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1951 (*MGH SS rer. Merov.*, 1. 1), p. 189-190.

same strategy can be seen again when the author continues his computistical discussion on fol. 137v-138r, this time by comparing the exact number of years for each *aetas mundi* as calculated by Jerome, Eusebius, Orosius, Bede, Isidore, and Dionysius Exiguus's *Easter Tables* respectively (FIG. 3a and 3b)⁴⁵.

As has been observed before with regard to the citations from Gregory the Great, the authorities cited by the *Anonymus Beccensis* are sometimes referred to simply by author name, making it difficult to determine precisely which work is meant⁴⁶. In some cases, however, the information is more precise, naming both the author and the specific work(s) according to the formula 'X in libro Y' (Appendix 5). A collation of this bibliographical data from the three Commentaries on Luke 1. 26, 2. 1, and 10. 38 results in the following 'book list':

Ambrose's *De sacramentis* (possibly the source for item (xi) on the list of works on fol. 1v); *De Trinitate*; *De virginitate*; *De misteriis*; *De fide Ad Gratianum Augustum*; commentaries on Malachi and on Paul's letters to Timothy and the Corinthians; **Anselm's** *Cur Deus homo* and *De conceptu virginali*; **Augustine's** *Enchiridion*; *De baptismo parvulorum*; *De civitate Dei*; *De Trinitate*; *De correptione et gratia*; *De catechizandis rudibus*; *De blasphemia in Spiritum sanctum*; *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*; *Contra Felicianum*; sermons to the neophytes and to the penitent; sermon on pastors; letters to Boniface, Evodius, Januarius, Jerome, Julian, Paulinus of Nola, Pollentius, and Valerius; commentaries on the Gospel of John, Genesis, and on various psalms; treatise against the Donatist bishop Parmenius; *LXXXIII quaestiones*; **Bede's** *De temporibus* and his commentary on the Song of Songs; **Cyprian's** *De habitu virginum* and his treatise against Bishop Donatus; **Dionysius Exiguus's** *Tabulae paschales*; **Eusebius's** *Chronicon*; **Flavius Josephus's** *Antiquitates Iudaicae*; **Gelasius's** *De decretis* and his letter to the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius; **Gregory the Great's** *Moralia in Iob*; *Regula pastoralis*; *Dialogi*; Paschal homily; *Registrum epistolarum*; **Isidore's** *Etymologiae*; **Jerome's** *Contra Heludium*; *Contra Iovinianum*; *De nativitate Mariae*; *De Hebreis nominibus* (referred to as 'De ebreis questionibus' on fol. 115v); sermons for Paula and Eustochium (pseudo-Jerome); letter to Fabiola; commentaries on Isaiah, Ecclesiastes, the Gospel of Matthew, Paul's letters to the Ephesians and the Corinthians, and on various psalms; his Vulgate translation of the Hebrew Bible; **Lanfranc's** *De corpore et sanguine Domini*; **Leo's** sermons *De passione Domini* and *De ieiunio vii mensis*; letter to Bishop Anatolius of Constantinople; **Orosius's** *De ornesta mundi*; **Sallust's** *De coniuratione Catilinae*; **Suetonius's** *De vita Caesarum*; *Vita Basilii*.

Whilst some of these books were relatively common in monastic book collections during the later eleventh and twelfth centuries⁴⁷, others are a little more unusual, and they can help us to define more specifically where the author/scribe was working and, possibly, who he might have been.

The final step in establishing our 'profile' of the *Anonymus Beccensis* is to determine how many of the authors and/or books cited in MS Lat. 2342 were available at Le Bec. Fortunately, we are in the possession of two library inventories from the second half of the twelfth century, one of which lists the books that were bequeathed to the monks of Le Bec upon the death of Philip de Harcourt, Bishop of Bayeux († 1163), the other the volumes kept in the community's book storage («librorum Beccensis almarii») ⁴⁸. Of the more than seventy books listed at the end of the previous

⁴⁵ MS Lat. 2342, fol. 137v: «Si quis ab errone hoc vult liberari tabulam Dyonisii quam Romana ecclesia tenet teneat et ad modum firma et stabilis erit eius descriptio». Whether or not the author/scribe had actually seen Dionysius's *Easter Tables* himself we do not know for certain, but it remains a possibility.

⁴⁶ See P. MEYVAERT, «Uncovering a Lost Work», *art. cit.*, p. 56.

⁴⁷ G. NORTIER, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie: Fécamp, Le Bec, Le Mont Saint-Michel, Saint-Évroult, Lyre, Jumièges, Saint-Wandrille, Saint-Ouen*, Paris: Lethielleux, 1971; G. H. BECKER, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiquae*, Bonn: Cohen, 1885; T. WEBBER, «Monastic and Cathedral Book Collections in the Late Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries», in E. LEEDHAM-GREEN and T. WEBBER (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, vol. 1: to 1640*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 109-125; EAD., «The Libraries of Religious Houses», in E. KWAKKEL and R. M. THOMSON (ed.), *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, p. 103-121.

⁴⁸ The two lists survive next to each other in Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 159, fol. 1v-3r, and they were drawn up at the behest of Robert Torigni by a monk of either Le Bec or Mont-Saint-Michel; see B. POHL, «Abbas qui et

section, around 80% are attested unequivocally in the inventory of Le Bec's *armarium*, some even in multiple copies⁴⁹. The missing works include Ambrose's *De Trinitate*, his commentaries on Malachi and on Paul's letters to Timothy and the Corinthians⁵⁰, Dionysius Exiguus's *Easter Tables*, the works of Pope Gelasius, Gregory the Great's Paschal homily, Pope Leo I's sermons⁵¹, Sallust's *Conspiracy of Catiline*, and the *Vita Basilii*. Apart from these exceptions, the high level of compliance between the twelfth-century book inventory and the authorities cited by the *Anonymus Beccensis* confirms Le Bec as the most likely place of origin of MS Lat. 2342.

Unfortunately, of the large number of texts cited or otherwise used by the *Anonymus Beccensis*, less than ten survive in manuscripts with a confirmed Le Bec provenance⁵². Most of them are copies of Patristic works by Ambrose, Bede, Gregory, Jerome, and, particularly, Augustine – no doubt a reflection of the strong Patristic focus of Le Bec's twelfth-century library⁵³ –, but there are also hagiographical works such as the account of the miracles of St Honorine in MS Lat. 13774, letters, sermons, and theological treatises like Lanfranc's *De corpore et sanguine Domini* in MS Lat. 13217. Of these manuscripts, four can be dated to the period *c.* 1090-1140, but none of them were copied or annotated by the author/scribe of MS Lat. 2342, whose hand thus remains entirely limited to the texts found in MS Lat. 2342⁵⁴. This is surprising, given that most of the authorial works in MS Lat. 2342 evidence a well-trained, experienced, and, for the most part, extremely composed and regular hand, whose control and confidence only began to fade towards the end of the scribe's career due to infirmity, possibly as a result of old age. Given the intense training and continuous practice

scriptor? The Handwriting of Robert of Torigni and His Scribal Activity as Abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel (1154-1186)», *Traditio*, 69 (2014), p. 45-86 (p. 51-58); ID., «The "Bec Liber Vitae": Robert of Torigni's Sources for Writing the History of the Clare Family at Le Bec, *c.* 1128-54», *Revue Bénédictine*, 126 (2016), p. 324-372 (p. 330-334). The most recent and reliable edition of the lists is that by L. CLEAVER, «The Monastic Library», *art. cit.*, p. 190-205, which supersedes that printed in G. H. BECKER, *Catalogi bibliothecarum, op. cit.*, p. 199-202, 257-266.

⁴⁹ Philip's bequest of 1163 seems to have led to further duplicate copies, including Augustine's *De baptismo parvulorum*, *De civitate Dei*, *De Trinitate*, his commentary on Genesis, and the treatise against Parmenius, Bede's *De temporibus*, Josephus's *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, and Isidore's *Etymologiae*.

⁵⁰ Ambrose's commentaries on Paul's letters may have reached Le Bec as part of Philip's bequest in 1163; see L. CLEAVER, «The Monastic Library», *art. cit.*, p. 194 (= n° 88).

⁵¹ These, too, might be identified amongst Philip's books donated to Le Bec; L. CLEAVER, «The Monastic Library», *art. cit.*, p. 195 (= n° 113).

⁵² These are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 1685, latin 3808, latin 12206, latin 12211, latin 12206 (if the *Vita Basilii* cited on fol. 70v is that by Anastasius; see above), latin 12230, latin 13217, and latin 13774. Perhaps we should add Rouen, Bibliothèque patrimoniale Villon, MS A 506 (CGM 666), and Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS B.16.44, though the identification of their respective contents with texts cited/used in MS Lat. 2342 is difficult to establish. Also cf. the «Catalogue of the Surviving Manuscripts from Le Bec» provided in the appendix of J. WESTON, «Manuscripts and Book Production», *art. cit.*, p. 161-170. On the survival of medieval manuscripts from Le Bec, see G. NORTIER, *Les bibliothèques médiévales, op. cit.*, p. 34-60; L. CLEAVER, «The Monastic Library», *art. cit.*, *passim*. The most recent and comprehensive reassessment of the formation of Le Bec's medieval library and the dispersion of its books during the early-modern period was provided by Stéphane Lecouteux in his oral communication «État de la recherche sur la dispersion de la bibliothèque monastique du Bec», held at the half-day colloquium *Le renouveau historiographique du monachisme en Normandie, autour de l'abbaye du Bec* on 7 September 2018, the printed version of which consists of two parts: S. LECOUTEUX, «À la recherche des livres du Bec (première partie)», in P. BAUDUIN *et al.* (ed.), *Sur les pas de Lanfranc, du Bec à Caen: recueil d'études en hommage à Véronique Gazeau*, Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2018 (= *Cahiers des Annales de Normandie*, 37), p. 267-277; ID., «À la recherche des livres du Bec. Deuxième partie: Claude Antoine Le Marchants de Cambronne (1742-1836)», *Annales de Normandie* (2019), forthcoming.

⁵³ L. CLEAVER, «The Monastic Library», *art. cit.*, p. 179-180; also cf. T. WEBBER, «The Patristic Content of English Book Collections in the Eleventh Century: Toward a Continental Perspective», in P. R. ROBINSON and R. ZIM (ed.), *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997, p. 191-205.

⁵⁴ M. GIBSON, «History at Bec», *art. cit.*, p. 171; *Three Treatises, op. cit.*, p. 10. These four manuscripts are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 12206, latin 12211, latin 12206, and latin 13217. The other four manuscripts were all produced between the later twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries and are thus significantly later in date than the established *terminus ad quem* for the activity of Scribe A/B: latin 1685 dates from *c.* 1175-1200, whereas latin 3808, latin 12230, and latin 13774 all date from *c.* 1150-1200; see J. WESTON, «Manuscripts and Book Production», *art. cit.*, p. 162-164, 166 and the references therein.

required to cultivate such expert penmanship, it seems rather odd that this hand should not appear elsewhere.

Even when taking into account the high loss rates of Le Bec's medieval library⁵⁵, it seems difficult to ascribe the complete lack of other volumes bearing the hand of the *Anonymus Beccensis* purely to hazards of transmission. One alternative explanation is that the author/scribe of MS Lat. 2342 might have spent his scribal apprenticeship (or at least parts thereof) elsewhere, perhaps even abroad, given that by the twelfth century the monks and abbots of Le Bec had built an extensive network throughout Western Europe, especially with Anglo-Norman England⁵⁶. One of their closest relationships was with Christ Church, Canterbury, seat of Canterbury's archbishops, which since the days of Lanfranc facilitated the mutual exchange of books and, importantly, personnel across the Channel. Not only did several members of Le Bec find a new home – and, in some cases, a monastic career – at Canterbury during the post-Conquest period⁵⁷, but also Canterbury's well-equipped library continued to provide an important resource for Le Bec's monk-writers, and vice versa⁵⁸.

As Stéphane Lecouteux has shown recently, by 1163 the library of Le Bec had become the richest monastic book collection in all of Normandy, holding between 279-306 volumes that together contained between 750-800 works⁵⁹. There was one particular kind of book with which the library of Christ Church, Canterbury was significantly better stocked than its equivalent at Le Bec, however, better in fact than most English and/or Norman monasteries at the time, and this was the Latin classics⁶⁰. Le Bec's twelfth-century book lists include not a single copy of Virgil, whereas the contemporary fragment of a library inventory from Christ Church, Canterbury (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.3.12, fol. 74r-76r, written c. 1170) boasts no fewer than eight copies – three copies of Virgil's collected works (*Virgilius totus*), three of the *Eclogues* (*Bucolica*), and two glossed copies of the *Aeneid* (*Glose in/super Eneida*) – alongside works by Arator, Cato, Cicero, Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Ovid, Persius, Prosper, Prudentius, Sallust, Sedulius, Statius and Terence, all in

⁵⁵ See G. NORTIER, *Les bibliothèques médiévales*, *op. cit.*, p. 50-60.

⁵⁶ That said, there can be little doubt that the scribe had learnt his elementary penmanship at Le Bec, given that his hand shares many basic features with those of other scribes trained in the monastery's scriptorium; see J. WESTON, «Manuscripts and Book Production», *art. cit.*, p. 148-152. Also cf. T. WEBBER, «Script and Manuscript Production at Christ Church, Canterbury, after the Norman Conquest», in R. EALES and R. SHARPE (ed.), *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066-1109*, London: Hambledon, 1995, p. 145-158.

⁵⁷ S. N. VAUGHN, «The Students of Bec in England», in G. E. M. GASPER and I. LOGAN (ed.), *Saint Anselm of Canterbury and His Legacy*, Durham: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012, p. 73-93; EAD., «Lanfranc, Anselm and the School of Bec: in Search of the Students of Bec», in M. A. MEYER (ed.), *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L. T. Bethell*, London: Hambledon, 1993, p. 155-181; M. CHIBNALL, *The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968; more recently M. LONG, «“Visiting Monks”: Educational Mobility in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monasteries», in A. PETERS-CUSTOT and O. DELOUIS (ed.), *Mobilités monastiques de l'Antiquité tardive au Moyen Âge*, (forthcoming), available at: <<http://hdl.handle.net/1854/LU-8551152>> (accessed 1st May 2019); EAD., «High Medieval Monasteries as Communities of Practice: Approaching Monastic Learning through Letters», *Journal of Religious History*, 41 (2017), p. 42-59.

⁵⁸ R. GAMESON, «English Manuscript Art in the Late Eleventh Century: Canterbury and its Context», in R. EALES and R. SHARPE (ed.), *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066-1109*, London: Hambledon, 1995, p. 95-144; T. WEBBER, «Script and Manuscript Production», *art. cit.*, *passim*; M. GULLICK, «Lanfranc and the Oldest Manuscript of the *Collectio Lanfranci*», in B. C. BRASINGTON (ed.), *Bishops, Texts and the Use of Canon Law around 1100: Essays in Honour of Martin Brett*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, p. 79-90.

⁵⁹ S. LECOUTEUX, «La dispersion de la bibliothèque», *art. cit.*, *passim*.

⁶⁰ On the presence/absence of the Latin classics in medieval libraries and classrooms, see R. M. THOMSON, «Where were the Latin Classics in Twelfth-Century England?», *English Manuscript Studies*, 7 (1995), p. 25-40; J. O. WARD, «The Classics in the Classroom: an Introduction», in J. FEROS RUYS *et al.* (ed.), *The Classics in the Medieval and Renaissance Classroom: the Role of Ancient Texts in the Arts Curriculum as Revealed by Surviving Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2011, p. 1-22; R. COPELAND, «Introduction: England and the Classics from the Early Middle Ages to Early Humanism», in EAD. (ed.), *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature, vol. 1: 800-1558*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 1-20; also cf. the various contributions in E. KWAKKEL (ed.), *Manuscripts of the Latin Classics 800-1200*, Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2015.

multiple copies⁶¹. The relatively sporadic but not uninformed use of the Latin classics by the *Anonymus Beccensis* – specifically Virgil, Lucan, Pliny, Sallust, and Suetonius – strongly suggests a monastic author whose literary education had consisted primarily of Scripture and the Church Fathers, but who, on occasion, also ‘dipped his toe’ into the works of the great Roman writers of Antiquity. This is rather unlikely to have happened at Le Bec, whose twelfth-century library contained only one of the Latin classics cited in MS Lat. 2342, namely Suetonius’s *De vita Caesarum*⁶². A collection like that of Christ Church, Canterbury, by contrast, would have offered the same author the perfect opportunity to explore many of the other Roman writers in more detail, especially if he spent some time there himself⁶³.

This is not to say that Canterbury was less well stocked with regard to the other ‘genres’ of books that we saw were used by the *Anonymus Beccensis* – if anything, its twelfth-century catalogue fragment and the list of more than eighteen hundred volumes drawn up during the priorate of Henry Eastry († 1331) suggest that the provision of these kinds of books was at least as comprehensive as it was at Le Bec⁶⁴. Not only did Canterbury possess ‘duplicates’ of most of the books that *prima facie* appear to place the author/scribe of MS Lat. 2342 at Le Bec (see above), but it also owned copies (in some cases multiple) of nearly all his other sources for which no corresponding copies are known to have existed at Le Bec – for example, Ambrose’s *De Trinitate* and various of his letters, the works of Pope Gelasius, Gregory the Great’s homilies, Pope Leo’s sermons, and various works by Sallust⁶⁵. There is a real possibility, therefore, that the *Anonymus Beccensis* used the library at Canterbury first-hand.

III. Revisiting the identity of the *Anonymus Beccensis*

Today, we are relatively well informed about Le Bec’s relationship with Christ Church, Canterbury, and we know the names and details of several monks who were sent there during the later eleventh and twelfth centuries. Most of these can be dismissed relatively easily as candidates for the identity of the *Anonymus Beccensis*, either for chronological reasons or simply because they were too well-known in their time to have remained anonymous. There is one specific monk, however, who warrants closer scrutiny. He was called Maurice – presumably the religious name he was given when joining the monastery, rather than his birthname –, and most of what we know about him today comes from the letters between himself and his prior and later abbot, Anselm⁶⁶. Maurice’s name features on the list of professions of more than fifteen hundred monks (*Nomina monachorum Becci*)

⁶¹ Edited in M. R. JAMES, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge: Cambridge, University Press, 1903, p. 9-11 (= n° 88-168, with photographic plates on p. 3-6).

⁶² See L. CLEAVER, «The Monastic Library», *art. cit.*, p. 204 (= n° 144): «In alio Suetonius de vita cesarum, libri XII. In eodem Eutropius ab urbe condita, libri X». Stéphane Lecouteux recently proposed that Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 5802 might also have belonged to the medieval library of Le Bec; S. LECOUEUX, «La dispersion de la bibliothèque», *art. cit.* This manuscript contains various classical works by Suetonius, Florus, Frontinus, Eutropius, and Cicero, but its thirteenth-century date precludes it from being a possible source of the *Anonymus Beccensis*.

⁶³ My preliminary survey of the extant eleventh-century manuscripts from Christ Church, Canterbury did not reveal any matches with the hand of the main scribe of MS Lat. 2342, though I cannot claim to have accomplished the Herculean task of studying all of these manuscripts in great detail.

⁶⁴ Eastry’s catalogue has been edited by M. R. JAMES, *The Ancient Libraries*, *op. cit.*, p. 13-142. Also cf. the list of surviving books at: <<http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>> (accessed 1st May 2019).

⁶⁵ These works can probably be identified with M. R. JAMES, *The Ancient Libraries*, *op. cit.*, p. 9, 15, 19-21, 23, 33, 83, 157 (= n° 19, 42, 43, 51-52, 61, 94-101, 133, 155, 811).

⁶⁶ The most comprehensive account of Maurice’s life is still P. RAGEY, *Histoire de Saint Anselme, archevêque de Cantorbéry*, 2 vol., Paris: Delhomme et Briguet, 1890, vol. I, p. 269-274. Also cf. A. A. POREE, *Histoire de l’abbaye du Bec*, 2 vol., Évreux: Hérissey, 1901, vol. I, p. 219-223.

who entered the monastery between the early eleventh and the late fifteenth centuries⁶⁷. Maurice (n° 73 on the list) appears between *Ansfredus* (n° 72) and *Henricus abbas* (n° 74), the latter of whom can be identified as Abbot Henry of Battle (1096-1102), a former monk of Le Bec and prior of Christ Church, Canterbury (1074-1096)⁶⁸. All three men took their vows under Abbot Herluin (1034-1078), sometime between 1060-c. 1070 – the former marking the date of Anselm’s own profession recorded earlier on the same list (n° 68), the latter that of the list’s next datable entry, the profession of Richard FitzRichard de Clare (n° 89), who later became abbot of Ely (1100-1107)⁶⁹.

In two letters written in 1073-1074 and 1074-1077, respectively, Anselm refers to Maurice as someone whom he held dear ever since he had first known him as a boy (*puer*), and whom he himself had taught Latin in the monastic school at Le Bec together with the other boys (*pueri*)⁷⁰. It seems likely that Maurice had entered Le Bec as a child oblate, and that the earlier of the two letters was written not long after his *pueritia* had formally come to an end at the age of fourteen⁷¹. Sometime between late 1070 and early 1073, probably shortly after Maurice had reached adulthood, Lanfranc personally ordered him and a group of other monks to relocate to Christ Church, Canterbury, where Lanfranc had been appointed as the new archbishop in August 1070 after the death of the previous incumbent, Stigand⁷². Some of these monks had left Le Bec in 1066 to accompany Lanfranc on his previous appointment as abbot of Saint-Étienne de Caen, but Maurice remained at Le Bec until his departure for Canterbury⁷³. Having made his profession between 1060-1070, most probably during

⁶⁷ Copies of the list survive in three manuscripts: Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 499; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 5427, and latin 13905; see B. POHL, «Bec *Liber Vitae*», *art. cit.*, p. 360-366; M. GIBSON, *Lanfranc of Bec*, *op. cit.*, p. 201-202.

⁶⁸ G. E. M. GASPER and F. WALLIS, «Anselm and the *Articella*», *Traditio*, 59 (2004), p. 129-174 (p. 130). On Abbot Henry, see D. KNOWLES *et al.*, *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, vol. 1: 940-1216*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001², p. 29 and the references provided therein. Also cf. S. N. VAUGHN, *Archbishop Anselm 1093-1109: Bec Missionary, Canterbury Primate, Patriarch of Another World*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012, p. 37.

⁶⁹ On Anselm’s profession, see Eadmer of Canterbury, *The Life of St Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury = Vita sancti Anselmi*, ed./trans. R. SOUTHERN, London: Nelson, 1962, p. 11; also cf. *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. F. S. SCHMITT, 6 vol., Edinburgh: Nelson, 1946-1961, vol. IV, p. 17-24 (= n° 156). On the profession of Richard FitzRichard de Clare, son of Gilbert de Brionne and Rohais, great-grandson of Walter Giffard, see *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. BLAKE, London: Royal Historical Society, 1962, p. 224-225; B. POHL, «Bec *Liber Vitae*», *art. cit.*, p. 354-355.

⁷⁰ *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia*, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 154-156 (= n° 43; Niskanen i.35), 180-181 (= n° 64; Niskanen i.55). Anselm’s letters are currently undergoing a new edition and translation by Samu Niskanen, who generously provided me with excerpts from his forthcoming *Letters of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. S. NISKANEN, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019; also cf. ID., *The Letter Collections of Anselm of Canterbury*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2011. To facilitate future reference, I have added the letter numbers from Niskanen’s new edition to those used in Schmitt’s *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia*. Likewise, the dates of these letters used here are the ones established by Niskanen, which in several cases differ from those found in previous scholarship.

⁷¹ On the most common medieval definitions of *puer/pueritia*, see A. HOFMEISTER, «*Puer, iuvenis, senex*: zum Verständnis der mittelalterlichen Altersbezeichnungen», in A. BRACKMANN (ed.), *Papsttum und Kaisertum: Forschungen zur politischen Geschichte und Geisteskultur des Mittelalters*, Munich: Verlag der Münchner Drucke, 1926, p. 287-316; A. LEMKE, «*Puer and Pueritia in Bede’s Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*», *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 24 (2004), p. 153-170. On the usual age of child oblates and their monastic profession, see M. DE JONG, *In Samuel’s Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*; Leiden: Brill, 1996, p. 23-30, 105-107, 185-191.

⁷² S. N. VAUGHN, «Anselm of Le Bec and Canterbury: Teacher by Word and Example, Following in the Footsteps of His Ancestors», in B. POHL and L. L. GATHAGAN (ed.), *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th-13th Centuries)*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, p. 57-93 (p. 61-62); S. N. VAUGHN, *Archbishop Anselm*, *op. cit.*, p. 37-38. Also cf. G. E. M. GASPER and F. WALLIS, «Anselm and the *Articella*», *art. cit.*, p. 131.

⁷³ Anselm personally commended Maurice to Lanfranc in a letter written in late 1073-early 1074, in which he complained bitterly that the archbishop had separated Maurice «from the one who loved him more than anyone else, and whom he loved more than anyone else» («quem vos pro vobis separatis ab illo a quo plus amabatur quam ab alio, et quem plus amabat quam alium»); *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia*, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 140 (= n° 32; Niskanen i.24). The strong emotional sentiment and acute sense of loss that characterise Anselm’s lament, and which dominate the remainder of the letter, seem to imply that his separation from Maurice had occurred relatively recently, rather than back in 1066. Indeed, in a follow-up letter sent in late 1073-early 1074, Anselm reminds the addressee explicitly that he had sent

the early 1060s, Maurice's formative years at Le Bec coincided with the completion of Lanfranc's priorate (1045-1063) and the first decade or so under his successor, Anselm (1063-1078). He therefore witnessed the preparation (if not the actual publication) of Lanfranc's anti-Berengarian treatise *De corpore et sanguine Domini* in c. 1060-1063 – a polemical text which, as we saw above, had a strong influence on the *Anonymus Beccensis*⁷⁴. The contentious rhetoric running through the Commentary on Luke 1. 26 and some of the other theological debates in MS Lat. 2342 shows noticeable echoes of Lanfranc's voice, at the same time as exhibiting a kind of partisanship and emotive attachment which suggests that the author might have witnessed the disputes of the 1060s and 1070s first-hand, and that this formative experience had left a permanent impression on his outlook and writing style.

What is more, Maurice's close relationship with Anselm matches Constable's suggestion that the *Anonymus Beccensis* probably knew Anselm personally, and that the two men were connected by a special bond⁷⁵. Anselm regularly refers to Maurice as his personal favourite amongst the monks of Le Bec, such as when he speaks of their «mutual love» (*mutuam nostram dilectionem*)⁷⁶, calls Maurice his «beloved brother and son» (*dilectus frater et filius meus*) whom «I [Anselm] love and who loves me» (*quem esse meum dilectum et dilectorem*)⁷⁷, and refers to himself as «the one who loved him [Maurice] more than anyone else, and whom he loved more than anyone else» (*ab illo a quo plus amabatur quam ab alio, et quem plus amabat quam alium*)⁷⁸. When Lanfranc requested Maurice specifically (*specialiter audivimus*) in late 1073-early 1074⁷⁹, Anselm was devastated, and over the following years he repeatedly wrote to Lanfranc imploring him to send Maurice back to Le Bec – implorations which Lanfranc appears to have ignored tacitly until about 1078⁸⁰. Likewise, Maurice longed to return to Anselm and Le Bec from the moment he had arrived in England, yet Anselm cautioned him to be patient so they could wait for an opportune moment to approach Lanfranc and arrange for his homecoming⁸¹. Throughout their continuing separation, the two men wrote frequently to one another, and the content of these letters holds some vital clues regarding Maurice's activities at Christ Church, Canterbury and how these might qualify him for the role of the *Anonymus Beccensis*.

Rather than waiting idly for his return to Le Bec, Maurice was told to make the most of his time at Canterbury. Anselm urged him to continue his Latin studies with Arnulf of Beauvais, a renowned grammarian and schoolmaster, and to read as many books as he could find, «especially Virgil and the other authors that you did not read under me» (*praecipue de Virgilio et aliis auctoribus*

Maurice «to England according to the command of our reverend lord and father, the archbishop [Lanfranc]» («ad reverendi domini et patris nostri archiepiscopi iussionem in Angliam mittimus»), which confirms that Maurice was sent to Canterbury directly from Le Bec, rather than via Caen; *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 143-144 (= n° 36; Niskanen i.28).

⁷⁴ R. W. SOUTHERN, *St Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 43-46. As Niskanen informs me, *De corpore et sanguine Domini* was published and released for dissemination when Lanfranc was abbot of Caen c. 1063-1070.

⁷⁵ *Three Treatises, op. cit.*, p. 10-11.

⁷⁶ *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 140 (= n° 32; Niskanen i.24).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 141-142 (= n° 34; Niskanen i.26), p. 142-143 (= n° 35; Niskanen i.27).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 140 (= n° 32; Niskanen i.24). Though none of Maurice's responses are known to survive, the statements found in Anselm's letters strongly suggest that these feelings were reciprocal, for example, when he says that «you [Maurice] burn with your love for me and take delight in mine for you», *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 153-154 (= n° 42; Niskanen i.34). Also cf. G. E. M. GASPER and F. WALLIS, «Anselm and the *Articella*», *art. cit.*, p. 130-132.

⁷⁹ *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 141 (= n° 33; Niskanen i.25).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 195-196 (= n° 74; Niskanen i.65). Niskanen considers it possible that Maurice might have left Canterbury as early as 1075-1077. Also cf. B. P. MCGUIRE, *Friendship and Community, op. cit.*, p. 217-219, who argues that «Anselm's attitude was that as long as Maurice did well at Canterbury and found friends there, it was not necessary to bring him home», and that it was in fact Anselm who showed «hesitation to retrieve Maurice» (p. 217). This seems an unlikely interpretation of Anselm's motivations as expressed in several of his other surviving letters, however.

⁸¹ *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 153-154 (= n° 42; Niskanen i.34), 154-156 (= n° 43; Niskanen i.35), 174-175 (= n° 60; Niskanen i.51), 193-194 (= n° 72; Niskanen i.63).

quos a me non legisti)⁸². Having been taught by Anselm at Le Bec for several years, Maurice's Latin was probably quite advanced when he came to England, certainly good enough to read and respond to Anselm's frequent letters⁸³. His knowledge of the Latin classics, by contrast, was evidently underdeveloped, which is why Anselm encouraged him to immerse himself in the books kept at Canterbury. In fact, Anselm repeatedly approached Maurice with requests to send and/or make copies of particular books kept at Canterbury, which included the *Regularis concordia*, Bede's *De temporibus*, Hippocrates's *Aphorisms* (with Galen's gloss), and a *Libellus de pulsibus*.

Copying a medical handbook such as the *Aphorisms* required Maurice to learn at least a basic level of Greek, not least since Anselm had cautioned him «not to pass over Greek or unfamiliar words» (*autem eas quae sunt Graecorum aut inusitatorum nominum ne deseras admoneo*)⁸⁴. The *Anonymus Beccensis* likewise demonstrates a basic command of Greek, specifically medical terminology, when in the Miracles of St Nicholas he refers to «a disease which the Greek doctors call the *oxea fever*» (*infirmitatem quam Graeci medici vocant oxeam febrem*)⁸⁵. As far as I am aware, this is the only example of a Greek quotation by the *Anonymus Beccensis*, whose use of Eusebius, Origen, Cyril, and Chrysostom seems to have been limited to Latin translations. If Maurice was the *Anonymus Beccensis* and therefore the author of the Miracles of St Nicholas, it seems perfectly conceivable that he learned about this fever from Canterbury's copy of the *Aphorisms*⁸⁶.

When commissioning copies of books, Anselm was particularly concerned with the reliability of the transcriptions, which is why he instructed Maurice to correct each book meticulously (*studiosissima exquisitione correctum*) so it «deserved to be called perfect» (*dignum sit dici perfectum*), reminding him that he would prefer a faithful fraction of a text to an imperfect whole⁸⁷. In 1073-1074, Anselm asked Maurice to send him Canterbury's copy of Bede's *De temporibus* specifically so that he could correct the flawed copy which he kept at Le Bec (*propter ea quae in nostro scis esse corrigenda*)⁸⁸. We do not know whether Lanfranc agreed to part with the book as Anselm never acknowledged its receipt, but another possibility is that Maurice made a copy of *De temporibus* at Canterbury which he then sent to Le Bec, and that this copy (maybe in the form of a personalised booklet) was the unidentified precious gift (*pretiosum munus*) for which Anselm thanked Maurice exuberantly in a letter sent later that same year⁸⁹. Either way, Maurice's involvement with Bede's computistical work would explain its prominence amongst the authorities used and cited most regularly by the *Anonymus Beccensis*. As we saw earlier, *De temporibus* constitutes perhaps the single most important authority for the chronographical debates in the Commentary on Luke 2. 1, especially the complicated calculation of the *sex aetates mundi* and their respective duration on fol. 137v-138r⁹⁰.

⁸² *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 180-181 (= n° 64; Niskanen i.55). See G. E. M. GASPER and F. WALLIS, «Anselm and the *Articella*», *art. cit.*, p. 131; M. LONG, «Visiting Monks», *art. cit.*; R. SHARPE, «Anselm as Author: Publishing in the Late Eleventh Century», *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 19 (2009), p. 1-87 (p. 10, 27).

⁸³ *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 180-181 (= n° 64; Niskanen i.55).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 174-175 (= n° 60; Niskanen i.51). Also cf. G. E. M. GASPER and F. WALLIS, «Anselm and the *Articella*», *art. cit.*, p. 136-137, 140-148.

⁸⁵ *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum, op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 413. See also *Three Treatises, op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁸⁶ Peter Damian also uses the same term in a letter written in the summer of 1058; see *The Letters of Peter Damian, vol. 2: 31-60*, trans. O. J. BLUM, Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1990, p. 356 (= n° 55).

⁸⁷ *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 174-175 (= n° 60; Niskanen i.51): «Malo enim in ignota inusitataque scriptura partem integram veritate quam totum corruptum falsitate».

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 153-154 (= n° 42; Niskanen i.34). It is impossible to know for certain whether the faulty copy of Bede's *De temporibus* corresponds to any of the four volumes in the twelfth-century book lists, L. CLEAVER, «The Monastic Library», *art. cit.*, p. 192, 194, 200 (= n° 41, 78, 80, 94).

⁸⁹ *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 160 (= n° 47; Niskanen i.39): «Pretiosum munus pretiosae michi tuae dilectionis ea caritate qua missum est suscepi et in eum usum ob ampliorem tui memoriam quem postulas, penes me mansurum constitui, non tantum ut recipiam aliud sicut promittis, quantum quia sic tibi placere et ego scio et tu significas tuis dictis». Anselm's promise to keep Maurice's gift in his personal use might suggest a smaller and more intimate codicological unit such as a booklet.

⁹⁰ These pages show clear signs of extensive authorial revision, and the entire lower half of fol. 137v is written over an erasure (FIG. 3a). The corrections were conducted by a single scribe (Scribe A/B) over a period of time, and the hand

Maurice's activities at Christ Church, Canterbury came to an end in or around 1078, perhaps as early as 1075-1077, and we next encounter him at Le Bec's dependent priory of Conflans-Sainte-Honorine (départ. Yvelines, cant. Conflans-Sainte-Honorine)⁹¹. We do not know whether Maurice went to Conflans straight from Canterbury, or whether he returned to his home monastery first and spent a few years there in the interim. Sometime after the spring of 1079, but possibly as late as the later 1080s, he received a letter from Anselm at Conflans. Enclosed with this letter was a first draft of a short theological and didactic treatise on the notion of evil (*De malo*) which later would become part of Anselm's work *De casu diaboli*⁹². Anselm had recently been promoted from prior to abbot of Le Bec (1078-1093), and Maurice explicitly requested *De malo* from him, at the same time as seeking Abbot Anselm's advice on how to deal with a certain wayward monk who resided at the royal court without his prior's permission. There are discernible echoes of *De malo* running through the Commentaries on Luke 1. 26 and 2. 1 in MS Lat. 2342, though the text is never quoted verbatim. Still, the author's confident argumentation on the intricate dialectic of good (*bonum*) and evil (*malum*) suggests an intimate familiarity with Anselm's work from an early point in its composition.

Maurice's presence at Conflans-Sainte-Honorine from early 1079-late 1080s onwards is of significance, given that this priory is the only other location besides Le Bec itself that scholars have associated with MS Lat. 2342 and the identity of its author/scribe⁹³. The reason for this association are two texts no longer extant in the manuscript today but featured in the list of works on fol. 1v-2r, the Miracles of St Nicholas and the Translation and miracles of St Honorina, the priory's namesake and local patron saint. On a content-level, both texts show strong connections with Conflans-Sainte-Honorine as well as with Le Bec, which is why, on balance, most scholars have tended to associate them with the mother house itself⁹⁴. What has never been considered, however, is the possibility that the *Anonymus Beccensis* might have been a monk of Le Bec who only spent a limited amount of time at Conflans. This was the case with Maurice, who as far as we know spent up to a decade (if not longer) at Conflans-Sainte-Honorine, especially if he had arrived there straight from Canterbury. He was certainly still there when Anselm sent a letter to the priory's brethren in 1085-1086, which he signed off by emphasising that he was «still waiting for our letters that Dom Maurice was to send to us» («[e]pistolae nostras quas dominus Mauritius nobis mittere debuit adhuc expectamus»)⁹⁵. Even if Maurice had first returned to Le Bec in 1075-1078, he still spent at least five to seven years at Conflans.

Maurice was definitely back at Le Bec by late 1092-early 1093, probably for good, when Anselm sent another letter, this time from Canterbury, which once again asked for «any others of our letters that Dom Maurice may still have which he has not yet sent» («et si quas de aliis epistolis nostris habet dominus Mauritius quas non misit»)⁹⁶. As this repeated request makes clear, Maurice continued to act as Anselm's confidant and secretary for many years after his departure from Christ Church,

that eventually concluded the episode on the top of fol. 138r (FIG. 3b) belongs to the final stages of the scribe's career, when the clarity and composure of his handwriting had suffered as a result of old age.

⁹¹ On the priory of Conflans-Sainte-Honorine, see J. DEPOIN, *Les comtes de Beaumont-sur-Oise et le prieuré de Sainte-Honorine de Conflans*, Pontoise: Bureaux de la Société historique, 1915; M. BAUDOT, «Le prieuré de Conflans-Sainte-Honorine», *Les amis du Bec-Hellouin*, 87 (1989), p. 8-30. I would like to thank Frère Raphael Flaujac, OSB for kindly providing me with a copy of Baudot's article.

⁹² *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 224-228 (= n° 97; Niskanen i.85); R. SHARPE, «Anselm as Author», *art. cit.*, p. 20-21.

⁹³ M. GIBSON, «History at Bec», *art. cit.*, p. 167-186; EAD., *Lanfranc of Bec, op. cit.*, p. 199-200; J.-H. FOULON, «The Foundation and Early History of Le Bec», in B. POHL and L. L. GATHAGAN (ed.), *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th-13th Centuries)*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, p. 11-37 (p. 37).

⁹⁴ *Three Treatises, op. cit.*, p. 10. The Miracles of St Nicholas are listed in Le Bec's twelfth-century *armarium*; L. CLEAVER, «The Monastic Library», *art. cit.*, p. 201 (= n° 100): «In uno volumine vita sancti Nicholai et miracula eius, et translatio eiusdem». Foulon (see above note 92) dates the text to c. 1140 with an origin at either Le Bec or Conflans-Sainte-Honorine. Also cf. M. GIBSON, *Lanfranc of Bec, op. cit.*, p. 199-200.

⁹⁵ *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 237 (= n° 104; Niskanen i.91).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 293-294 (= n° 147; Niskanen i.128).

Canterbury, giving him unparalleled access to Anselm's personal correspondence – a unique characteristic which, as we will remember, was shared by the *Anonymus Beccensis*, who in *De libertate* used several letters written by Anselm that are otherwise unknown⁹⁷. When Anselm wrote from Canterbury once again in August 1093, by which point he had been appointed as archbishop, it was Maurice who read out his letter to the monks gathered in Le Bec's chapter house – a task which normally would have fallen to Prior Baldric, the letter's addressee⁹⁸. Likewise, Maurice's activity as Anselm's trusted copyist and book supplier extended well beyond his Canterbury years. In 1092-1093, Anselm asked to be sent a certain prayer that he himself had composed in honour of St Nicholas («orationem ad sanctum Nicholaum quam feci») along with a letter he had begun to draft against the teachings of Roscelin («epistolam quam contra dicta Roscelini facere inchoavi»)⁹⁹. The latter can be identified as an early version of the *Epistola de incarnatione verbi* that Anselm had left at Le Bec upon his departure for England, where it remained, along with Anselm's other letters, in the personal custody of Maurice¹⁰⁰. The way in which this request was phrased suggests a sense of urgency, and Maurice appears to have treated it as a matter of priority, thereby allowing Anselm to publish a revised version of the *Epistola* at Canterbury within less than a year¹⁰¹.

If Maurice was equally involved in the composition of the *Epistola de incarnatione verbi* as he had been in the publication of Anselm's *De casu diaboli* and, most certainly, the *Monologion*¹⁰², then the lost text referred to as «scriptum prolixum contra verba cuiusdam...» in the list of works on MS Lat. 2342, fol. 2r might well have been some kind of 'reference list' drawn up by Maurice to assist Anselm with the writing of the *Epistola* by collecting useful authorities against Roscelin. With Maurice acting regularly as an amanuensis for the composition of Anselm's works, the lost «scriptum multum prolixum...» could easily have served this very function. Likewise, it is not unreasonable to imagine that when Maurice sent Anselm the *Epistola de incarnatione verbi* and the *Oratio ad sanctum Nicholaum* in 1092-1093, he might have enclosed another work that he himself had composed in veneration of St Nicholas, and that this work could have been the Miracles of St Nicholas formerly contained in MS Lat. 2342¹⁰³. Unfortunately, this will have to remain conjecture for the time being.

Whilst an absolute identification of the *Anonymus Beccensis* will always be difficult, especially in the absence of further examples of his hand, it is hard to deny that Maurice's life and education closely fit the 'profile'. Amongst the contemporary protagonists at Le Bec of whom we have some knowledge, Maurice's claim is by far the most persuasive, not least because his active involvement with the book collections of both Le Bec and Christ Church, Canterbury included many

⁹⁷ *Three Treatises*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁹⁸ The letter from 15 August 1093 is *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia*, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 17-23 (= n° 156). Maurice's role in reading it out is reported in the *Vita Willelmi* by Milo Crispin (ed. in *Patrologia Latina*, CL, col. 713-724, esp. p. 716): «Tandem Girardus ratione, vel auctoritate capituli victus cessit, et litteras protulit, atque fratri qui alias litteras legerat, nomine Mauricio, ad legendum tradidit».

⁹⁹ *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia*, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 293-294 (= n° 147; Niskanen i.128).

¹⁰⁰ The *Epistola de incarnatione verbi* has been edited in *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 281-290; see also F. S. SCHMITT, «Cinq recensions de l'*Epistola de Incarnatione verbi* de S. Anselme de Cantorbéry», *Revue Bénédictine*, 51 (1939), p. 275-287.

¹⁰¹ R. SHARPE, «Anselm as Author», *art. cit.*, p. 38-40.

¹⁰² In 1075-1077, Anselm had sent a first draft of the *Monologion* to Canterbury to seek Lanfranc's endorsement; *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia*, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 193-194 (= n° 72; Niskanen i.63); according to Anselm, Maurice had been «one of those at whose insistence it [the *Monologion*] was first and foremost composed» («qui unus est ex illis quorum maxime factum est instantia»). The letter does not specify precisely what Maurice was supposed to do with the corrected presentation copy, but he might have been expected to implement Lanfranc's comments *in situ* and produce a fine copy of the *Monologion* to be returned to Le Bec. In a related letter addressed directly to Maurice, Anselm added that if his return to Le Bec should be delayed for much longer, he should send him the presentation copy of the *Monologion* along with Lanfranc's corrections so that he himself could implement them instead; *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 195-196 (= n° 74; Niskanen i.65). R. SHARPE, «Anselm as Author», *art. cit.*, p. 15-19 seems to assume that Anselm had planned on implementing the corrections himself either way.

¹⁰³ In MS Lat. 2342, the name *Nicholaus* has been highlighted on four different occasions by use of coloured majuscules that alternate between blue, red and blue, and green and blue (fol. 53r, 84v, 144v, and 172r), a treatment which was received by no other name featuring in these texts.

of the works which we know were used by the author/scribe of MS Lat. 2342. There is also other evidence, as this article has shown. To summarise: having entered the abbey of Le Bec as a child oblate in the early 1060s, Maurice knew both Lanfranc and Anselm personally, and he witnessed first-hand the disputes between Lanfranc and Berengar that led to the composition (and later publication) of *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, and which is mirrored by the Commentary on Luke 1. 26. As Mayke de Jong has shown, child oblates could achieve meteoric careers as soon as they reached adulthood, especially if they had shown exceptional promise from an early age and were taken under the wing of a senior monk¹⁰⁴.

In the case of Maurice and Anselm, this relationship developed into a lifelong friendship which continued long after Lanfranc had snatched the young prodigy from under Anselm's wing. Over the years, Maurice became Anselm's trusted secretary, copyist and amanuensis, granting him unique access to Anselm's personal correspondence and early drafts of several of his major theological works. During his successive residencies at Canterbury, Conflans-Sainte-Honorine, and Le Bec, he copied several manuscripts for Anselm, possibly including Canterbury's copy of Bede's *De temporibus*, one of the main authorities of the Commentary on Luke 2. 1. He curated and collected Anselm's personal letters, of which several otherwise unattested letters were used for the composition of *De libertate*, and he even assisted in the composition, redaction, and publication of some of Anselm's own works, specifically the *Epistola de incarnatione verbi* and *De malo*, whose influence can be detected in the Commentaries on Luke 1. 26 and 2. 1. Just like the *Anonymus Beccensis*, Maurice's literary education was grounded in the works of the Latin Fathers on which the monastic library of Le Bec was particularly well stocked, first of all Augustine, but he also familiarised himself with some of the Latin classics by drawing on Canterbury's book collection, read Virgil, and even learned some Greek by copying the *Aphorisms* – credentials that closely (and perhaps uniquely) match those of the person who wrote MS Lat. 2342.

If Maurice was indeed the *Anonymus Beccensis*, he would have been around eighty years old when putting the finishing touches to his autograph(s) in c. 1136-1140. Whilst this would definitely place him at the upper end of the average life expectancy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we do not have to look very far to find parallels in the careers of, for example, Guibert of Nogent (c. 1055-1125), who despite his deteriorating eyesight continued to write well into his sixties, as well as Robert of Torigni (1106-1186), another monk of Le Bec and subsequent abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, who lived and wrote up to the age of eighty¹⁰⁵. As the first section of this article has shown, MS Lat. 2342 does not constitute Maurice's draft or working copy to which he added his various works one by one in the order of their composition, but rather a composite manuscript combining several different, and formerly independent, textual and codicological units. Prior to their amalgamation in MS Lat. 2342, these units (or booklets) had already been gathered in two (or more) separate codices, one of which contained autograph copies of Maurice's original compositions, and the other(s) non-authorial works which Maurice had copied from existing exemplars, possibly including those at Canterbury. The original contents of the former can still be estimated due to the

¹⁰⁴ M. DE JONG, *In Samuel's Image*, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

¹⁰⁵ On Guibert, see *A Monk's Confession: The Memoirs of Guibert of Nogent*, trans. P. J. ARCHAMBAULT, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996, p. xiii-xxxvi; on his manuscripts and handwriting, see M.-C. GARAND, *Guibert de Nogent et ses secrétaires*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1995. Also cf. J. RUBENSTEIN, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind*, New York, NY: Routledge, 2002, p. 209-212; most recently GUIBERT OF NOGENT, *Monodiae – 'Einzelgesänge': Bekenntnisse und Memoiren eines Abtes aus Nordfrankreich*, ed./trans. R. KAISER and A. LIEBE, 2 vol., Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 2019, vol. I, p. 98-100. On Robert and his scribal work at Le Bec and Mont-Saint-Michel, see B. POHL, «Robert of Torigni and Le Bec: the Man and the Myth», in B. POHL and L. L. GATHAGAN (ed.), *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th-13th Centuries)*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, p. 94-124; ID., «Abbas qui et scriptor», *art. cit.*, *passim*; S. LECOUTEUX, «Écrire l'histoire des abbés du Mont Saint-Michel: Robert de Torigni, ses outils, ses sources et sa méthode de travail», *Tabularia* (2018), available at <<http://journals.openedition.org/tabularia/2973>> (accessed 1st May 2019); G. E. M. GASPER and F. WALLIS, «Anselm and the *Articella*», *art. cit.*, *passim*.

list of fifteen works copied on fol. 1v-2r by another scribe of Le Bec during the mid- to late twelfth century, probably not during Maurice's lifetime, but relatively soon – perhaps immediately – after his death. This raises the intriguing possibility that in posthumously collecting Maurice's authorial compositions and gathering them between the covers of a single volume along with a contents list, the monks of Le Bec consciously created a commemorative object – a fine book, no less – to honour and preserve the memory of one of their community's most prolific scribes and authors. Such practice was not without parallel, after all, since we know that the twelfth-century monks of Durham gave strikingly similar treatment to one of their own, Lawrence (or Laurentius) of Durham, whose works likewise were gathered and bound in one book (now Durham, University Library, MS Cosin V.iii.1) shortly after his death and decorated with an author portrait¹⁰⁶.

From a palaeographical point of view, it seems unlikely, but not impossible, that any parts of MS Lat. 2342 as it survives today were written when Maurice lived amongst the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury (c. 1073-1075/1078). The much more likely scenario is that he wrote them whilst at Conflans-Sainte-Honorine (c. 1079-1093) and/or at Le Bec (c. 1092/1093-1136/1140), possibly working from memory and/or implementing earlier drafts which he had composed whilst having the benefit of first-hand access to the great library of Christ Church, Canterbury during the 1070s. This would explain why many of the quotations in MS Lat. 2342 – particularly those referring to the Latin classics and other books not found at Le Bec (see above) – are relatively vague, giving no more than the author's name and, sometimes, the title of a specific work ('X in libro Y'), but rarely using verbatim quotes. Indeed, this *modus operandi* perfectly reflects the working method of an author who had read and memorised these books at some earlier point, possibly taking brief notes as an *aide-mémoire*, but was no longer able to access them directly when writing down his compositions several decades later.

This reconstruction of events leaves half a century or more to account for the changes in the hand of the main scribe of MS Lat. 2342, and it is not surprising to find that at the very end of this time span, old age inevitably had taken its toll on the scribe's fine motor skills. A small but fascinating detail, in this context, is that Maurice had suffered from an «illness of the head» (*infirmitas capitis*) when he was a young adult – a term sometimes used in medieval sources to describe migraines or even epilepsy¹⁰⁷. If this illness continued to be a dormant condition that flared up occasionally throughout Maurice's later life, particularly when he was an elderly man, its effects may well have aggravated the natural, age-related deterioration of Maurice's handwriting in precisely the way as is exhibited by the hand of Scribe A/B in MS Lat. 2342. Even if it cannot be proven categorically, the identification of Maurice with the *Anonymus Beccensis* presented in this article certainly makes for an intriguing case. What is perfectly clear, though, is that even if the anonymous author/scribe of MS Lat. 2342 was not Maurice, then he must have been somebody very much like him.

¹⁰⁶ I would like to thank Richard Gameson for kindly pointing me towards the case of Lawrence of Durham. On MS Cosin V.iii.1, see the catalogue entry in R. A. B. MYNORS, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939, p. 69 (= n° 110). Also cf. <<http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mlgb/book/2363/>> (accessed 1st May 2019). The full manuscript is now available digitally at <<https://n2t.durham.ac.uk/ark:/32150/t1mcz30ps64z.html>> (accessed 1st May 2019), with Lawrence's author portrait on fol. 22v.

¹⁰⁷ *Medieval Medicine: A Reader*, ed. F. WALLIS, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010, p. 248-254. When Maurice was at Christ Church, Canterbury, Anselm arranged for him to be seen by a physician; *Anselmi Cantuariensis opera omnia, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 141-144, 156-157 (= n° 33-36 et 44; Niskanen i.25-28, 36).

Appendix 1: Composition of MS Lat. 2342

N°	Fol.	Contents	Quire(s)	Scribe(s)	N°/list
(1)	1v-2r	List of works	I	E	-
(2)	2v-28v	<i>Lectiones</i> on the Hexateuch	I ^{cont.} -V	A	-
(3)	29r-96r	Commentary on Luke 1. 26	VI-XIII (XIV*)	A	(ii)
(4)	96v-146r	Commentary on Luke 2. 1	XIV-XIX (XX**)	A, A/B, A ^{corrector}	(iii)
(5)	146v-159r	<i>De professionibus monachorum</i>	XX-XXI	A	(vi)
(6)	159r-162v	<i>De professionibus abbatum</i>	XXI ^{cont.}	A	(vii)
(7)	163r-183v	Commentary on Luke 10. 38	XXII-XXIV	A	(i)
(8)	184r-185r	<i>Moralia in Iob (cap.)</i>	XXIV ^{cont.}	A	(xiii)
(9)	185v-190v	<i>De libertate</i>	XXIV ^{cont.} -XXV	C, D, A ^{corrector}	(xiv)
(10)	190v	Boso's epitaph	XXV ^{cont.}	A/B	-
(11)	190v	Miracle of the Church of St Mary	XXV ^{cont.}	A/B	-
(12)	191r-193r	Prester John's Letter	XXV ^{cont.}	F	-

* The final page of (3) (fol. 96r) was written over an erasure.

** The final page of (4) (fol. 146r) was written during a different session than the preceding page (fol. 145v).

Appendix 2: Works listed in MS Lat. 2342, fol. 1v-2r

N°	Fol.	Contents	Quire(s)	Scribe(s)	N°/manuscript
(i)	163r-183v	Commentary on Luke 10. 38	XXII-XXIV	A	(7)
(ii)	29r-96r	Commentary on Luke 1. 26	VI-XIII (XIV*)	A	(3)
(iii)	96v-146r	Commentary on Luke 2. 1	XIV-XIX (XX**)	A, A/B, A ^{corrector}	(4)
(iv)	-	Commentary on Matthew 25. 14 (St Nicholas)	-	-	-
(v)	-	Miracles and virtues of St Nicholas	-	-	-
(vi)	146v-159r	<i>De professionibus monachorum</i>	XX-XXI	A	(5)
(vii)	159r-162v	<i>De professionibus abbatum</i>	XXI ^{cont.}	A	(6)
(viii)	-	Treatise on the visitations of abbots	-	-	-
(ix)	-	Treatise on the churches and tithes of the monks	-	-	-
(x)	-	Work against the words of a certain person	-	-	-
(xi)	-	Treatises on the sacraments and mysteries of the OT/NT	-	-	-
(xii)	-	Work on various authorities in seven parts	-	-	-
(xiii)	184r-185r	<i>Moralia in Iob (cap.)</i>	XXIV ^{cont.}	A	(8)
(xiv)	185v-190v	<i>De libertate</i>	XXIV ^{cont.} -XXV	C, D, A ^{corrector}	(9)
(xv)	-	On the translation and miracles of St Honorina	-	-	-

* The final page of (3) (fol. 96r) was written over an erasure.

** The final page of (4) (fol. 146r) was written during a different session than the preceding page (fol. 145v).

Appendix 3: Quire structure of MS Lat. 2342

I	Fol. 1r-2v = 2 sheets
II	Fol. 3r-10v = 4 sheets
III	Fol. 11r-18v = 4 sheets
IV	Fol. 19r-26v = 4 sheets
V	Fol. 27r-28v = 2 sheets
VI	Fol. 29r-36v = 4 sheets
VII	Fol. 37r-44v = 4 sheets*
VIII	Fol. 45r-52v = 4 sheets
IX	Fol. 53r-60v = 4 sheets
X	Fol. 61r-70v = 5 sheets
XI	Fol. 71r-78v = 4 sheets
XII	Fol. 79r-86v = 4 sheets
XIII	Fol. 87r-95v = 4.5 sheets
XIV	Fol. 96r-103v = 4 sheets
XV	Fol. 104r-111v = 4 sheets
XVI	Fol. 112r-119v = 4 sheets**
XVII	Fol. 120r-127v = 4 sheets
XVIII	Fol. 128r-135v = 4 sheets
XIX	Fol. 136r-145v = 5 sheets
XX	Fol. 146r-153v = 4 sheets
XXI	Fol. 154r-162v = 4.5 sheets***
XXII	Fol. 163r-170v = 4 sheets
XXIII	Fol. 171r-178v = 4 sheets
XXIV	Fol. 179r-187v = 4.5 sheets****
XXV	Fol. 188r-193v = 3 sheets

* Parchment trim between fol. 36v-37r.

** Foliation does not include single-sheet insert (fol. 113^{bis}).

*** Threading of quire XXI off-centre between fol. 159v-160r.

**** Foliation includes single-sheet insert (fol. 186).

Appendix 4: Hands/scribes in MS Lat. 2342 (in order of appearance)

[image available in published version]

Fol. 1v-2r (List of works) = Scribe E (saec. XII^{med-ex})

[image available in published version]

Fol. 2v-28v (*Lectiones* on the Hexateuch) = Scribe A (saec. XI^{ex}-XII^{med})

[image available in published version]

Fol. 29r-96r (Commentary on Luke 1. 26) = Scribe A

[image available in published version]

Fol. 96v-146r (Commentary on Luke 2. 1) = Scribe A

[image available in published version]

Fol. 137v (Commentary on Luke 2. 1 – corrections) = Scribe A^{corrector}

[image available in published version]

Fol. 138r (Commentary on Luke 2. 1 – cont.) = Scribe B (saec. XII^{in-med}) **or** Scribe A in his old age

[image available in published version]

Fol. 146v-159r (*De professionibus monachorum*) = Scribe A

[image available in published version]

Fol. 159r-162v (*De professionibus abbatum*) = Scribe A

[image available in published version]

Fol. 163r-183v (Commentary on Luke 10. 38) = Scribe A

[image available in published version]

Fol. 184r-185r (*Moralia in Iob (cap.)*) = Scribe A

[image available in published version]

Fol. 185v, 187r-190v (*De libertate*) = Scribe C (saec. XI^{ex}-XII^{med})

[image available in published version]

Fol. 185v, 187r-190v (*De libertate* – corrections) = Scribe A^{corrector}

[image available in published version]

Fol. 186r-v (*De libertate* – ins.) = Scribe D (saec. XII^{in-med})

[image available in published version]

Fol. 190v (Boso's epitaph) = Scribe B **or** Scribe A in his old age

[image available in published version]

Fol. 190v (Miracle of the Church of St Mary) = Scribe B **or** Scribe A in his old age

[image available in published version]

Fol. 191r-193r (Prester John's Letter) = Scribe F (saec. XII^{ex}-XIIIⁱⁿ)

AUTHOR FINAL VERSION (PRE-PROOF)

Appendix 5: Authorities cited in MS BnF Lat. 2342, fol. 29r-96r, 96v-146r, and 163r-183v

Commentary on Luke 1. 26 (fol. 29r-96r)

Ambrose	38r, 46v, 53r, 54v, 61v, 64v, 66v (<i>in libro de sacramentis</i>), 67v (<i>in libro de trinitate; in libro de sacramentis; in libro de misteriis et initiandis</i>); 68r (<i>in quarto libro de fide ad Gratianum imperatorem</i>), 75v (<i>in epistola a Timotheum</i>), 76r (<i>in Malachia</i>), 78v (<i>in epistola prima Pauli apostoli ad Corinthios</i>).
Anselm	30r, 32r, 32v, 33r, 33v, 34r, 35r, 38v, 39r, 39v, 40r, 40v, 41r, 44v, 45r, 45v, 47r (<i>libros venerabilis Anselmi archiepiscopi qui intitulatur unus cur deus homo alter de partu virginali</i>), 56r, 56v, 57r, 57v, 59v.
Augustine	32v, 35v, 37v, 38v (<i>in libro de baptismo parvulorum et in xiii de civitate Dei</i>), 41v-42v (<i>in libro iii^{to} de trinitate etc.</i>), 43r (<i>libros de trinitate</i>), 46r (<i>in libro lxxx^{ta} iii^{um} questionum caput xi^o</i>), 51v, 53v (<i>in libro de correptione et Gratia ad Valentinum</i>), 56v (<i>in libro lxxx^{ta} iii^{um} questionum caput xxv^o</i>), 58v, 63r, 64v, 65v (<i>in libro de civitate Dei</i>), 66v (<i>in libro contra Felicianum; in libro de trinitate; in sermone ad Neophitos; ad Bonifacium</i>), 67r (<i>in expositione super Ioannem; in quodam sermone de sacramentis; in psalmo xxviii</i>), 67v (<i>in psalmo xxx^o iii^o; in psalmo lx v^o; in [psalmo] xl v^o</i>), 68r (<i>in libro de trinitate</i>), 70r (<i>in libro de catecizandis rudibus</i>), 71v (<i>questionem Paulinus Nolanus episcopus; ad Ianuarium</i>), 72r (<i>in libro ad Ianuarium; in libro super Ioannem</i>), 74r (<i>in epistola ad Paulinum</i>), 75r, 80v (<i>in libro de blasphemia</i>), 81v (<i>ad beatum Ieronimum per epistolam</i>), 82r (<i>in omelia v^a super evangelium Ioannis; in vi^{to} sermone</i>), 82v (<i>contra epistolam Parmenii de ministris altaris; in libro de baptismo atque divino sacramento</i>), 83v (<i>in libro de baptismo</i>), 84v (<i>in sermone super evangelium Ioannis</i>), 85r, 86v, 87v (<i>in sermone de pastoribus</i>), 88r (<i>ad Valerium episcopum</i>), 89r (<i>libros de baptismo</i>), 89v, 90r, 90v (<i>in quodam sermone ad penitentes</i>), 91r (<i>in libro enchyridion; in libro de baptismo contra donatistas</i>), 91v, 92r (<i>in libro enchyridion</i>), 92v (<i>in libro de baptismo contra donatistas</i>), 93v, 94r (<i>in libro iii^{to} de baptismo contra donatistas</i>), 96r (<i>ad Paulinam dei famulam</i>).
ca(?)	58v, 59r.
Canon law	74r, 76v.
Chrysostom	69r.
Cyprian	64v, 68r, 84r, 84v.
Cyril	69r.
Eusebius	63r, 69r, 69v.
Gelasius	74r, 90r (<i>in epistola ad imperatorem</i>).
Gregory	29v, 31r, 32v (<i>in pluribus scriptis suis</i>), 37v, 52v, 55r, 60v, 66r, 69r (<i>in omeliis pasche</i>), 70v, 71r (<i>in libro dialogorum suroum iii^{to}</i>), 71v (<i>in moralibus; in quarto dialogorum libro</i>), 74r, 75r, 81r (<i>in epistolis suis</i>), 81v, 82r (<i>in eodem volumine i registro</i>), 85r, 87r, 87v (<i>in libro xx^o vi^{to} moralium</i>), 91v, 92r.
Guitmund	60r, 60v, 61v, 62r, 62v, 63r, 63v, 64v, 65r, 65v.
Hilarius	64v, 66v, 68r, 74r.
Jerome	46v, 52v, 68v (<i>in libro super Matheum; in epistola i^a ad Corinthios; in epistola ad Ephesios; in psalmo c^o iii^{to}</i>), 74r, 75v (<i>super Isaiam libro xvi</i>), 76v, 80r.
Lanfranc	70r (<i>in libro quem edidit contra Berengarium hereticum</i>), 70v.
Leo	45r, 49r (<i>in sermone quodam de passione Domini</i>), 55r, 65r, 68v (<i>in sermone de Ieiunio vii mensis</i>); 69r (<i>in epistola Anatholio episcopo missa; in sermone quoddam de passione Domini</i>), 74r, 88v.
Origen	46v.

Popes (div.)	83r (Anaclet, Felix, Stephan, Silvester), 83v (Arrianus, Iulius, Felix, Sixtus), 85r (Innocent, Telesphorus).
<i>Vita Basilii</i>	70v. (Probably the <i>Vita Basilii</i> by Gregory of Nazianzus.)

Commentary on Luke 2. 1 (fol. 96v-146r)

Ambrose	110r, 131r, 146r.
Augustine	97v (<i>in libro primo super Genesim</i>), 98r (<i>in i^o libro super Genesim</i>), 98v (<i>in i^o libro super nominato [= Genesim]</i>), 99r (<i>in i^o libro super Genesim</i>), 100v (<i>in libro s^ue super Genesim</i>), 101r, 101v (<i>in xi libro supradicto; in iii^o libro supradicto</i>), 102v, 103v, 104r (<i>in iii^o libro superius sepe nominato [= Genesim]</i>), 104v, 105r (<i>v libri super Genesim</i>), 106r (<i>in libro qui intitulatus est super Genesim</i>), 107v (<i>in vii^o libro super Genesim</i>), 108r, 109r, 109v (<i>in libris qui intulantur super Genesim</i>), 110r, 112r, 113 ^{bis} v, 115v (<i>in libro suo de civitate</i>), 117r, 120v (<i>in libro de civitate Dei; in libro suprascripto caput xiii</i>), 131r, 138r (<i>in x^o iii libro de civitate Dei</i>).
Bede	100r, 115v (<i>in libro suo de temporibus</i>), 120v (<i>in libro de temporibus; in libro supradicto</i>), 130v (<i>in libro de temporibus</i>), 133v, 137v (<i>in libro de temporibus</i>).
Dionysius	138r (<i>tabulam</i>).
Eusebius	115v (<i>in cronicis suis</i>), 120v (<i>in scripturis nominatissimus ins[sic] cronicis suis</i>), 130v (<i>in cronicis suis</i>), 134v (<i>in cronicis suis</i>), 136v, 137v (<i>in cronicis suis</i>).
Eutropius	136v.
Gregory	99r (<i>de Iob</i>), 107v, 113r, 113v (<i>eylogio</i>), 121r, 146r.
Hebrew Bible	113 ^{bis} r, 120r, 120v, 123v, 124r, 130v, 137v, 138r.
Isidore	115v (<i>in libro ethymologiarum</i>), 137v (<i>in libro ethymologiarum</i>).
Jerome	101r, 110r (<i>in x libro super Isaiam</i>), 113 ^{bis} r, 115v (<i>librum qui intitulatus est de Ebreis questionibus</i>), 120v (<i>suo labore ecclesiis ex (h)ebrea veritate in Latinam linguam interpretando edidit</i>), 123v, 128v, 129r, 130r, 131r, 137v, 142v (<i>in libello quem edidit de nativitate beate Marie</i>), 143r (<i>liber contra Heluidium</i>).
Josephus	120v (<i>in i^o antiquitatum libro; in primo antiquitatum libro</i>), 130v, 131r (<i>Judaicarum istoriarum scriptor; in antiquitatum libro</i>), 133v, 134v, 142r (<i>in xviii antiquitatum libro</i>), 143v.
Leo	97r.
Lucan	136v.
Orosius	120v (<i>in libro de ornesta mundi</i>), 137v (<i>in prefatione libri quem scripsit de ornesta mundi; in eodem libro minus</i>).
Pliny	137v (<i>in multiplicia volumina contexuit quasi in uno thomo</i>).
Sallust	142r (<i>de Catelina</i>).
Septuaginta	105r, 105v, 107r, 114r, 115r, 115v, 116r, 120r, 120v, 122r, 123v.
Solinus	136v (<i>in libro de vita cesarum</i>). (Probably a misattribution of Suetonius' work.)
Suetonius	141r (<i>in libro de vita cesarum</i>).

Commentary on Luke 10. 38 (fol. 163r-183v)

Ambrose	171v (<i>in prima ad Corinthios</i>), 173r, 175r, 176r (<i>in libro de virginitate</i>), 177r, 177v, 178r, 178v.
Augustine	165v, 168r, 170v, 171r (<i>in epistola ad Euodium</i>), 173r, 175r, 175v (<i>in epistola ad Pollentium</i>), 176r (<i>in libro super Ioannem</i>), 176v (<i>in libro ad Iulianam</i>), 177v (<i>in libro de moribus ecclesie</i>), 179r, 179v.
Basilius	180v.
Bede	171r (<i>in libro super cantica cantiquorum[sic]</i>).
Cyprian	173r, 176r (<i>in libro de abitu virginum</i>), 181v (<i>in libro ad Donatum de viciis seculi</i>).

Gelasius	176v (<i>in decretis capitulo xiii</i>).
Gregory	166r (<i>pastorale librum</i>), 173r, 181v (<i>in moralibus</i>).
Hilarius	173r.
Isidore	173r.
Jerome	165v, 171v (<i>in quodam sermone quem edidit ad Paulam et Eustochium; super Matheum capitulo ccc xlv</i>), 173r, 176r, 177r, 179v (<i>in ecclesiasten</i>), 180v (<i>in libro contra Eluidium; in apologetico suo</i>), 181r (<i>in libro contra Iovinianum</i>), 181v, 182r (<i>in epistola de veste pontificali ad Fabiolam</i>), 182v.
Origen	173r.

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[image available in published version]

FIG. 1a. Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 2342, fol. 1r

[image available in published version]

FIG. 1b. Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 2342, fol. 193v

[image available in published version]

FIG. 2a. Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 2342, fol. 1v

[image available in published version]

FIG. 2b. Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 2342, fol. 2r

[image available in published version]

FIG. 3a. Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 2342, fol. 137v

[image available in published version]

FIG. 3b. Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 2342, fol. 138r

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