

# Knowledge of the writings of John Cassian in early Anglo-Saxon England

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The writings of John Cassian (c. 370–c. 435) circulated widely through the Middle Ages, not least in Anglo-Saxon England. They are commonly assumed by scholars to have been fundamental to the formation of western monasticism,<sup>1</sup> yet it is worth examining the nature and extent of their usage a little more closely. The following discussion considers this usage in Anglo-Latin sources between the later seventh century and the mid-eighth.

Cassian was probably born in the Dobroudja region in Scythia.<sup>2</sup> At a young age, he entered a monastic community in Bethlehem with his older friend, Germanus. After about three years there, the pair travelled to Egypt where they remained for approximately the next fifteen years. They probably left Egypt in 399, in the company of around 300 other Origenist monks escaping from the Anthropomorphic controversy provoked by Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria. These monks went first to Palestine, and some, including Germanus and Cassian, eventually went on to Constantinople to appeal to the patriarch, John Chrysostom, for protection. Germanus and Cassian were ordained into Chrysostom's clergy and served in this capacity until Chrysostom's final fall in 404. It bears noting that during this period, Germanus was a more prominent figure than Cassian: whereas Cassian was ordained to the diaconate, Germanus was ordained to the priesthood, and served as one of Chrysostom's representatives both at the Synod of the Oak (403) and (together with Cassian and several bishops) in an embassy to Rome.<sup>3</sup> Cassian's movements during the next ten years are unknown, though it is possible that he passed this time as a priest in Antioch. Around 415, he arrived in Marseille where, a few years later, he is credited with founding two monastic

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, A. de Vogüé, 'Les mentions des œuvres de Cassien chez saint Benoît et ses contemporains', *Studia Monastica* 20 (1978), 275–85, at 285.

<sup>2</sup> Following H.-I. Marrou ('La patrie de Jean Cassien', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 13 (1947), 588–96), although some scholars assume a Gallic origin. Among studies of Cassian, see M. Olphe-Galliard, 'Jean Cassien', *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique* II, cols. 214–76; O. Chadwick, *John Cassian*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1968); P. Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority and the Church: In the Age of Jerome and Cassian* (Oxford, 1978); and C. Stewart, *Cassian the Monk* (New York, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> Palladius, *Dialogue sur la vie de Jean Chrysostome*, ed. with French trans. by A.-M. Malingrey and P. Leclercq, 2 vols., Sources chrétiennes 341–2 (Paris, 1988) I, 76, 170–2; II, 74.

communities, one for men and another for women.<sup>4</sup> There, he wrote two works on the monastic life, the *De institutis* and the *Conlationes*, and another work against Nestorius, the *De incarnatione*.<sup>5</sup> We learn from the prefaces to these works that they were apparently commissioned from him by several Gallic bishops and monks and by Leo (later Pope Leo I). Cassian is commonly supposed to have died c. 435.

THE WRITINGS OF CASSIAN

The *De institutis* is divided into twelve books. The first four consist of accounts of the dress of the Egyptian monks and of their observance of the daily prayers, and a collection of provisions about the organization of a monastic community. The remaining eight books discuss the eight principal vices which the monk encounters in his vocation. Bks I–IV were sometimes used in the composition of early continental monastic rules or adapted as a rule themselves.<sup>6</sup> Yet, while many early medieval writers were interested in the paradigm of the eight principal vices, they tended to use Cassian's *Conlatio* V, and often display no knowledge of his more extensive treatment of the subject in *De institutis* bks V–XII and elsewhere in the *Conlationes*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Gennadius, *De viris illustribus* c. lxii (*Hieronymus liber de viris illustribus – Gennadius liber de viris illustribus*, ed. E. C. Richardson, Texte und Untersuchungen 14.1 (Leipzig, 1896), 82).

<sup>5</sup> *Iohannis Cassiani de Institutis Coenobiorum et de Octo Principalium Vitiolorum Remediis libri XII, De Incarnatione domini contra Nestorium libri VII*, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 17 (Vienna, 1888); *Iohannis Cassiani Conlationes XXVIII*, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 13 (Vienna, 1886); *The Works of John Cassian*, trans. E. C. S. Gibson, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 2nd ser. 11 (Oxford, 1894), 163–621. The *Conlationes* have again been recently translated: *John Cassian: the Conferences*, trans. B. Ramsey (New York, 1997).

<sup>6</sup> References to the writings of Cassian in the *Vita vel regula sanctorum patrum Romani Lupicini et Eugendi monasteriorum Iurensium abbatum* (written c. 515: *Vie des pères du Jura*, ed. with French trans. by F. Martine, Sources chrétiennes 142 (Paris, 1968), 426–8), and to a Rule in Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, X.29 (*Gregorii episcopi Turonensis Libri historiarum X*, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH, SRM 1 (Hanover, 1951), 523), are probably general references to Cassian, even where the word 'regula' is used, while two versions of an actual *Regula Cassiani* are known from a later period: extracts from one version of forty-three paragraphs are included in Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum* (*Benedicti Anianensis Concordia regularum*, ed. P. Bonnerue, CCCM 168–168A (Turnhout, 1999)); H. Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln* (Munich, 1906), pp. 70–84. A second version, extant in an early-tenth-century Spanish *codex regularum*, has been edited by H. Ledoyen, 'La "Regula Cassiani" du Clm 28118 et la règle anonyme de l'Escorial A.I.13. Présentation et édition', *RB* 94 (1984), 154–94. The dates of the original composition of these two 'rules' are not known.

<sup>7</sup> From the example of Eutropius, a sixth-century bishop of Valencia, it is evident that *Conlatio* V could be extracted and used independently of the remainder of his writings. Eutropius's adaptation of *Conlatio* V (*Epistola de octo vitiis*) is in PL 80, cols. 9–14, and has been edited more recently by M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Anecdota Wisigothica* 1 (Salamanca, 1958), 9–35. The possible use

## *Knowledge of the writings of John Cassian*

The *Conlationes* were published in three parts: bks I–X, XI–XVII and XVIII–XXIV. Each of the twenty-four ‘conversations’ ostensibly records a discussion between an experienced *abba*, and Germanus and Cassian as younger disciples. The subjects covered concern the vices, the spiritual goals of the monastic life, renunciation, prayer, the grace of God, the Bible, miracles, friendship, penitence, and coenobitism and anchoritism. The *De institutis* seem to have circulated only as a single book, but the *Conlationes* sometimes circulated in a single manuscript and sometimes in their three separate groups; some *conlationes* may also have been copied separately.<sup>8</sup>

This study examines five authors and texts: in three of these, the usage of Cassian’s writings is clear and unequivocal, while in the other two it must be admitted to be less certain. A literary analysis of the usage of Cassian’s writings by early medieval authors sometimes encounters significant critical difficulties which, however, it is not necessary to resume here, given the generally

of Eucherius’s *epitome* of Cassian’s *De institutis* (so printed in PL 50, cols. 867–94, but this text may not be the work of Eucherius) by later writers has not yet been explored by scholars; a Fulda catalogue dating from the late eighth or early ninth century includes an entry for Cassian under the designation of Eucherius (see P. Lehmann, *Fuldaer Studien* (Munich, 1925), pp. 50–1). Cassian derived his schema of the eight vices from Evagrius Ponticus, whose schema is almost identical; a number of works by Evagrius were translated into Latin by Rufinus, Gennadius, and other anonymous writers. A Latin translation of the *De octo spiritibus malitiae* is apparently still unedited, but may also have been a source for Latin writers (Greek text in PG 79, cols. 1145–64); see *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique ou Le moine*, ed. with French trans. by A. and C. Guillaumont, 2 vols. Sources chrétiennes 170–1 (Paris, 1971) I, 318–19.

<sup>8</sup> According to the notice in E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: a Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 11 vols. and Supplement (Oxford, 1934–71, 2nd ed. of vol. II, 1972), Suppl., no. 1772, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 560 (fols. A, 1–96) (Lorsch, s. viii<sup>ex</sup>), this apparently undamaged manuscript contains only *Conlationes* III–V and VII–X; on Lorsch manuscripts, see also immediately below. An exchange of letters between Fructuosus of Braga and Braulio of Saragossa in 651 shows that Fructuosus had a copy of *Conlationes* XVIII–XXIV, but that he had been unable to procure a copy of *Conlationes* I–X and XI–XVII in the Iberian peninsula, or in southern Gaul either (*Epistulae* XLIII–XLIV: *Epistolario de san Braulio. Introducción, edición crítica, y traducción*, ed. L. Riesco Terrero (Seville, 1975), pp. 164–6 and 178). Cassian himself envisages the possibility that readers may not have copies of all of his books: see *De institutis* II.ix (CSEL 17, 24–5); *Conlationes* XX.i.1 (CSEL 13, 554). Such examples suggest that a demonstrable knowledge of *some* of the *Conlationes* in an author does not therefore prove a knowledge of *all* of Cassian’s writings. On the other hand, the manuscript Kassel, Landesbibliothek, Manuskripten – Anhang 18 (Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, VIII, no. 1143), while consisting of two folios containing *Conlationes* VII.xxx–VIII.i written in Anglo-Saxon minuscule and dated s. viii<sup>2</sup>, is nonetheless a fragment and cannot be taken as evidence that these two conferences circulated independently. Some later evidence also suggests that individual *conlationes* were copied: *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, ed. G. Becker (Bonn, 1885), p. 72, no. 577 (Bobbio: *Conlationes* XI–XIII?), pp. 111–12, no. 467 (= p. 124, no. 104, both Lorsch), p. 129, no. 511 (Regensburg: *Conlatio* XVIII or XIV?), all from the tenth century; and see below, n. 56.

unproblematic nature of the examples considered.<sup>9</sup> It should nonetheless be observed that while all of the following examples emanate from monastic contexts, with the possible exception of the anonymous *Vita S. Cuthberti*, none of them offers any evidence for Cassian's alleged influence on the development of monastic practice, which was arguably less considerable than is often supposed.

CASSIAN AS A SOURCE FOR ANGLO-SAXON AUTHORS

*The Leiden Glossary*

The earliest Anglo-Saxon evidence for a knowledge of Cassian is to be found in the 'Leiden Glossary'.<sup>10</sup> This is the most important member of a group of some twenty-five glossaries and fragments dating from the ninth century to the fourteenth. Of these, the 'Leiden Glossary' is one of the earliest, and therefore closest to the point of origin; it is also one of the most extensive. It is preserved in a manuscript which was probably copied at St Gallen c. 800, but it has been argued that it was originally a product of the school of Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury in the last decades of the seventh century.<sup>11</sup> It consists of forty-eight chapters or lists of words extracted from a range of patristic literature and biblical books; in several instances, there are two or three chapters of *lemmata* from the same source: these include chs. xxxiv (with fifty-five words) and xlvi (with seventy-four words), both drawn from Cassian's *De institutis*.

A full critical analysis of this glossary remains to be made, but a few observations emerge from a consideration of chs. xxxiv and xlvi. If we combine the evidence of these two chapters, we find that *lemmata* (*glossae collectae*) have been taken from every book of the *De institutis* except from bk IX (the shortest, excepting the Preface).<sup>12</sup> The glosses consist in only one or several words, which is perhaps surprising: in other chapters, and also in the biblical glosses recently edited by Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge,<sup>13</sup> glosses are some-

<sup>9</sup> The present article is based on parts of my dissertation: S. M. Lake, 'The Influence of John Cassian on Early Continental and Insular Monasticism to c. A.D. 817' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Cambridge Univ., 1996), in which some critical difficulties are also discussed at greater length. A revised version of this dissertation is currently being prepared for publication.

<sup>10</sup> *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary preserved in the Library of the Leiden University* (*MS. Voss. Q<sup>o</sup> Lat. No. 69*), ed. J. H. Hessels (Cambridge, 1906).

<sup>11</sup> M. Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', *ASE* 15 (1986), 45–72.

<sup>12</sup> Hessels also sources one *lemma* each to the *Conlationes* (XXIV.xxvi.3: lemma xlvi.9) and the *De incarnatione* (Vi.1 ad fin.: lemma xlvi.30). These may be intrusions introduced at some later stage of compilation.

<sup>13</sup> *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, ed. B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge, CSASE 10 (Cambridge, 1994).

times considerably longer and often include personal observations. One might also have expected some more lengthy remarks on glosses drawn from a text reflecting eastern monasticism, with which Theodore was acquainted at first hand.

The *lemmata* are not drawn from the books of *De institutis* in their sequence; rather, the words are usually in the order in which they are found only within any one book. Thus, for example, ch. xxxiv begins with *lemmata* from *De institutis* II, then proceeds through IV, VI, X, XI, VIII, XII and, finally, V. Some words are out of the sequence in which they occur within the relevant book of the *De institutis*.<sup>14</sup> A majority of the books have been glossed twice, once in ch. xxxiv and then again in ch. xlviij,<sup>15</sup> and several words have been glossed in both chapters.<sup>16</sup>

Ch. xlviij has the appearance at first sight of being considerably more disordered than ch. xxxiv. Seven glosses cannot be identified in Cassian's writings,<sup>17</sup> several *lemmata* have no gloss,<sup>18</sup> and several duplicate each other within this chapter.<sup>19</sup> Yet, at various points, a pattern emerges: for example, nos. 20–9 are drawn from *De institutis* V, then from the Preface, then again from V, then from the Preface, then V – I – V – I – V – I – as if they were two sets of *lemmata*, perhaps written by different students, which had been intertwined.

We do not know exactly how this glossary was compiled, whether by students working alone through a text with some assistance from a master, or whether they are lecture notes taken down 'viva voce'. Yet we can suggest that these entries are the work of a number of students and have been, in the 'Leiden Glossary', put together in some sort of order from various bundles of notes. The glossary illustrates the careful reading of Cassian for the purpose of learning Latin.<sup>20</sup>

It might be possible to approach the identification of the manuscript of

<sup>14</sup> e.g. chs. xxxiv.28–35, 43–6, 50–1, 53–4; xlviij.27–9.

<sup>15</sup> *De institutis* II, IV, V, VI, VIII, XI and XII.

<sup>16</sup> chs. xxxiv.35 and xlviij.20, xxxiv.40 and xlviij.19, xxxiv.50 and xlviij.35, xxxiv.31 and xlviij.44, xxxiv.39 and xlviij.39, 68. Many *lemmata* from these two chapters also repeat words glossed in other chapters: for a list, see Lake, 'The Influence of John Cassian', p. 200, n. 97.

<sup>17</sup> xlviij.51, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61 and 71 (note the pattern), as against two in ch. xxxiv: 24 and 25.

<sup>18</sup> xlviij.41 and 64. xlviij.40, 54 and 55 are glossed with Old English words, but there are no vernacular glosses in ch. xxxiv. The entire glossary contains about 250 Old English explanations.

<sup>19</sup> xlviij.14 and 36, 22 and 52, 41 and 68; cf. 31, 33, 67.

<sup>20</sup> Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 67–72, lists twenty-seven continental manuscripts, not including major English glossaries related to the 'Leiden family'. Of these, four include one or both of the chapters here containing the Cassian glosses: St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 299, s. ix<sup>ex</sup> (both chs. xxxiv and xlviij; this manuscript was also copied at St Gallen); Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 32, s. x<sup>med</sup> (ch. xxxiv); Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup, s. xi<sup>1</sup> (ch. xxxiv); Sélestat, Bibliothèque municipale, 7 (100), s. xii<sup>mit</sup> (both chs. xxxiv and xlviij).

Cassian's *De institutis* from which the *lemmata* were drawn. A number of *lemmata* (e.g. xlvi.23, 26, 33, 43 and 69) occur in variant forms found only in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 12292, a late-ninth- or early-tenth-century manuscript. This manuscript was copied at Lorsch, but was at Corbie in the twelfth century, and is considered an inferior witness to the text of Cassian.<sup>21</sup> This manuscript may be a relative of that used at Canterbury. Admittedly, Latin spelling was not consistent, and as the students may have written from spoken instruction, spelling might not be a reliable indicator of the manuscript used. Nonetheless, this group of variant readings arguably constitutes a representative consistency sufficient to warrant the conclusion that a predecessor of this manuscript was used.

*Aldhelm, 'De Virginitate'*

Contemporary with the Leiden Glossary is Aldhelm's use of Cassian in his *opus geminatum*, the *De uirginitate*. There are four passages in which he seems to have drawn material from Cassian. First, Aldhelm employs nautical imagery which resembles that of Cassian.<sup>22</sup> While such imagery is pervasive throughout the Middle Ages, and therefore cannot always be used as evidence of borrowing between authors, here the inference of derivation is reasonable.<sup>23</sup>

Secondly, in speaking of Basil of Caesarea, he says that Basil claimed to have known no woman and yet he was not a virgin: 'is, inquam, quod integritatis gratia incorruptus corporaliter floruerit, ex ipsius elogio coniecturam capesso ita prosequentis: *Et feminam non cognosco et uirgo non sum*'.<sup>24</sup> This 'saying' occurs in Cassian, *De institutis* VI.xix: 'Fertur sancti Basili Caesariensis episcopi districta sententia: *et mulierem, inquit, ignoro, et uirgo non sum*. In tantum intellexit incorruptionem carnis non tam in mulieris esse abstinentia quam in integritate

<sup>21</sup> Cf. B. Bischoff, 'Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften', *Die Reichsabtei Lorsch*, ed. F. Knöpp, 2 vols. (Darmstadt, 1973–7) II, 7–128, at 46.

<sup>22</sup> See esp. prose *De uirginitate*, chs. X, XIX and LIX, and *Carmen de uirginitate*, lines 2804–11 (*Aldhelmi Opera Omnia*, ed. R. Ehwald, MGH, Auct. Ant. 15 (Berlin, 1919), 238, 248, 320–1 and 466–7 respectively).

<sup>23</sup> On the use of such imagery, cf. for example, E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, 2nd ed. (Bern, 1954), pp. 138–41; M. Winterbottom, 'Variations on a Nautical Theme', *Hermathena* 120 (1976), 55–8; and Lake, 'The Influence of John Cassian', esp. pp. 125–6, to which numerous other examples could be added. On Aldhelm's use of Gildas, see N. Wright, 'Aldhelm, Gildas, and Acircius', in his *History and Literature in Late Antiquity and the Early Medieval West: Studies in Intertextuality* (Aldershot, 1995), no. XIV.

<sup>24</sup> 'That this Basil, I say, flourished corporeally incorrupt, by virtue of his integrity, I shall understand as an interpretation of his own maxim, as follows: "I do not know a woman, and yet I am not a virgin"' (prose *De uirginitate*, ch. XXVII: ed. Ehwald, pp. 263–4; trans. M. Lapidge and M. Herren, *Aldhelm: the Prose Works* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 86). Cf. also *Carmen de uirginitate*, lines 746–50 (ed. Ehwald, p. 384).

cordis, quae uere incorruptam perpetuo sanctimoniam corporis uel timore Dei uel castitatis amore custodit.<sup>25</sup> In spite of some verbal dissimilarities (for example, ‘feminam’ for ‘mulierem’, ‘corporis’ for ‘carnis’), the fact which makes this derivation from Cassian certain is that this saying has not been identified in any of Basil’s writings, and apparently can only have been mediated to Aldhelm via Cassian.<sup>26</sup>

Thirdly, Aldhelm presents a four-fold paradigm for the interpretation of the Bible: ‘sollicita intentione scrutando, nunc quadrifaria evangelicae relationis dicta mysticis catholicorum patrum commentariis exposita et ad medullam usque spiritaliter enucleata ac quadriformis ecclesiasticae traditionis normulis secundum historiam, allegoriam, tropologiam, anagogen digesta solerter indagando’.<sup>27</sup> A three-fold hermeneutical paradigm was also in currency, originating in the West with Augustine’s *De doctrina christiana*, but Aldhelm has certainly used Cassian, who was the first Latin writer to elaborate the four-fold paradigm, in *Conlationes* XIV.viii.1–3:

Sed ad expositionem scientiae de qua sumptum est sermonis exordium reuertamur. Itaque sicut superius diximus [πρακτικῇ] erga multas professiones ac studia deriuatur, [θεωρητικῇ] uero in duas diuiditur partes, id est in historicam interpretationem et intelligentiam spiritalem . . . spiritalis autem scientiae genera sunt tria, tropologia, allegoria, anagoge . . . itaque historia praeteritarum ac usibillum agnitionem complectitur rerum . . . ad allegoriam autem pertinent quae sequuntur, quia ea quae in ueritate gesta sunt alterius sacramenti formam praefigurasse dicuntur . . . anagoge uero de spiritalibus mysteriis ad sublimiora quaedam et sacratiores caelorum secreta

<sup>25</sup> ‘This severe saying from St Basil, bishop of Caesarea, has been reported: “I have not known a woman, and yet nonetheless I am not a virgin.” He understood that the incorruption of the flesh lies less in abstaining from contact with women, than in that purity of heart which is true incorruptibility, and which preserves the body holy in the fear of God and love of chastity’ (CSEL 17, 125–6; my translation). Cassian expresses the same idea elsewhere, and it is also found, for example, in Columbanus, *Regula monachorum* VI (*Sancti Columbani Opera*, ed. G. S. M. Walker, *Scriptores latini hiberniae* 2 (Dublin, 1957), 128); Jerome, *Epistula* XXII.xxxviii (CSEL 54, 202–5), *et al.*

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, p. 264 n.; Jean Cassien, *Institutiones cénobitiques*, ed. with French trans. by J.-Cl. Guy, *Sources chrétiennes* 109 (Paris, 1965), 285, n. 2. At *De institutis* VII.xix, Cassian records another saying of Basil. A small number of sayings of Basil are recorded in the Greek collections of *apophthegmata*, but these are not among them; I have not found the saying from *De institutis* VI.xix in the earliest Latin collection of the *Verba seniorum*, but that from *De institutis* VII.xix occurs as saying VI.x in PL 73, col. 890.

<sup>27</sup> ‘Now, exploring wisely the fourfold text of the evangelical story, expounded through the mystical commentaries of the catholic fathers and laid open spiritually to the very core and divided up by the rules of the fourfold ecclesiastical tradition according to historia, allegoria, tropologia, and anagoge’ (prose *De uirginitate*, ch. IV: ed. Ehwald, p. 232; trans. Lapidge and Herren, p. 62). Cf. also, for example, prose *De uirginitate*, chs. XV *ad fin.* and XLIV (ed. Ehwald, pp. 245 and 298).

conscendens . . . tropologia est moralis explanatio ad emundationem uitae et instructionem pertinens actualem.<sup>28</sup>

Fourthly, the most extensive use of Cassian by Aldhelm occurs in his presentation of the eight principal vices, although he also adapts other sources. In the prefatory remarks of the prose *De uirginitate*, Aldhelm presents this theme as part of his theoretical discussion of virginity.<sup>29</sup> This section is not directly paralleled in the metrical version, but the latter does conclude with a long résumé of all of the vices against which virginity must fight.<sup>30</sup> Aldhelm's overall treatment and effect in these accounts differs from Cassian, but it is based in part upon *Conlatio* V, and appeals to him explicitly, along with Gregory the Great's handling of the principal vices in his *Moralia in Iob*, which Aldhelm himself seems to recognize as also partly indebted to Cassian.<sup>31</sup>

*The Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert*

The anonymous *Vita S. Cuthberti* (III.i) contains a possible verbal echo from Cassian. Speaking of Cuthbert's move to Lindisfarne and his life there, the writer says: 'Viuens quoque ibi secundum sanctam scripturam, *contemplatiuam* uitam in *actuali* agens.'<sup>32</sup> Compare, for example, Cassian's phrasing: 'cuius quidem duplex scientia est: prima [*πρακτικῆ*], id est *actualis*, quae emendatione morum et uitiorum purgatione perficitur: altera [*θεωρητικῆ*], quae in

<sup>28</sup> 'But to return to the explanation of the knowledge from which our discourse took its rise. Thus, as we said above, *practical* knowledge is distributed among many subjects and interests, but *theoretical* is divided into two parts, i.e., the historical interpretation and the spiritual sense . . . But of spiritual knowledge there are three kinds, tropological, allegorical, anagogical . . . and so the history embraces the knowledge of things past and visible . . . But to the allegory belongs what follows, for what actually happened is said to have prefigured the form of some mystery . . . But the anagogical sense rises from spiritual mysteries even to still more sublime and sacred secrets of heaven . . . The tropological sense is the moral explanation which has to do with improvement of life and practical teaching' (CSEL 13, 404–5; trans. Gibson, pp. 437–8). Cassian's explanation is interspersed with biblical examples; this same account is also used by Bede (see below, n. 47). On this paradigm, see, for example, H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'écriture* I.1, *Théologie* 41 (1959), esp. 190–3; B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1983), pp. 1–36, esp. 27–8.

<sup>29</sup> Prose *De uirginitate*, ch. XIII (ed. Ehwald, p. 241).

<sup>30</sup> *Carmen de uirginitate*, lines 2446–761 (ed. Ehwald, pp. 452–65). In some manuscripts, the final section of the metrical *De uirginitate* is known as *De octo uitiiis principalibus*, which is the same title as the last eight books of Cassian's *De institutis*.

<sup>31</sup> In the prose *De uirginitate*, ch. XIII, Aldhelm refers to 'the ten books of the *Collationes patrum* composed by Cassian', which presumably denotes a manuscript containing only *Conlationes* I–X; given his use of *Conlatio* XIV, he obviously also had, at the very least, a copy of this conference.

<sup>32</sup> 'He dwelt there also according to Holy Scripture, following the contemplative amid the active life' (*Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: a Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 94–5). This life was written between 698 and 705.



*contemplatione diuinarum rerum et sacratissimorum sensuum cognitione consistit*.<sup>33</sup>

The phrase ‘actualis vita’ has been taken to be an echo of Cassian.<sup>34</sup> This use of ‘actualis’ is first attested from the fourth century AD notably, though not exclusively, by Cassian in a variety of applications.<sup>35</sup> The phrase ‘actualis vita’ here, in relation to the ‘vita contemplativa’, is obviously used in the sense of ‘the active life’. The Christian concept of the active life at this time was flexible, and could mean a life in the world with all of its obligations and difficulties in contrast to a life of retirement such as the monastic life, but also the first stages of the contemplative life itself during which the vices are uprooted from the soul, before which one cannot contemplate God without spiritual disturbance. Cassian’s understanding is not so often encountered in early medieval authors, but a more simple contrast between the active and the contemplative lives is frequent.

The two quotations above are not parallel: the anonymous author seems to imply the former sense of the active life, while Cassian clearly describes the latter, and the relevant noun is not ‘vita’ but ‘scientia’, which is in fact more common in Cassian. Furthermore, the anonymous author seems to display no other echo of Cassian. It would therefore appear that he is either echoing another author or text,<sup>36</sup> or that he is appealing to a more pervasive conception which at best may owe something in its origins to Cassian.<sup>37</sup> Another possibility is that

<sup>33</sup> ‘And the knowledge of [the principles of our religion] is twofold: first, [πρακτική], i.e., practical, which is brought about by an improvement of morals and purification from faults: secondly, [θεωρητική], which consists in the contemplation of things Divine and the knowledge of most sacred thoughts’ (*Conlationes* XIV.i.3: CSEL 13, 398–9; trans. Gibson, p. 435). Interestingly, the *Vita S. Fursei* XXVIII (*Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. W. W. Heist (Brussels, 1965), p. 49), uses the phrase ‘theoretica vita’.

<sup>34</sup> Chadwick, *John Cassian*, p. 149, n. 1, took the phrase ‘actualis vita’ here as an echo of Cassian. Cf. also, for example, Isidore, *Sententiae* III.15 (*Santos padres españoles*, II, *San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso*, ed. J. Campos Ruiz and I. Roca Meliá (Madrid, 1971), pp. 440–2), who gives a slightly different definition of the active and the contemplative lives, but who also uses the phrase ‘actualis vita’. On Cassian’s understanding of contemplation, see M. Olphe-Galliard, ‘Vie contemplative et vie active d’après Cassien’, *Revue d’ascétique et de mystique* 16 (1935), 252–88.

<sup>35</sup> *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig, 1900–) I, col. 448 s.v. The use of ‘actualis’ occurs in *De institutis* V.xxxiii.1 (CSEL 17, 106: ‘actualis vita’); *Conlationes* I.i, IV.x.3, VI.i.2, X.viii.1, XIII.vii.3, XIV.ix.5, XV.ii.2 and XXI.xxxiv.4 (CSEL 13, 7, 104–5, 154, 296, 370, 408–9, 428 and 612).

<sup>36</sup> The phrase also occurs e.g. in Aldhelm, *Ep. ad Gerontium* (ed. Ehwald, p. 481), and in Julianus Pomerius, *De vita contemplativa* III.xxvii (PL 59, col. 509), which may echo Macrobius, *Comm. in Somnium Scipionis* II.xvii.5 (*Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobii Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig, 1970), p. 151); immediately following, Macrobius speaks of the active and contemplative lives.

<sup>37</sup> In his prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* (ch. XVII), Bede makes a different distinction, while his parallel account (ch. XVI) differs from the Anonymous’ (III.i) quoted above (ed. Colgrave, pp. 206–13, 214–15, and endnotes, pp. 324–5 and 349).

he is imitating Gregory the Great, who speaks on several occasions in the *Dialogi* of being in the presence of God in contemplation, while yet still on earth in the body.<sup>38</sup>

*Augustine of Canterbury, Responsio IX*

There is a possible influence of Cassian on the ninth *Responsio* from Pope Gregory to Augustine in Canterbury. According to Deanesly and Grosjean, the *Libellus responsionum* was probably the work of Nothhelm in Canterbury, who expanded at length an original and shorter letter by Gregory, and *Responsio IX* is principally the work of Nothhelm rather than of Gregory.<sup>39</sup> If this is so, then it may provide further evidence of the study of Cassian in Canterbury.

The ninth question asks whether a priest should celebrate the mass on the morning after he has had a nocturnal seminal emission.<sup>40</sup> With some reservations, the *Responsio* agrees that a priest may then celebrate the mass, or at least partake of it. The answer gives three causes for such an emission: gluttony, an excess of natural humours or infirmity, and a disturbance of thoughts. If it has occurred through an excess of humours or weakness, then it is not a serious matter, as it was not willed by the mind. If it has occurred because of gluttony or an overburdening of the natural receptacles of the humours, then the priest may receive the sacrament, but ought not to offer the mass if another can do so in his stead; some guilt attaches to the fact that one indulged in gluttony, even if no lust was experienced. However, if it resulted from disturbed thoughts which one experienced first while awake, then the mind is clearly at fault.

An aetiology of sin is then constructed. There are three stages leading to sin which are to be distinguished: by suggestion, by pleasure and by consent. A temptation does not result in a sin being committed, unless the flesh delights in the act and the spirit consents to it; yet even so, there can be conflict between physical delight and the struggle of the mind against that delight. The discussion ends by quoting St Paul: 'I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin, which is in my members' (Romans VII.23).

Deanesly and Grosjean believed that this *Responsio* bears some resemblance in form to the *Sententiae* of Isidore and that its content may be indebted to

<sup>38</sup> E.g. *Dialogi*, Praefatio, III.xvii.8–13, III.xxxiv: *Grégoire le Grand, Dialogues*, ed. with French trans. by A. de Vogüé and P. Antin, 3 vols., Sources chrétiennes 251, 260 and 265 (Paris, 1978, 1979, 1980) II, 10–14, 340–2 and 400–4. Gregory does not here use the phrase 'vita actualis'.

<sup>39</sup> M. Deanesly and P. Grosjean, 'The Canterbury Edition of the Answers of Pope Gregory I to St Augustine', *JEH* 10 (1959), 1–49. I am not sure that R. Meens, 'A Background to Augustine's Mission to Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 23 (1994), 5–17, has completely succeeded in discounting Deanesly and Grosjean's argument.

<sup>40</sup> *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1991), pp. 98–102.

Gregory the Great. They were unable to offer any direct parallel, however, except the following: 'Sed sciendum nobis est quia *tribus modis* tentatio agitur, *suggestione, delectatione et consensu*.'<sup>41</sup>

In its explanation of the three forms of temptation, this parallel is exact, though there is little similarity between the two texts beyond this point. Unfortunately, the context of Gregory's statement has nothing to do with nocturnal emissions and the homily is unlikely to have been directly referred to in preparing the *Responsio*. We must therefore suppose that this categorization by Gregory was familiar by other means: for example, that it was given in the letter which Nothhelm then expanded.

There is another possible source for the *Responsio*: Cassian, *Conlatio XXII, De nocturnis inlusionibus*. Although I have found no exact verbal parallel, Cassian's discussion does involve a number of broader similarities. Three causes are given for assaults on a monk, and particularly when he experiences a nocturnal seminal emission: an excess of eating, a lack of vigilance, or a direct attack of the devil by the stimulation of illusions. Cassian's treatment of the subject aims to instruct the monk in appropriate disciplines which will ultimately render it impossible for him to have such an emission; he makes a distinction between celibacy and true chastity; and he is addressing monks rather than priests. However, the question is then posed, whether a monk may partake of the Eucharist after having had such an experience? If there has been no consent to pleasure, and it has been caused only by a natural necessity or an attack of the devil who seeks to impede the monk, then the latter can and should partake of the sacrament. However, the case is different if the monk is at fault.<sup>42</sup> The monk is left to decide if his conscience is clear or not. The remainder of the *conlatio* is concerned with the means by which the monk can learn to avoid

<sup>41</sup> 'But we know that there are three forms of temptation, by suggestion, by pleasure, and by consent' (my translation): *Homiliae .xl. in euangelia* I, Hom. XVI (PL 76, col. 1135); similarly, *Regula pastoralis* II.ii (Grégoire le Grand, *Règle pastorale*, ed. with French trans. by B. Judic, F. Rommel and C. Morel, 2 vols., Sources chrétiennes 381–2 (Paris, 1992) I, 180). Isidore, *Sententiae* II.xxv, gives two causes of sin: deeds and thoughts ('Bipartita est causa peccandi, id est, operis et cogitationis': ed. Campos Ruiz and Roca Meliá, pp. 350–2). Their suggestion of Gregory, *Dialogi* IV.1 (not IV.xlviii), on the various kinds of dreams is not sufficiently close.

<sup>42</sup> Compare Rufinus's Latin translation of the anonymous *Historia monachorum* XX, where the same question of a monk receiving the mass after a nocturnal emission is considered, and two causes are given: an abundance of natural humours, which does not result in sin, and a voluntary delight in fantasies of women, which is sinful (*Tyrannius Rufinus Historia monachorum sive De vita sanctorum patrum*, ed. E. Schulz-Flügel (Berlin, 1990), pp. 354–5); Rufinus's version modifies the Greek (cf. *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, ed. A.-J. Festugière (Brussels, 1971), pp. 118–19). There is here no verbal resemblance between Rufinus and either Cassian or the *Responsio*. For a broader discussion of some aspects of this subject, see D. Brakke, 'The Problematic of Nocturnal Emissions in Early Christian Syria, Egypt, and Gaul', *Jnl of Early Christian Stud.* 3 (1995), 419–60; Stewart, *Cassian the Monk*, pp. 81–3, who gives other references, notably to Augustine's *Confessiones*.

such experiences; there is an extended consideration of temptation, but nothing which resembles the neat exposition of the *Responsio*. Finally, Cassian also quotes Romans VII.23.<sup>43</sup>

There is no clear verbal resemblance between the *Responsio* and Cassian to demonstrate that the former is indebted to the latter. At the same time, however, there is a general resemblance in subject matter, in the structure of the argument, as well as several particular points, which the author of the *Responsio* may have developed from a consideration of Cassian's, which is in fact the earliest extensive Latin discussion of the problem.<sup>44</sup> The question of seminal emission is found in most of the older Irish penitentials, but it is mentioned there only peremptorily and without any reflection.<sup>45</sup> The solution in the *Responsio* shows no influence of the penitentials, and even where the priest is at fault it imposes no formal penalty. The *Responsio* is sometimes repeated in later penitentials.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Conlationes* XXII.xiv (CSEL 13, 634); Bede's *HE*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 102. The *Responsio* also refers to Deut. XXIII.10–11, while Cassian actually quotes it (XXII.v *ad fin.*: CSEL 13, 621). Cassian handles the same subject especially in *Conlationes* XII.ix–x and *De institutis* VI.x–xi; while there is some similarity of thought, I have not noticed any more extensive verbal parallels in these discussions.

<sup>44</sup> The *Responsio* has: '*Sin uero ex turpi cogitatione uigilantis oritur inlusio dormientis . . .*', while Cassian has: '*Sin uero nostro uitio haec fuerit egesta concretio . . .*', and both texts refer to the conscience (*iudicium*) of the priest or monk concerned. Isidore, *Sententiae* III.vi.6, seems to be close to Cassian: '*Diversae qualitates sunt somniorum. Quaedam enim ex saturitate, seu inanitione occurrunt, quae etiam per experientiam nota sunt. Quaedam uero ex propria cogitatione oriuntur; nam saepe quae in die cogitamus, in noctibus recognoscimus.*' 'There are various kinds of dreams. Some are caused by satiety or by hunger, as is well known. Others arise from our own thoughts, so that what has occupied our mind during the day returns during the night' (ed. Campos Ruiz and Roca Meliá, p. 418; my translation); *ibid.* III.vi.14: '*Qui nocturna illusione polluitur, quamvis etsi extra memoriam turpium cogitationum sese persentiat inquinatum, tamen hoc, ut tentaretur, culpae suae tribuat, suamque immunditiam statim fletibus tergat.*' 'He who has been polluted by a nocturnal illusion, in so far as he was stained from being aroused by the recollection of filthy thoughts, should consider this temptation as being his fault, and he should immediately cleanse his impurity with tears' (*ibid.* p. 421; my translation; note also III.vi.13). Unusually for a monastic rule, the *Regula Isidori* refers three times to nocturnal seminal emissions (chs. XIII, XVII and XXII: *ibid.* pp. 111–12, 115 and 123).

<sup>45</sup> E.g. *Praefatio Gildae* XXII; *Sinodus Aquilonalis Britanniae* II; *Excerpta . . . Davidis* VIII–IX; *Paenitentiale S. Columbani* [A:] VII, [B:] X; *Paenitentiale Cummeani* II.xv–xvi, (XI) X; *Penitentiale . . . Bigotianum* (II) (*The Irish Penitentials*, ed. L. Bieler, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 5 (Dublin, 1963), 62, 66, 70, 96, 100, 114, 130 and 218–20); *Penitential of Theodore (Discipulus Umbrensius)* I.viii.3, 7 (ed. P. W. Finsterwalder, *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihrer Überlieferungsformen* (Weimar, 1929), pp. 300–1). P. J. Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials: the Development of a Sexual Code 550–1150* (Toronto, 1984), surprisingly displays no knowledge of Cassian as a possible source for the penitentials and, at p. 52, says that 'Gregory's reply to Augustine is the only sophisticated discussion of [seminal emission].'

<sup>46</sup> E.g. F. Kerff, 'Das Paenitentiale Pseudo-Gregorii. Eine kritische Edition', *Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken. Festschrift für Raymund Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Mordek (Frankfurt am Main,

Bede

Bede is the last early Anglo-Saxon author to display a knowledge of Cassian, and his use is rather different from what we have considered thus far: Bede uses Cassian primarily in his biblical expositions, and he has obviously read Cassian attentively, even if Cassian was not a major source for him.

First, Bede twice employs the four-fold hermeneutical paradigm, which makes it clear that he knew Cassian's exposition in *Conlatio* XIV.<sup>47</sup> Secondly, commenting on a possible deceit that David practised on a priest, Bede explicitly appeals to the conferences of the fathers and by name to Joseph, who gives *Conlatio* XVII, as well as to Augustine, on the subject of lying.<sup>48</sup> Thirdly, in discussing the story of Ananias and Saphyra (Acts V.1–11), a story frequently referred to in sources from this period, Bede traces the origin of the category of monks called Sarabaites to them; this aetiology is original to Cassian, and is not to be found in Jerome's *Epistula* XXII, the *Regula magistri* or the *Regula Benedicti*, which also mention this kind of monk.<sup>49</sup> Fourthly, Bede employs the example of the three days which Jonah spent in the belly of the whale to explain synecdoche, which is a way in which one can understand the whole of a subject from its parts, and a part represents or speaks of the whole.<sup>50</sup> This might be indebted to Cassian, although Bede also employs

1992), pp. 161–88, at 181; *Paenitentiale Merseburgense* a [Me.] 90: *Paenitentia minora Franciae et Italiae saeculi VIII–IX*, ed. R. Kottje, L. Körntgen and U. Spengler-Reffgen, CCSL 156 (Turnhout, 1994), 152–3; H. Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich: Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kanonessammlung des fränkischen Gallien. Studien und Edition* (Berlin, 1975), pp. 352–4 and 631–2; and cf. Deanesly and Grosjean, 'The Canterbury Edition', pp. 45–8.

<sup>47</sup> Bede, *In Cantica canticorum* III.iv.11 (*In Tobiam, In Proverbia, In Cantica Canticorum*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119B (Turnhout, 1983), 260, lines 618–25), and *De schematibus et tropis* II.ii.12 (*Beda Opera Didascalica*, ed. C. W. Jones and C. B. Kendall, CCSL 123A (Turnhout, 1975), 166, lines 236–169, line 283), both employ Cassian's account in *Conlationes* XIV.viii.3–4 (CSEL 13, 405).

<sup>48</sup> *In I Samuelem* III.xxi.2–3 (*In Primam Partem Samuelem Libri IIII, In Regum Librum XXX Quaestiones*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 119 (Turnhout, 1962), 194, lines 2458–68), referring to Cassian, *Conlatio* XVII. This is an explicit allusion; Abba Joseph is the father who gives the conference, and its subject is the promise to return which Germanus and Cassian had given to the abbot of their community in Bethlehem, and which they had then broken.

<sup>49</sup> *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum* V.v (*Expositio Actuum Apostolorum, Retractatio in Actus Apostolorum, Nomina Regionum atque Locorum de Actibus Apostolorum*, ed. M. L. W. Laistner, CCSL 121 (Turnhout, 1983), 29, lines 17–24); Cassian, *Conlationes* XVIII.vii.1–2 (CSEL 13, 513). There is a verbal parallel between these two passages (Bede): 'qui rebus suis nequaquam derelictis apostolicam se distractionem custodire simulant – nulla reos passus paenitentia curari . . . noxium germen radicitus amputare curauit', 'Although by no means did they give up their possessions, they pretended to preserve apostolic discipline. He did not allow the culprits to be healed by any repentance, but . . . he took care to cut the noxious shoot out by its roots' (*Bede, Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, trans. L. T. Martin (Kalamazoo, MI, 1989), pp. 57–8; italics show agreement with Cassian).

<sup>50</sup> *De temporum ratione* V (CCSL 123B, 289, lines 128–9); Cassian, *De incarnatione* VI.xxiii.1 and 3 (CSEL 17, 349 and 350).

Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine in this discussion, and so his direct dependence upon Cassian is difficult to determine; the verbal resemblance between Cassian and Bede is confined here to the biblical text which is quoted (Matthew XII.38–40). Finally, Bede employs Cassian in his commentary on the gospel of Luke.<sup>51</sup> In commenting upon Mary's conception in spite of the fact that she is a virgin, Bede mentions Nestorius's denial that Mary could be called the Mother of God and refers to Cassian's remark upon the same text.<sup>52</sup> Later in the same work, when considering the parable of the prodigal son, Bede first echoes Cassian, and then quotes extensively from him.<sup>53</sup> These passages make it clear that Bede was very familiar with at least some of Cassian's œuvre.<sup>54</sup>

### *Manuscript Evidence*

The evidence considered in this paper implies that more than one copy of Cassian's writings was available in Anglo-Saxon England during the period under discussion. There is, however, no extant Insular manuscript of Cassian's writings from this period. Lowe lists one manuscript fragment written in Anglo-Saxon minuscule, but this cannot be said definitely to have been copied in England.<sup>55</sup> More extensive evidence dates only from late Anglo-Saxon and

<sup>51</sup> I owe the references to *In Lucam* to Joan Hart-Hasler and Neil Wright: these borrowings are not identified in the CCSL edition. See now J. N. Hart-Hasler, 'Vestigia patrum sequens: the Venerable Bede's Use of Patristic Sources in his Commentary on the Gospel of Luke' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Cambridge Univ., 1999).

<sup>52</sup> *In Lucam* I.i.35 (*In Lucae Evangelium Expositio*, *In Marci Evangelium Expositio*, ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960), 34, lines 595–8); Cassian, *De incarnatione* II.ii.8 (CSEL 17, 249, lines 19–23). Bede: 'Ecce Deum dixit supernenturum Dei filium nasciturum. Quomodo ergo aut Dei filius Deus non est aut quae Deum edidit quomodo "theotokos", id est Dei genetrix non esse potest?', 'See that he said that God would come upon her and that the Son of God would be born. How then, can the Son of God not be God, and how can she who produced God not be "theotokos", i.e. the mother of God?' (my translation; italics show agreement with Cassian).

<sup>53</sup> *In Lucam* IV.xv.19 (CCSL 120, 289, lines 2371–2): 'sed mercennarii statum iam pro mercede seruiturus desiderat', 'but as if he had already become a hireling he desired to serve for payment' (my translation; italics show agreement with Cassian), echoes Cassian, *Conlationes* XI.vii.2 (CSEL 13, 319, lines 9–10); then, *In Lucam* IV.xv.21 (CCSL 120, 290, lines 2408–291, line 2417), quoting Cassian, *Conlationes* XI.6.2 (CSEL 13, 317, lines 26–318, line 8) *in extenso*.

<sup>54</sup> Some suggested parallels between Bede and Cassian are less certain: e.g. Bede, *In Genesim* III.xii.4 (*Libri Quatuor in Principium Genesis*, ed. C.W. Jones, CCSL 118A (Turnhout, 1967), 170, line 996), with Cassian, *Conlationes* XI.xiii.6 (not XII.xiii) (CSEL 13, 330, lines 24–5): here, Bede refers to a 'septiformis [spiritus]', an allusion to Isaiah XI.2–3 which Cassian also makes, but the usage is considerably different; the same phrase also occurs in Leander of Seville, *Regula Praefatio* (ed. Campos Ruiz and Roca Meliá, p. 35), who then, however, quotes Isaiah LVI.3. Bede, *In Genesim* IV.xviii.6–7 (CCSL 118A, 213–14, lines 695–715), with Cassian, *Conlationes* XIV.viii (CSEL 13, 404–7): Bede gives a threefold paradigm of biblical interpretation, but Jerome, Augustine and Gregory are also possible sources.

<sup>55</sup> See above, n. 8: Kassel, Landesbibliothek Manuskripten – Anhang 18, and see also above, pp. 31–2 on the possible identification of a manuscript used at Canterbury.

*Knowledge of the writings of John Cassian*

early Norman England.<sup>56</sup> At least one copy of conceivably all of Cassian's writings was available among the Britons by the late fifth century, which Gildas used, and the Irish also appear to have known Cassian's works from a date earlier than the earliest Anglo-Saxon evidence. However, as the examples considered here are associated with Canterbury and Wearmouth, it seems more likely that the copies used by these authors came from the Continent.

CONCLUSIONS

Almost every example considered in this study represents a different kind of usage of the writings of Cassian. These uses include literary imitation or verbal echoes, the use of the schema of the principal vices, the study of Latin, the borrowing of particular pericopae, and use in biblical exposition. It is probable that our authors knew more of Cassian's works than what they have used: the kind of usage displayed by Aldhelm and Bede in particular is quite assimilated and implies considerable familiarity with their sources, while the example of the 'Leiden Glossary' also reveals a close reading of texts. This evidence is limited in time to little more than a half century, and to a relatively limited circle of learned contacts. On this basis alone, it is then difficult to infer either significantly wider circulation of Cassian's writings in early Anglo-Saxon England or any particular influence on English monastic practice.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> H. Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List of Manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100', *ASE* 9 (1981), 1–60, nos. 152, 528, 627 and 700; M. Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 33–89, at 76–82, on a Peterborough booklist (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163, 251r, c. 1100) which lists *Conlationes* XI, XIV and XXIV. Gneuss gives no. 152 as *Conlatio* XII; J. D. A. Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English, 597–1066* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), p. 106, does likewise, but gives the title as *De spiritu superbiae*, which can only refer to *De institutis* XII; *Conlatio* XII has the title *De castitate*. *Catalogi*, ed. Becker, gives two English library lists which include works of Cassian: on p. 226, no. 8, from Whitby (c. 1180) names 'Cassian Rule'; a second, from Durham (twelfth century), mentions 'Iohannes Cassianus' twice (p. 240, no. 73 and p. 245, no. 545).

<sup>57</sup> I would particularly like to thank Michael Lapidge, Rosalind Love and Peter Schmidt for discussing aspects of this work with me at an earlier stage.

