

Anselm Cramer

St Albans Abbey

Kunstverlag oder Dominici schola servitii?

Vorbemerkung:

Anfang November 2009 hat in der Dombibliothek Hildesheim eine Tagung über den berühmten Albani-Psalter stattgefunden, der sich seit Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts im Besitz der Pfarrgemeinde St. Godehard – heute zur Pfarrei Zum Heiligen Kreuz Hildesheim gehörig – befindet, aber in der Dombibliothek aufbewahrt wird; und um die Jahreswende 2009/10 im Dom-Museum Hildesheim zu bewundern war. Der nachfolgende Beitrag von P. Anselm Cramer OSB (Ampleforth) zeigt die engen Verbindungen zwischen dem früheren Benediktinerkloster Lamspringe – wohin der Psalter durch die Wirren des 16. Jahrhunderts gekommen war – und St. Albans auf.

You will perhaps know that the school run by my monastic community was originally set up by English monks near this city of Hildesheim, at the monastery of Lamspringe. Like all monasteries we had a good library, and among our books was the Psalter made at St Albans Abbey. Around this wonderful book in the last hundred years have gathered many experts and people learned in every relevant branch of science and art. What, you will be wondering, is a mere monk doing in so distinguished a company? It may be that the poet Chaucer, writing about a

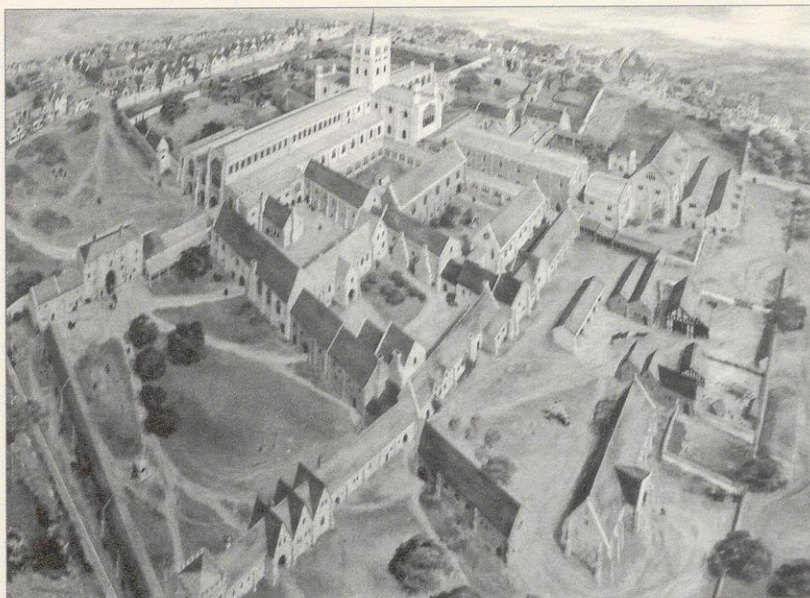


ABB. 1 _ Abtei St. Albans, Gemälde von Joan Freeman

group of people expert in the law, some three centuries after the making of Christina's Psalter, can offer an explanation:

Now is not that of God a full fair grace
That such a lewed mannes wit should pace
The wisdom of an heape of learned men?¹

There is some suggestion that this was to his advantage: and it is indeed to my advantage to be invited to your beautiful city, and an opportunity to revisit our former monastic home at Lamspringe. But if I have understood the real reason for my invitation, it is to bring to mind the monastery and the monks of St Albans, whose way of life played so large a part in the background of religion, civilisation and culture in Norman England.

In using this last phrase I draw attention to the fact that when the Psalter was made – I leave the heap of learned men to define the date – England was both Norman and English. Two generations before it was subject to an occupying power, which could be summarised as fierce Vikings

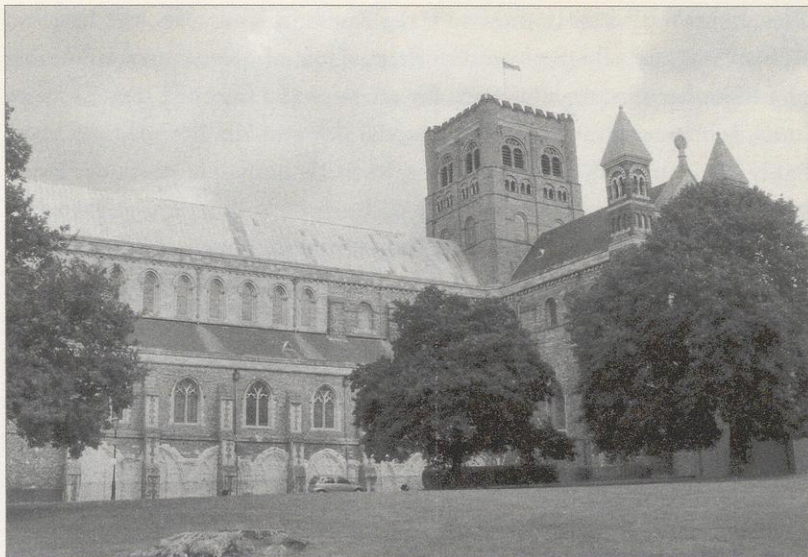


ABB. 2 _ Ansicht von St. Albans, Südwesten

talking bad French. Just how difficult this could be for monks was shown at the Abbey of Glastonbury, where the new Norman abbot, Thurstan, dealt with resistance to his idea of liturgical reform – perhaps Cluniac – by calling in his Norman archers, and shooting the monks down round their altar.² And just how good it could be is revealed in the case of the new Abbot Paul at St Alban's, a Norman monk of Caen, who set the abbey on a path of quality and strength, giving it a pre-eminence which lasted in certain ways, as we shall see, as far as the eighteenth century. The community's thirteenth-century historian, Matthew Paris, though not a detached judge, was right enough:

'The monastery became a sort of school of monastic life and observance throughout the whole of England.'³

St Albans Abbey has been important since its earliest days: even its perhaps mythical foundation was by royal decree. It is in an important place, not in itself, but because it is on the way to other places, on a route inherited from the Romans and still in use by the railway and the motorway M6. The place is a natural centre, since it was first used by the pre-Roman Britons as a regional capital.

This natural importance drew to it the Romans, King Offa, the Norman Abbot Paul, the schoolmaster Geoffrey, a line of able monks, a number of zealous hermits, together with lay artists, and a host of Kings, Queens, lords, gentlemen, travellers, pilgrims, the sick and handicapped, and probably large numbers of rural persons, formerly known as peasants. It was much the same in other monasteries with significant shrines, or attractive as stopping places, such as Canterbury, Durham, Bury St Edmunds. It is much the same now at my own monastery, or Buckfast, or Gerleve, Maria Laach or Ettal.

The monastic life of St Albans falls into three phases, the old English community, the renewed and expanded medieval one, and the curious ghostly memory which persists to this day, having from time to time a sort of mythical effect on people's thinking. The reason why the early, or Anglo-Saxon, period is significant is because it was remembered as such, and occupied a place in the community's mythology. It was important to their sense of their own value that they were set up by a King, and so long ago. It is of small consequence to point out that this in practice meant very little: the point is that it was a value to the monks of later centuries. It was clearly an embarrassment to Matthew Paris, in writing the history of his house, to have so little reliable information about this period, but he did think it mattered. To have begun (with the assistance of an angel) before 800 put the community in the senior class, and on the same level with the other better known houses, Gorze, Corvey, etc, and above 'recent' foundations such as the Norman monasteries. It had acquired a strong sense of its English origin and life, and this raised difficulties in the time of William the Conqueror, who had anxieties about sustained English resistance to Normanisation, especially (in the view of its community) at important monasteries like St Albans.

'Its great wealth and reputation and the intensely national and aristocratic tendency of it inmates, many of whom were of noble blood, compelled him to lessen its power and influence.'⁴

Both William and Lanfranc suspected Abbot Frederick, the last fully English Abbot, of possible reactionary moves. This was more likely just because the Anglo-Saxon monasteries had become largely aristocratic, although without any real plan to do so. About the year 1000 Abbot Leofric

‘... would admit no one to the habit who was not of well-known family, or at any rate born legitimate, because, he said, vulgar or illegitimate men were wholly ignorant, of unstable character, and more prone to do frightful things.’⁵

This might well incline the English element in the community, and its traditions, to be favourable to the old order. This would be in much the same way that the later English Benedictines after 1688 were almost all inclined to be pro-Jacobite, that is pro-Stuart. The Stuart royal arms are still visible on the calefactory ceiling in the English monastery of St Laurence at Dieulouard in Lorraine (rebuilt c.1720). The community at Lam-springe, being in Hanoverian territory, were more tactful: the painting in the ‘Refektorium’ is of George II – of Hanover indeed, but also King of Great Britain.

The Anglo-Saxon community was nominally under the Rule of St Benedict, but their practice was not entirely in accord with the ideals they said they followed. They were however an improvement on the earlier tenth century community, under Abbot Wulsig, who used the resources of the monastery to find an upper class husband for any of his relations – or, unkind people suggested, his daughters – whether virgins or widows, who happened to be without one. Matthew Paris notes with satisfaction that he ‘emigrated rather soon from this life’ (and as some said, ‘poisoned’), amid the dislike and malediction of his community.⁶

In the background lies the *Regularis Concordia*.⁷ This was a document which grew out of the tenth century reforms led by Saints Dunstan, Ethelwold and Oswald, who were all three monk bishops of notable ability and achievement during the tenth century. The actual Benedictine monastery at St Albans – whatever there was before – was almost certainly derived from that at Ramsey, after 950, founded by St Oswald. As its name implies, the point of the *Concordia* was to establish some sort of common practice. It is interesting to note that the Norman Archbishop Lanfranc did the same with his statutes or as Benedict of Aniane had done in 817.

The details need not lead us aside: the effect was to bring back the Rule (which had been forgotten or ignored by any monasteries which remained, however feeble) and to establish it as the norm. In the next hundred years there was both growth and decay, the first in ownership, buildings

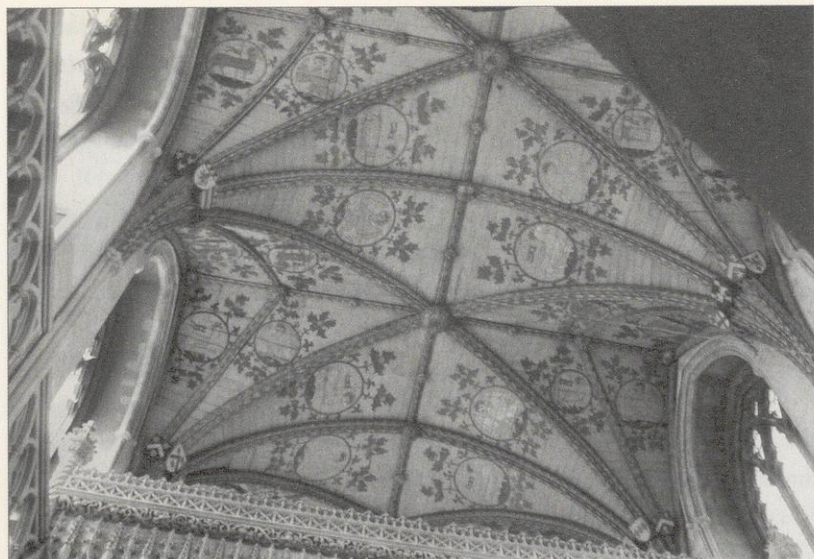


ABB. 3 _ Blick ins aus dem 13. Jahrhundert stammende Deckengewölbe von St. Albans

and material such as books or vestments, the second in the actual realisation of the ideals. With the strength of St Albans as led by Abbot Frederick and his well-connected English community, together with the influence of royally renewed and strengthened Westminster, as well as the other Dunstonian houses like Canterbury, Winchester, Glastonbury and Peterborough, English monasticism was different from that prevailing on the mainland of Europe.

It was different, but nonetheless it was derived. It was not just the Rule that was imported, but many of the ideas behind the *Concordia*, and much of the writings which were the basis of learning and spirituality. Apart from Bede, there was not a lot of native writing of any real quality in the monastic sphere. On the other hand, in England as abroad, there was no other situation in which learning, education and culture had any chance. The lay world, set in single castles or small towns and cities, was under constant threat of attack or seizure, and there were continual demands of actual military service. Many, perhaps most, of the knights and other fighting men could not read or write. Monasteries were the only place with any degree of stability, continuity, or peace. And there was usually a wall round the outside: at least it felt secure.

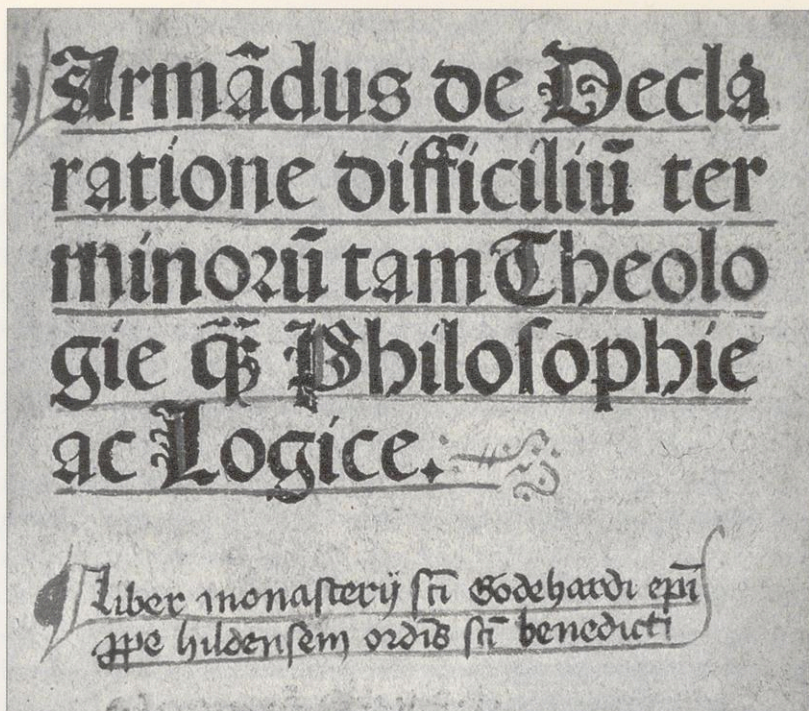


ABB. 4 – „Liber monasterii Sti. Godehardi“ von 1491, wahrscheinlich von P. Richard Towers OSB um 1825 gekauft, heute in der Bibliothek des Benediktinerklosters Ampleforth

Into this world there came the Normans, bringing with them energy and organisation, and technical skills in building. Further, they were beginning to respond to the new growth of learning, mainly medicine, law and theology, which was in healthy infancy in places like Salerno, Bologna and Paris. Their impact on northern Europe was very farreaching, for their domination of Europe's northern and southern frontier areas was complete by 1100. They were in command of England; and they were in command of Sicily and southern Italy. Never again would the English feel that they were part of the northern, Scandinavian, Germanic world:⁸ rather, they became part of the Latin world, looking south, to both sides of the Alps, and have remained so. Because of the Norman conquest, Lanfranc and Anselm, though of Germanic families, were brought up in Italy and France before becoming immensely influential leaders of the Church in England.⁹

William the Conqueror was gifted in some, and appreciated the value of other, aspects of this renaissance. In particular, to control the kingdom he needed to control the structures of the Church, that is the bishops, and the monasteries. It was from the monasteries that most of the bishops were drawn, for there was no other training ground. That is why he took monks from Norman monasteries and made them bishops and abbots in England: examples are Lanfranc and Anselm as Archbishops of Canterbury, and in our case, Paul, Lanfranc's nephew (some said his son) as Abbot of St Albans. There were many other examples: none need detain us, unless we allow ourselves the diversion of visiting Glastonbury to watch Abbot Thurstan bring in the troops, because the monks – I simplify – would not sing plainsong the way he wanted.

Abbot Paul is important, and he is a big part of the reason why St Albans was important. He was abbot 1077–93. He was Lanfranc's choice, as Thurstan at Glastonbury was not. Matthew Paris says Lanfranc 'loved him as a son'¹⁰. Abbot Paul rebuilt the Abbey and its buildings using material from the Roman buildings, 'a praedecessoribus suis collectam et reservatam'. Matthew Paris is now writing with more detail and clearly on firmer ground: he evidently had more and better sources at his disposal. He says Abbot Paul was

'A spiritual and well-educated man, strict but wise in his observance. In restoring what his predecessors had rather neglected he acted gradually, in case too sudden a change should cause trouble. The church of St Albans became an example of religious life and good observance for the whole of England. This reputation spread abroad, even to the corridors of Rome, and distant kingdoms. This won him much support, and made possible growth and expansion.'¹¹

David Knowles, doyen ('Abba') of monastic historians, says that on these grounds St Albans reasonably 'claimed and vindicated for itself the premier place among all the black monk houses of England'. He points out that it was in the lead, so to speak, in liturgical observance, the splendour of its buildings and their decoration, its encouragement of learning and the arts: 'It holds a place above all others in the twelfth century, and during at least the first half of that period it was a centre of fervent spiritual life.'¹² Part of this prominence may be attributed to the richer and more plentiful source material, especially in the work of Matthew Paris. But it was

recognised in its own time: in Parliamentary precedence only Glastonbury, respected centre of the Arthurian and Grail myths, had priority.

When Abbot Paul died, there was problem, for the English part of the community was still significant, but it was becoming elderly, and so any tendency to resistance was bound to decline. there was thus a delay of nearly five years before Abbot Richard was elected. This was only possible once the tension and dispute between the Normans, the party which was growing, and the English, whose numbers declined as they weakened and died off.¹³ Stirring things happened in his time, soon known in St Albans in its position as the first stop on the primary route north of the London. Antioch and Jerusalem were captured by the First Crusade, Archbishop Anselm was exiled by William II, and the king – nay, a very tyrant – was, it was thought, assassinated while hunting, shot by an arrow in heavenly vengeance.¹⁴

Abbot Richard was well-known at Court, and connected with the best families: at that time, abbots usually were. This meant that the Abbey acquired a lot of valuable properties, including the church at Wymondham in distant Norfolk, and even Tynemouth, by Newcastle. He was present at the translation of St Cuthbert, the great northern Saint at Durham, and rushed forward to support the middle of the Saint's bier as it sagged, only to find that his withered arm was cured. So on his return he had built a chapel in his own abbey dedicated to St Cuthbert.

It was by then found to be wise that the property of a monastery should be divided between the Abbot and the Conventus: in this way the King could only reach up to half of it in a vacancy (William II was good at this), and a weak or bad abbot could only misapply his portion. But all Abbots were once ordinary monks (St Benedict is almost the only exception), and so felt they should use their riches for the community. Thus Abbot Richard greatly enriched the church and sacristy at St Albans with reliquaries, vestments and books. These included a splendid missal, in which there was a picture of the Abbot humbled at the feet of the Lord, adorned with finely executed gilt lettering. Artists and craftsmen were thus already familiar figures around the abbey.¹⁵

It was not just material prosperity. It is clear, or at least it was clear to Matthew Paris writing about a century later, that St Albans was a mo-

nastery in very good state, and with a high quality of monastic life and numerous vocations, and that it represented a model for others.¹⁶ This view was supported by Knowles:

‘The existence of such types of sanctity in the vicinity, and the encouragement of them by St Albans and its great abbot, are a sure proof that the things of the spirit had a real value within its walls.’¹⁷

What the first three abbots, Paul, Richard and Geoffrey, built up had a sustained momentum of quality which lasted into the thirteenth century, and aided the sustained preeminence of the house:

‘[In the later twelfth century] A rich intellectual, literary and artistic life existed at St Albans. In this respect the house surpassed all other monasteries of England. Just as at Bury the best talent went to administration and the surveillance of estates, so at St Albans it went to letters and to art.’¹⁸

Abbot Geoffrey was Prior of St Albans when elected Abbot in 1119: it is therefore likely that he was at least born about 1090. Matthew Paris says he was of mixed parentage, of Normandy and Maine. Monks at this time were commonly known by their place of origin as their second name: Geoffrey is recorded as ‘de Gorron’. If he was born in Gorron, which is a place then, and for some time, of some importance as a border fortress between Normandy and Maine we could conclude that that his father was of Maine, his mother Norman. Maine is part of Anjou, so Geoffrey may be an instance of talent stimulated by a fresh mixture of genes. This is a little more likely because he seems to have become a ‘Magister’ in one of the early forms of university, which is why Abbot Richard persuaded him to come to St Albans to take over (not to start) its school.¹⁹ This tells us that Geoffrey was able, and it tells us that Abbot Richard was anxious to gather and develop talent. There were only four years between the election of Abbot Richard and the date usually given for the making of the Psalter, so either the monk (or Prior) Geoffrey became involved in the affairs of Christina and the making of fine manuscripts well before he was Abbot, or Abbot Richard should be placed more clearly in view.²⁰

Many will have heard the story of Geoffrey arriving at St Albans to find that the Headmaster’s job he had been given had been filled by another:

evidently a certain alacrity was expected at the abbey. The delay indicates a disposition to finish the job in hand – perhaps he was still on an examining board, or some important Committee – but he wasted no time in setting up at Dunstable until the vacancy should recur. Here he invented, or perhaps imported, the idea of miracle plays.²¹ His standing was already such that he was allowed to borrow cantors' copes from the abbey sacristy to use in the theatre. This would certainly not be allowed in my own monastery, and, it would appear, wisely, for Geoffrey's house burnt down in the night, and the copes perished, as did his library: this tells us that he had one.²² Probably there was a problem with the stage lighting. Embarrassed by his inability to cover the costs, he offered himself instead, and was accepted. This was not so odd a move as it might seem, because the distinction between monks who were *conversi* (mature adults, sometimes illiterate but distinguished knights, withdrawing from a wicked world), and those who were *oblats* (offered in youth, by their families, who grew up within the monastic life, was still a real one at that time.²³

Geoffrey's first move as Abbot was to raise the kitchen allowance, by 16%. That always goes down well in monasteries.²⁴ He then made increases in the provision for the Infirmary, for the abbey's charities, and the hospital or hospice of St Julian, 'on the London road'. Matthew Paris notes that both the foundation and the building work were set up '*consilio et consensu Conventus*': this too is a credit point, for Abbots (in those days) often acted without much reference to their Chapters. Monks do not like this. However, it sounds as though he acted on his own in the building of the splendid guest hall, with a 'double roof' (that is, having a clerestory along its crest), and a special 'Queen's Room' for royalty.

Paris tells us that in a bad year Geoffrey stripped silver work from the new shrine of St Alban and had it melted down into coin with which he could support the poor in time of shortage.²⁵ But the next year there was a bumper harvest, '*annus omni ubertate redundavit*', so he assembled funds and enabled the monk Anketil to construct a new raised (*feretrum*, a Greek loan-word meaning a bier, frame or stretcher) for the saint's relics. This may remind us that under Geoffrey, and the eight other good abbots of St Albans between Paul and the mid-thirteenth century, it was not just a question of illustrating fine manuscripts: metalwork, sculpture, painting, vestments, architecture were encouraged and supported, and

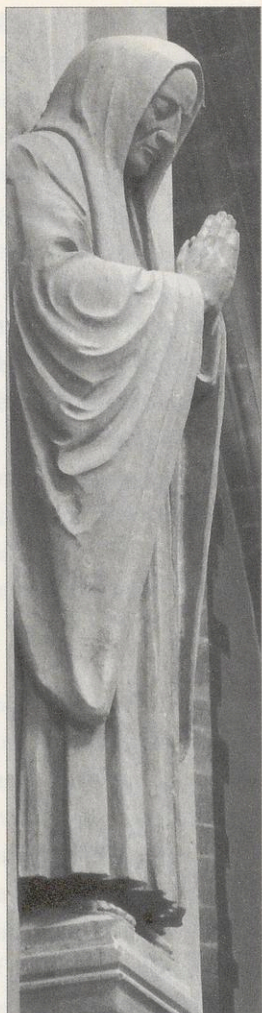


ABB. 5 / ABB. 6 _ Details aus St. Albans

thrived. This was an English tradition, not a Norman one, and it was not at first understood by the newcomers.²⁶

‘In the minor arts at least, the Norman conquest was little short of a catastrophe, blotting out alike a good tradition and an accomplished execution.’²⁷

Anketil was already a monk and a goldsmith when he went from England soon after 1100 to Denmark at the invitation of the Danish king.

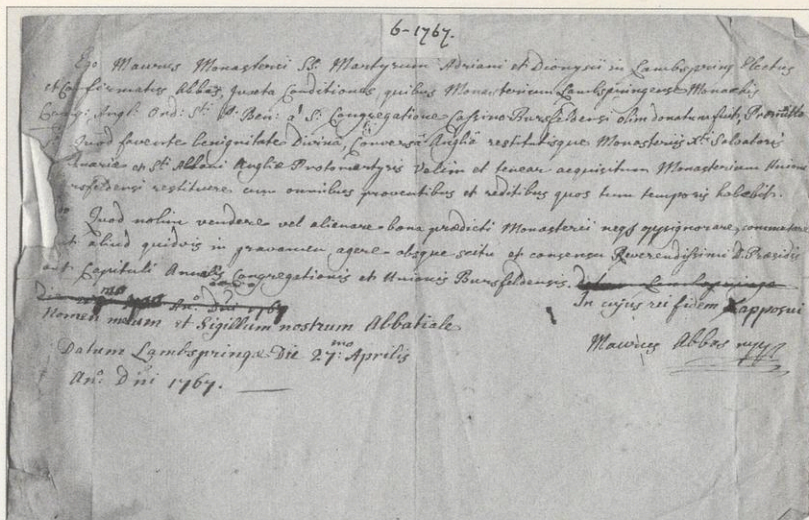


ABB. 7 _ Erklärung des Beitritts des Klosters Lamspringe zur Bursfelder Kongregation durch Abt Maurus Heatley OSB

There he became well-known as a goldsmith, royal treasurer or supervisor of the royal mint, and the senior banker, being found honest and efficient. After seven years he returned to England on leave, and, being struck by the quality of life at St Albans, asked to join.²⁸ Knowles discusses the small number of monk craftsmen, and their gradual development of cooperation with lay colleagues, resident and employed.²⁹ This practice became general: monks are a small subset of the population, and artistically gifted monks, who have always existed, are a small subset of that. It is the case in our own time.

It is only after it has dealt with labours and favours which the abbey enjoyed under Abbot Geoffrey that the *Gesta Abbatum* turns its attention to Roger the hermit and Christina,³⁰ which I leave to others more expert than I am. The history of the house continued with a series of fine abbots, Ralph Gubion (1146–51), Robert de Gorron (1151–66, Geoffrey's nephew), Simon (1167–83), Warin (1183–95) and John of Studham (1195–1214). Of these, the last two were graduates of the University of Paris, a sign of a future already in progress which would take from the monks the civilised leadership of which hitherto they had been the only proponents.



ABB. 8 _ Langschiff von St. Albans

Abbot Paul was brought up at Caen, in the heart of the Norman monastic group which gave England so many monastic leaders at this time, including Lanfranc and Anselm. But the succeeding Abbots were men of the St Albans community, which is itself a comment on the quality of the monastery, and on the reconciliation of the English and Norman traditions: all later than Paul were chosen from the community itself, which was not the norm in these centuries, whatever the Rule said. Broadly speaking, you can only have good abbots from a good community: an exceptional man

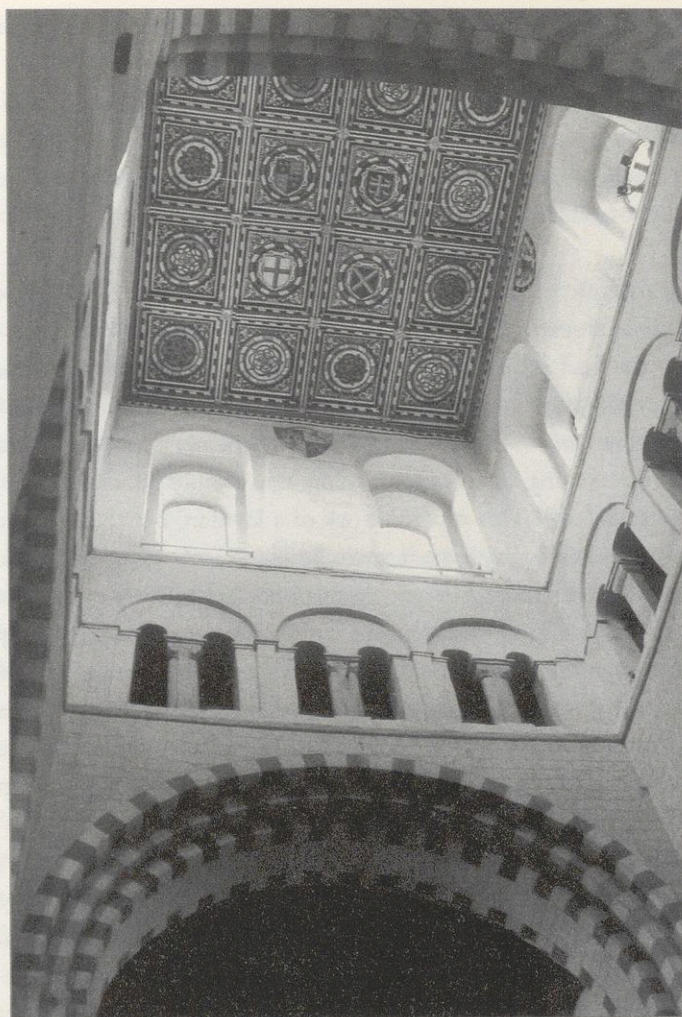


ABB. 9 _ Holzdecke in St. Albans

can come from outside and transform a community, but this is in general undesirable, for it cuts at the root of the concept of community.

And of course it is not every monastery which can boast a Pope as at least its alumnus, or even (as Matthew Paris would like us to accept), an applicant who was turned down. Nicholas Breakspear was certainly schooled at St Albans, and Paris says that he asked Abbot Robert (1151-66) to be admitted to the novitiate, but was refused on the grounds that he was not

mature enough.³¹ It is not surprising that young Breakspear responded to this challenge and went off to Paris, where he was clearly first class material. This process continued to the top, to Cardinal and then to Pope Adrian IV.³² This development was of course later than the period of Abbot Geoffrey, Christina and the Psalterium, but it is part of the picture of what sort of place St Albans was.

We can follow this preeminence for a long time. Its records – Knowles says ‘almost alone of the great abbeys’ – extend unbroken from the Conquest to the Tudor Dissolution, 1066–1540.³³ The monk Germanus became successively Prior of Tynemouth, and Abbot of Selby; Godfridus became Abbot of Croyland. Much later the Abbey was in advance generally by becoming involved in printing, one of only three monasteries in England to do so.³⁴ This was the work of a layman, but there is evidence of much cooperation with the monk who became the last Abbot, Richard Boreman. In fact under him the Abbey once again took a lead, an unexpected one, for it made more resistance to the Suppression of 1535–40 than any other Benedictine community, though there were honourable exceptions in individuals. Indeed Boreman’s career included a planned attempt to follow the lead of Queen Mary in restoring the monastery at Westminster in 1557: only her death put a stop to a form of restoration at St Albans, with considerable local sympathy and support.³⁵

Moreover, in 1621 the revived English Benedictines, nurtured in Spain and Italy, came to make arrangements in case King James I should accept (or even initiate) some kind of rapprochement between Rome and Canterbury. At times in his early years this seemed almost possible, so precautions were taken to see that monastic communities were ready to take over the principle monasteries. In the General Chapter of 1621, it was agreed that St Gregory’s (the senior house) would be responsible for St Albans, St Laurence’s for Westminster, and St Edmund’s for Bury.³⁶ Lamspringe took no part in this, since it was not even on offer till 1628, but as late as 1767 Abbot Heatley, the last Abbot, took a routine oath following his election to return Lamspringe to the Bursfeld Congregation should St Albans be released to the English monks.³⁷

The historian Matthew Paris, writing a century after the great Psalter, enlivened his manuscripts with careful and detailed drawings. Most are in the margins.³⁸ These are not in the same class as those of the Psalter:

they are the work of a fairly gifted amateur. But they indicate a level of what we now call culture which adds to the impression that the abbey of St Albans in the twelfth century was a very civilised place. One could dare to suggest – ‘And yet this Manciple sette hir aller cappe’³⁹ – that these were the work of an English monk, in contrast to the seasoned style of the Psalter images, the work of a Norman professional.

The distinction (even if dismissed as amateur) is significant. Monks cannot be professional, except as monks. But as soon as their affairs grow, they need, and gladly work with, professionals. And they usually attract professionals who want to work in such a context. This is true of Benedictines now, it was true of the English monks of Lamspringe,⁴⁰ and it is likely to have been the case at St Albans.

I say likely, because they were following the same Rule as I do, and even at this distance some features can be recognised. This is not simple, because the inner experience of being a monk is not readily explained in words. These men, together with those before them, and those who followed, had each made an individual and careful decision that a call had come to him (or indeed to her) to give a whole life, and that exclusively, to God. Since 1100 there have been many ways to do this: in fact, when the Psalter was made there were already new flowers growing, hermit groups, anchorites, recluses, indeed the early Cistercians. But all were moved by the same ideal. And in Abbot Geoffrey’s time those who were simply Benedictine will have followed the well worn tracks of the Rule, not simply out of habit, nor even of necessity, but from attraction, commitment and love. There is little to prove this, save only that almost all the monks of St Albans stayed faithful, with fervour which people noticed and respected, till the end: and some even hoped to resume the life, as others had done at Westminster in 1556.⁴¹ After following this way for more than fifty years, I can tell you that it cannot be done without a deep inner life. It is that which makes all possible, as Benedict says,

‘As monks express their commitment in growing practice of the monastic life, their hearts expand with a delighted love beyond description, and they run forward along the way as God directs them.’⁴²

So the answer to my opening question is, the Abbey of St Albans was first and always a monastic community. It supported, encouraged and gained

from the talent it had, but was glad to work with associate lay professionals. It was thus that they produced such fine things, which were a result not a policy.

- 1_ „Also hat uns Gott diese Gnade nicht gegeben, daß der Verstand dieses ungebildeten Mannes die Weisheit der gelehrten Menschenmenge übertreffen soll“, Geoffrey Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, Prologue, 573–75. (c. 1400).
- 2_ M. D. Knowles, *Monastic Order in England*, p. 114-5
- 3_ Facta est ecclesia S. Albani quasi schola religionis et disciplinaris observantiae per totum regnum Angliae. *Gesta Abbatum*, ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Series 1867, v. 1 p. 52. Hereafter *Gesta*. Matthew Paris was clothed in 1217, so born between 1190 & 1200. He died in 1259.
- 4_ W. Page, *Victoria County History*, Hertfordshire, 1914, v. 4 p. 372; *Gesta* 1,50.
- 5_ Nullum nisi genere clarum, vel saltem legitimum, in monachatum admisit, asserens ignobiles et illegitimos, ignotos maxime, et instabiles, ad enormia fore proniores. *Gesta* 1,31.
- 6_ Et, ut dicitur, postea in brevi migravit ab incolatu huius mundi, potionatus, cum odio Conventus, et maledictione. *Gesta* 1,10.
- 7_ This was first printed under the direction of Clement Reyner, a member of my own Community and later the first Abbot of Lamspringe, in *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, Douai 1626, Appendix, p. 211. (Modern edition, ed D. Knowles, 1951).
- 8_ Earlier in the eleventh century England, Denmark (including) Norway were joined under one king, Cnut (1018–35).
- 9_ They both have purely Germanic names. Anselm means ‘the protection of God’: curiously this is the meaning of the place-name in Lorraine/Lothringen, Dieulouard (Dei Custodia) where my community took shelter from English persecution from 1608, until chased out by French revolutionary persecution in 1793.
- 10_ Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 114; *Gesta* 1,62, »qui eundem Paulum filiali dilexit amore.« This is natural enough, and needs no imputation. Many of us have nephews.

- ¹¹ _ Vir religiosus et eleganter literatus; in observantia ... rigidus et prudens ... [quam] paulatim, ne repentina mutatio tumultum generaret, reformavit ... Facta est ecclesia sancti Albani quasi schola religionis et disciplinaris observantiae per totum regnum Angliae. Unde odor bonae famae huius ecclesiae Romanam curiam et remota regna illustrando pervolvit, et multorum corda feliciter ei inclinavit. *Gesta* 1,52.
- ¹² _ Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 186.
- ¹³ _ Hic suscepit curam pastorem ... determinata lite quae in conventu exorta fuerat inter Normannos, qui jam multiplicati invaluerunt, et Anglos, qui, jam senescentes et imminuti, occubuerant, anno quinto sequente. *Gesta* 1,66.
- ¹⁴ _ Wilhelmus Rex – immo tyrannus – ultione divina obiit sagittatus. *Gesta* 1,67.
- ¹⁵ _ Unde in principio Missae pingitur eius imago ad pedes maiestatis, quae aureis litteris et penna scriptis intitulatur. *Gesta* 1,70.
- ¹⁶ _ Prosperabatur igitur domus ista, et vixit. Et floruit ordo monasticus, emanans e claustro Sancti Albani, ita ut aliae quasi candela illuminatae informarentur. *Gesta* 1,69.
- ¹⁷ _ Knowles, *Monastic Order in England*, (1963), p. 89.
- ¹⁸ _ *Ibid*, p. 189.
- ¹⁹ _ Ex illustri Cenomanensium et Normanorum progenie exortus, ... vocatus ab Abbate Ricardo dum adhuc secularis esset ut scholam apud S'm Albanum regeret. *Gesta* 1,72-3.
- ²⁰ _ le 1119–1123: see C. Dodwell, 'Note on the date of the St Albans Psalter' in O. Pächt, C. Dodwell & F. Wormald, *The St Albans Psalter*, 1960, p. 278–80.
- ²¹ _ Legit igitur apud Dunestapliam, expectans scholam S. Albani sibi repromissam ... ubi quemdam ludum de S. Katerina, quem miraculum vulgariter appellamus, fecit. *Gesta* 1,73.

- ²² _ Casu igitur nocte sequenti accensa est domus Magistri Gaufridi, et combusta est domus, cum libris suis et capis memoratis. *Gesta* 1,73.
- ²³ _ This matter discussed in Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 2 ed. (1963), p. 754.
- ²⁴ _ His vero triginta solidis per hebdomadam adjecit ... quinque solidos qualibet hebdomada. *Gesta* 1,74. This passage ('inter cellararium monachorum et cellararium curiae' sc. abbatis) has some useful information about the double financial system & kitchen supplies.
- ²⁵ _ Laminas argenteas, sed nondum deauratas, cum quibusdam gemmis incastonatis fecit avelli, et onmni redegit in numismata. Et emi iussit victualia ut pauperes inde sustentarentur, fame tabescentes. *Gesta* 1,82.
- ²⁶ _ That is, 1077–1235: Knowles et al., *The Heads of religious houses in England and Wales 940–1216*, 1972, p. 67.
- ²⁷ _ A. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture I: Before the Conquest* (1930), p. 77.
- ²⁸ _ Et honestatem religiosam claustrum Sancti Albani cum vidisset ... *Gesta* 1,84.
- ²⁹ _ *Monastic Order*, p. 537.
- ³⁰ _ 1,97 ff.
- ³¹ _ Qui cum examinatus et insufficiens inveniretur, dixit ei satis civiliter, 'Expecta, fili, et adhuc scholam exerce, ut aptior habearis.' This is just the sort of thing Abbots say in our own time ('Go to University first') *Gesta* 1.112.
- ³² _ Omnes socios discendo superavit ... electus est in Cardinalem, et postea in Papam. *ibid.*
- ³³ _ Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, v. 3, p. 7.

- 34_ The others were Tavistock and Abingdon, *ibid.* V. 3, p. 25
- 35_ This is discussed in some detail in J. Clark, 'Reformation and Reaction at St Albans Abbey 1530–58', *English Historical Review*, 115:2 (2000), 296–328.
- 36_ *Acts of General Chapter*, v. 1, p. 10; Allanson copy c. 1850, Ampleforth archive JX37.
- 37_ Abbot Maurus' oath (27 April 1767), Ampleforth Abbey archives A261-6. As he was elected in 1762, he was somewhat slow in fulfilling his obligation. St Albans was made an Anglican bishopric only in 1877.
- 38_ Many good examples in R. Vaughan ed., *The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris*, 1993.
- 39_ 'Controlled their hats'. Chaucer, *Prologue to Canterbury Tales*, 586 (ed. F. Robinson 1933).
- 40_ A. Cramer, ed., *Lamspringe: an English Abbey in Germany*, 2004, p. 124 n. 8.
- 41_ A. Cramer, *Sigebert Buckley, monk of Westminster: the benedictine link*, 2007, p. 7; J. Clark, 'Reformation and Reaction at St Albans Abbey 1530–58', *English Historical Review*, 115:2 (2000), 296–328.
- 42_ 'Processu vero conversationis et fidei, dilatato corde inenanarrabili dilectionis dulcedine curritur via mandatorum Dei.' Conclusion of the Prologue to the Rule.