



“WHAT’S IN A NAME?”

- or anti-Judaism and other titular peculiarities in the *editio princeps* of Anselm’s *Epistola de incarnatione verbi*

By Samu Niskanen

St. Anselm (d. 1109), a prolific writer, became renowned in his own lifetime for his treatises’ rationalistic approach to divine mysteries. The acknowledgement of his contemporaries turned into solid posthumous reputation, to which hundreds of manuscript copies and a plethora of printed editions of his writings are eloquent testimony. This essay is an early-modern titular history, or a textual commentary on various names affixed to Anselm’s Epistola de incarnatione verbi in the editio princeps, published in 1491. The examination was prompted by the observation that the editio princeps incorporates a blatantly anti-Judaic component, contra hebreos, in the title.

St Anselm (d. 1109) was a prolific man of letters, celebrated as a doctor of the church and one of the most innovative thinkers of the Middle Ages. His large body of surviving work, which includes learned treatises, prayers and meditations, as well as an important collection of letters, is considered distinctive by virtue of his utterly rationalistic approach to divine mysteries and profoundly introspective articulations of the self, qualities that won him a wide readership during his lifetime.¹ The acknowledgement of his contemporaries turned into solid posthumous renown, to which hundreds of manuscript copies and a plethora of printed editions of his writings are eloquent testimony. The circulation in print began with *Cur Deus homo*, his longest piece, in 1474 at the latest (GW 2035). The first printed edition which aimed to bring all his writings together, albeit missing many and carrying *spuria*, came out in 1491 (GW 2032).

* I thank James Willoughby, the editors of this journal, and the anonymous reviewer for their comments. Any remaining errors of fact or judgement are my own. This project has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under grant agreement No. 716538 (MedPub).

¹ The most recent critical texts are Anselm 1938–61 and Anselm 2019. For his sermons, drafts, poems, and other occasional writings, see Anselm 1969.

What follows is an early-modern titular history, or a textual commentary on various names affixed to Anselm's *Epistola de incarnatione verbi* (Epistle on the Incarnation of the Word) in the *editio princeps*, that anthology published in 1491. This examination was prompted by the observation that the *editio princeps* incorporates a blatantly anti-Judaic component, "contra hebreos" (against the Hebrews), in the title. How did that come to be? Who was responsible? How was it received? In attempting to answer these questions, I realized that some other aspects of the title's early printed transmission may be worth pursuing. The transmission of medieval titles is a scholarly subject in its own right, to which this paper contributes a case study of one title's transmission into print.²

A title bestows an identity upon a composition, functioning in at least three ways. At a base level a title indicates where a text begins. Then, a name primes readers to approach the text that follows in a premeditated fashion, often by way of pointing out the main subject matter. Finally, titles, elegant or otherwise appealing ones, are designed to entice readerships. While it would be difficult to be empirical about how much a given (medieval) appellation ever served as an allurements, it is demonstrably the case that Anselm himself placed a heavy premium on finding the right title. He amended the titles of his first two treatises on two occasions. The first was initially named *Exemplum meditandi de ratione fidei* (An Example of Meditation on the Reason of Faith), then *Monoloquium de ratione fidei* (A Soliloquy on the Reason of Faith), and finally *Monologion*. His second treatise, which carries the famous ontological argument for the existence of God, came to be titled *Proslogion* after having been first called *Fides quaerens intellectum* (Faith Seeking Understanding) and then *Alloquium de ratione fidei* (An Address on the Reason of Faith). The final authorial titles *Monologion* and *Proslogion* bear a catchy resonance, pairing the treatises together with an air of Graecism, considered elegant at the time.

The focus of this essay's attention is *Epistola de incarnatione verbi*, called *De incarnatione* here for the sake of convenience. The piece has come down to us in several versions, attesting to a prolonged process of composition.³ In a letter dating from late 1092 or early 1093, Anselm, visiting England in his capacity as abbot of the Norman monastery of Bec, requested that his brethren send him "the letter I have begun against the teachings of Roscelin".⁴ A text that seems to represent that draft survives, as do other outlines, to be discussed

² Sharpe 2003.

³ See note 20 below.

⁴ Anselm 2019, *Ep.* i.128: "epistolam quam contra dicta Roscelini facere inchoavi".

below.⁵ The final outcome was *De incarnatione*. Its completion was postponed due to Anselm's preferment as archbishop of Canterbury in 1093, which profoundly changed his circumstances. I have proposed recently that *De incarnatione* may have been the *munusculum*, little gift, that Anselm asked a papal legate to carry to Pope Urban II in 1095, and that Anselm gave the pope a new copy of the work in person in 1098.⁶ That suggestion will be revisited below.

The above-mentioned *editio princeps* of Anselm's collected works serves as this essay's point of reference. It is entitled *Opera et tractatus beati Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ordinis sancti Benedicti*. A colophon on the final verso dates the publication to 27 March 1491. The printer was Caspar Hochfeder of Nuremberg, the editor was Peter Danhauser. The editorial text is preceded by Danhauser's dedicatory letter to Johann Löffelholz, a well-known humanist, with the latter's response, and also Anselm's prayer to St Mary and Danhauser's short exposition of Anselm's life.⁷ *De incarnatione* is introduced with several titles at different junctures:

[fol. 1r, table] Liber vnus de Incarnatione verbi contra hebreos (On the Incarnation of the Word against the Hebrews, one book)

[fol. 2v, Danhauser's *Vita beati Anselmi*] De incarnatione verbi

[fol. 21r] Prefatio Sancti Anselmi cantuariensis Episcopi ordinis sancti benedicti in librum de fide quam [*sic*] alias de incarnatione verbi per se reperimus prenotatum (Preface of Saint Anselm, bishop of Canterbury, OSB, to A Book on Faith, which we find elsewhere titled On the Incarnation of the Word)

[fol. 21v] Incipit liber Anselmi de Incarnatione verbi (Here begins Anselm's Book on the Incarnation of the Word)

[fol. 28r] Explicit de fide christiana siue incarnatione verbi (Here ends On the Christian Faith or the Incarnation of the Word)

When those pieces are put together, two discrete titles emerge, both with two variants: 'Liber de incarnatione verbi' or 'Liber vnus de incarnatione verbi contra hebreos', and 'Liber de fide' or 'Liber de fide christina'. To assess their status, it is necessary first to distinguish Anselm's authorial voice. His subsequent writings refer to the work as "Epistola de incarnatione verbi" three times, twice with mention of the addressee, Pope Urban II.⁸ The

⁵ London, Lambeth Palace, MS 224, fols. 121v–124v; see Sharpe 2009, 40–41.

⁶ Niskanen 2023, 5–7 and 10–11.

⁷ The prayer is *Oratio* v, Anselm 1938–61, vol. 3, 13–14.

⁸ *Cur Deus homo*, ii.9, Anselm 1938–61, vol. 2, 105: "in epistola de incarnatione verbi ad domnum papam Urbanum directa"; *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, c. 9 and 16, Anselm

manuscript evidence mostly agrees with that indirect evidence: the wording “de incarnatione verbi” is widely attested.⁹ There is more variation in whether or not the addressee is mentioned, what the genre is (*epistola*, something else, or nothing), and Anselm’s designation. I cite only one manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 271. It has been suggested that its folios 1–166, a codicological whole that conveys Anselm’s treatises, was made with his oversight.¹⁰ Book historians remain unconvinced, dating the production to the extended 1110s on the evidence of script and decoration.¹¹ Be that as it may, the Bodley manuscript definitely comes from the cathedral priory of Christ Church in Canterbury, Anselm’s home community, and cannot be much later than the early 1120s. Members of his circle would still have been active in the cathedral at that time. It is reasonable to assume that they were involved in the project, which in essence was to anthologize their master’s writings, and that they would have consulted his archive. If not an authorial copy, Bodley 271 must be a primary copy. As such it is likely to communicate Anselm’s authentic voice more faithfully than copies at several removes from the originals do. On fol. 62v, Bodley 271 titles our piece thus: “epistola Anselmi cantuariensis archiepiscopi de incarnatione uerbi”. That is to say that the reference “ad Urbanum papam” (to Pope Urban) was not an attribute in what can be considered Christ Church’s “authorized” copy.

As regards Danhauser’s variant, “Liber unus de Incarnatione verbi contra hebreos”, the attributes “Liber unus” and “contra hebreos” are patently non-authorial insertions. The emergence of a generic designation such as “liber unus” in the course of transmission is hardly surprising and need not be extensively glossed. It suffices to remark that Danhauser received that designation from Latin bibliographic tradition, more precisely the *Speculum doctrinale* of Vincent of Beauvais († 1264).¹² Danhauser’s *Vita beati Anselmi*, a short biographical vignette, quotes Vincent’s list, naming him as the source. The supplement “contra hebreos” is a more interesting case. In *De incarnatione* Anselm makes only a single mention of the Jews. The passage in question reads in Danhauser’s text as follows.

Dicit, sicut audio, ille qui tres personas dicitur asserere esse velud tres angelos aut tres animas: “Pagani defendunt legem suam, Iudei

1938–61, vol. 2, 204 and 218: “in epistola ad venerabilis memoriae Urbanum papam de incarnatione verbi” and “in praefata epistola de incarnatione verbi” respectively.

⁹ See note 13 below.

¹⁰ Schmitt 1955, 64–75. The argument about the Bodley manuscript is much elaborated in Logan 2006, 67–86.

¹¹ Sharpe 2009, 54–55 and 73–74, esp. note 197; see also Gameson 1999, 129.

¹² Vincent of Beauvais 1624, col. 1589.

defendunt legem suam. Ergo et nos christiani debemus defendem [*sic, pro defendere*] fidem nostram.”

Report has it that this man who is said to hold that the three persons are like three angels or three souls says: “the pagans defend their law; the Jews defend their law. So, we Christians should likewise defend our faith.”

The man in question was the above-mentioned Roscelin of Compiègne, a secular priest, who had claimed that Anselm agreed with his Trinitarian teaching. The purpose of *De incarnatione* was to ward off such a damaging imputation. A report of their dispute immediately precedes the above-quoted extract, although Roscelin is never identified by name. There is nothing in *De incarnatione* to suggest it was an anti-Judaic piece of writing. The titular complement “contra hebreos” misrepresents the content. The wider context of Anselm’s writings cannot account for the addition either. The corpus of his extant writings does not include any anti-Judaic exposure. Rather than implying some wider acquaintance with his oeuvre, the anti-Judaic insertion only betrays ignorance.

To discover the culprit, I conducted a survey of the manuscript evidence as to *De incarnatione*’s title with recourse to catalogues, copies (digital and microfilm), and originals, embracing some sixty manuscripts. The results are given in the footnote.¹³ A single attestation to the anti-Judaic titular

¹³ “De incarnatione verbi” or similar: Busto Arsizio, Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di San Giovanni Battista, MS M.II.5; Cambrai, Le Labo (*olim* Bibliothèque Municipale), MS 259 (249); Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.9.5; Corpus Christi College, MSS 154 and 155, Jesus College, MS 64 (Q.G.16); Peterhouse, MS 246 (2.4.7*); Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore (*olim* Bibliothèque Municipale), MSS 352 and 353; Edinburgh, University Library, MS 104; Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3520; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MSS 739 (35/76 Folio) and 1545 (42/4 Octavo), whose title, testifying to considerable scribal individuality, can be quoted here: “Epistola magistri Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi ad Vrbanum papam quare persona filii magis incarnata sit et quod sola incarnata sit” (s. xii, Neuberg OCist); Hereford, Cathedral Library, MSS P. I. 1 and P. II. 1; Innsbruck, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol, Cod. 564; London, British Library, MSS Add. 15407, Cotton Claudius E. I, Harley 203, Royal 4 B. X, Royal 5 E. XIV, Royal 6 D. VIII, Royal 7 A. II, Royal MS 7 B. IX; Lambeth Palace, MS 224; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *clm* 21248 (s. xii, Ulm?); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Bodley 271 and 569, MS Canon. Pat. Lat. 204; Jesus College, MS 4; Merton College, MS 19; Queen’s College, MS 315; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MSS lat. 1769, lat. 2155, lat. 2885, lat. 3358, lat. 14502, Arsenal, MS 324, and Manuscrits de Cîteaux, MS 182 (146); Rouen, Bibliothèque Jacques Villon (*olim* Bibliothèque municipale), MS A. 366 (539); Todi, Biblioteca Comunale “Lorenzo Leonii”, MSS 26 (cat. 2008: 43) and 52 (cat. 2008: 45); Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes (*olim* Bibliothèque municipale), MS 836; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MSS Ottob. lat. 173, Urb. lat. 101, Vat. lat. 175, Vat. lat. 310, Vat. lat. 655, Vat. lat. 656, Vat. lat. 657, Vat. lat. 10611. and Ross. 343; Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library, MSS F. 41 and F. 132.

complement emerged. The 1910 catalogue of the Library of the Metropolitan Chapter of Prague, or *Knihovny pražské metropolitní kapituly*, reports the title “*De incarnatione verbi contra iudaeos*” for the manuscript A. CLVII (262).¹⁴ The catalogue dates the manuscript to the fifteenth century and records evidence that it was copied at Bologna. Unfortunately, it has been impossible for me so far to consult the manuscript on site or in reproduction. Given the fact that the case is isolated, the odds are that the reported title descends ultimately from Danhauser’s edition, perhaps as a reader’s insertion in the manuscript or standardized in the catalogue.

Even if Danhauser’s edition introduced the anti-Judaic variant, he is unlikely to be responsible for it. While his work is not devoid of editorial infelicity and has consequently met with serious censure, his acquaintance with *De incarnatione* must have been at first hand. It is hard to see how anyone who has read the work could have committed so blatant an error. What is more, the complement “*contra hebreos*” does not pollute Danhauser’s editorial text. It is only found in the table of contents at the beginning of the volume. The table is a paratextual device, possibly put together in the printing house; that is, independently of the editor. Errors in tables of contents occur even today.

In contrast, Danhauser’s other title for *De incarnatione*, ‘*Liber de fide*’ or ‘*Liber de fide christiana*’ cannot simply be dismissed as noise by transmission. These two variants might preserve a distant echo of Anselm’s

“*De trinitate*” or similar: BnF, lat. 2143, “*Opus egregium anselmi de trinitate*”. Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, MS 354 reads possibly “*Epistola Anselmi ad Urbanum papam de fide trinitatis*”, as is discussed below. It should also be noted that the BL online catalogue, no doubt relying on the old Harley catalogue, reports that MS Harley 4352 includes *De incarnatione* under the title “*De Fide Trinitatis et de incarnatione Verbi Contra Blasphemias Ruzelini*”. This is a misidentification. The text, a collection of theological extracts, begins (on fol. 1r): “*De fide, spe et caritate quae in nobis est omni poscenti rationem reddere ut ait Petrus in epistola sua parati esse debemus cum modestia et timore. Itaque ut seruetur modestia in sermone, timore in affectione, profanas uerborum nouitates ut apostolus precipit uitemus, et in nullam partem precipiti assertionem declinemus.*” It ends (on fol. 39v): “*Rursusque pater ad se deus dicitur, ad filium dicitur pater. Quod dicitur ad filium pater, non est filius, quod dicitur filius ad patrem, non est pater. Quod dicitur pater ad se, filius ad se, hoc est pater et filius id est deus.*” The Harley manuscript carries Anselm’s *Cur Deus homo* (without the so-called “*Commendatio operis ad Vrbanum papam*”) on fols. 65r–72v, perhaps a factor in the misidentification.

“*De fide Christina*” or similar: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, MS Msc. Patr. 10; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 34; Paris, BnF, lat. 13414.

Generic title: Paris, BnF, lat. 2479: “*Incipit epistola anselmi cantuarie archiepiscopi ad urbanum papam*”.

No title: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.1.37; London, Lambeth Palace, MS 224 (the first draft); BAV, Reg. lat. 452.

¹⁴ Podlaha 1910, 163.

authorial voice, at least in theory. For that proposition to hold, brief comment must first be given on the textual status of Danhauser's edition. His text goes unreported in the most recent edition of *De incarnatione*, by F. S. Schmitt.¹⁵ My own studies suggest that Danhauser's source is likely to have had a particular textual affinity with four surviving manuscripts.¹⁶ As in Danhauser's text, they preface *De incarnatione* with a short note on Anselm's methodological approach, subsequently titled by Schmitt "Commendatio operis ad Vrbanum papam II" and incorrectly applied to *Cur Deus homo* in his edition.¹⁷ Nineteen other manuscripts are known to also preserve the "Commendatio", placing it not to preface *De incarnatione* but other works instead. The total of the known survivors is twenty-three, including Danhauser. I have collated twenty-two texts; the exception is Busto Arsizio, Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di San Giovanni Battista, MS M.II.5. The results showed that Danhauser's text is independent of the manuscripts collated. We may assume that Danhauser, who worked in Germany, did not consult the uncollated Busto Arsizio copy either. That manuscript, apparently from thirteenth-century France, had reached Italy probably by the year 1450.¹⁸ In conclusion, Danhauser's source for *De incarnatione* remains unidentified, but there are some hints about its location in transmission.

The discussed titular variant "de fide christiana" provides a further clue. The title is not Danhauser's invention, but a medieval one. It is attested in three manuscripts: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 34; Paris, BnF, lat. 13414; and Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Msc. Patr. 10. The first two are datable to the thirteenth century and the third to the fifteenth. The Paris and Bamberg copies are of more significance here. The Paris copy, coming possibly from Corbie, shares the above-said affinity with Danhauser's text: "Commendatio operis ad Vrbanum papam II" prefaces *De incarnatione*.¹⁹ That coincidence, together with the resonance between the titles, suggests that Danhauser's source was closely related to the Paris manuscript. The Bamberg copy, a paper book from the Carmelite convent in that town, attests that the title "de

¹⁵ See note 1 above.

¹⁶ These are Paris, BnF, MS lat. 13414; Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, MS 352; Cambrai, Médiathèque d'agglomération de Cambrai, MS A 259 (249); and Busto Arsizio, Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di San Giovanni Battista, MS M.II.5. My previous relevant work is found in Niskanen 2022, 341–366.

¹⁷ *Cur Deus homo*, Anselm 1938–61, vol. 2, 39–41. For criticism, see Niskanen 2022.

¹⁸ Maffioli 1998, 194.

¹⁹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 34, fol. 189r: "Anselmus de fide christiana". Paris, BnF, MS lat. 13414, fol. 54v: "Incipit epistola anselmi de incarnatione verbi uel fide christiana ad Vrbanum papam". Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, MS Msc. Patr. 10, fols. 53r and 67r: "Incipit Anselmus de fide cristiana ad urbanum papam" and "Explicit de fide cristiana" respectively.

fide christiana" was in circulation not far from Nuremberg, Danhauser's hometown, in the fifteenth century. I have not collated the Nuremberg text; so it remains a possibility that the manuscript was copied from his edition.

The word "christiana" in the titular variant under scrutiny is patently not authorial but editorial. Our manuscript attestations to it, in the discussed Cambridge, Paris, and Bamberg texts, are late and probably at rather more than one remove from Anselm's original(s). Several mentions of *fides christiana* at the work's opening sections perhaps explain how the word *christiana* came to be incorporated in the title in the thirteenth century or before.

The related variant 'Liber de fide' incorporated in Danhauser's *incipit* clause for *De incarnatione* is of greater text-critical interest. The surviving evidence allows for an argument to be made that this title might descend, with distortion, from an authorial appellation that proved provisional. Anselm's renaming of *Monologion* and *Proslogion* could be cited as a precedent. It is important here to consider the fact that the writing of *De incarnatione* was a long process, with several interruptions, and that there survive copies witnessing to different stages of completion.²⁰ Schmitt, responsible for the first critical edition, recognized no fewer than five recensions.²¹ The proposition has been censured. Fragments of text found in Hereford, MS P. I. 1, fols. 154v–155v embody notes or outlines rather than what could be categorized as recensions.²² Even if Schmitt's contested conclusions were accurate, they could not directly benefit this survey: the Hereford texts do not bear a title. As regards Schmitt's fourth recension, he incorrectly observed traces of such a text in two manuscripts, BAV, Reg. lat. 452 and BnF, lat. 2479. In the former, *De incarnatione* is devoid of any title. The latter, at fol. 1r, reads "Incipit epistola anselmi cantuarie archiepiscopi ad urbanum papam" (Here begins a letter of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, to Pope Urban). The clause is too generic to be really helpful here. Schmitt's case for the first recension is definitely secure, although "draft" would have been a better term: this is conveyed by Lambeth Palace, MS 224, a famous manuscript worked on by a team of scribes under the supervision of William of Malmesbury. The manuscript does not attach a title to that text.

That *De incarnatione* might have borne an authorial name that proved provisional is hinted at by anecdotal evidence from Anselm's letter collection. Sometime between late 1098 and late in the autumn of 1100, Bishop Malchus of Waterford in Ireland sent a request that Anselm despatch

²⁰ Sharpe 2009, 39–45 and Mews 1991, 55–98.

²¹ Schmitt 1984, vol. 1, 78–89; previously printed as *idem* 1939.

²² Sharpe, 2009, 41–42 and Niskanen 2022, 358–359.

to him "and all Irish priests that book on the Holy Trinity", which "the apostolic authority had commended, as I recently heard".²³ Discussing *De incarnatione*'s drafts and title, Constant Mews noted that the way Malchus referred to *De incarnatione* was apposite to its contents.²⁴ I shall elaborate on that comment taking the manuscript evidence into account.

At least one medieval copy of *De incarnatione* accords noticeably with Malchus's reference to "that Book on the Holy Trinity". BnF, lat. 2143 introduces *De incarnatione* as "Opus egregium anselmi de trinitate" (Anselm's outstanding work on Trinity) at fol. 102r. The book, datable to the thirteenth century, comes from the monastery of Osrem (OSB) in Denmark. Furthermore, there is an uncertain case, Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, 354. *De incarnatione* is possibly presented on fol. 98r thus: "Incipit Epistola Anselmi ad Urbanum papam de fide trinitatis" (Here begins Anselm's letter to Pope Urban on Faith in the Trinity). The last two words, which would be relevant here, are reported in the departmental manuscript catalogue; but they are *not* visible on the reproduction that I have consulted.²⁵ The reading should be verified in situ. The Douai book comes from Marchiennes (OSB) and has been dated to the early twelfth century. It conveys five works by Anselm; one is the *Proslogion*, including the so-called *Pro insipiente*, a critique of that work. Fascinatingly, the Douai manuscript, on fol. 97v, identifies the critic as Brother Gaunilo of Marmoutier. Another early twelfth-century attestation to the same authorship is provided by Rouen, BM, MS A. 366 (539), a book from Jumièges (OSB). While it remains a mystery as to how these two testimonies might be connected to each other, their identification of Gaunilo attests to insider knowledge in proximity either to his circle or Anselm's.

The quoted references in Malchus's letter and the Paris manuscript – "de sancta trinitate" and "de trinitate" respectively – are substantially the same. Prior to detecting that resemblance, I have argued that Anselm gave to Pope Urban II two copies of *De incarnatione*, the first via Cardinal Walter of Albano in 1095 and the second in person in 1098.²⁶ Could one of those authorial publications have gone under the name of "de fide trinitatis" or something similar? While the question may ultimately prove unanswerable, or perhaps at best refutable, it opens up the possibility that Danhauser's "de fide" communicated a trace of what might once have been an authorial title.

²³ *Ep* 207, Anselm 1938–61, vol. 4, 101–2: "Multum ego uos rogo, ut mittatis mihi et omnibus Hiberniensibus clericis illum librum a uobis compositum de sancta trinitate et commendatum apostolica auctoritate, sicut nuper audiui."

²⁴ Mews 1991, 67.

²⁵ Dehaisnes 1878, 188: "Eiusdem de fide trinitatis ad Urbanum papam".

²⁶ See note 6 above.

Thus far, this essay has looked backwards, to Danhauser's sources; the aggregate of his various titles for *De incarnatione* can also be used as a guide to demonstrate how his text affected subsequent editors and commentators.²⁷ The earliest detectable instance of reception is found in Johannes Trithemius's († 1516) *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (GW M47578), a bibliographic compendium printed by Johann Amerbach in Basel in 1494. Trithemius listed thirty-nine titles for Anselm, of which many are spurious.²⁸ The sequence of the list betrays that he first relied on Danhauser's edition and then on some other source or sources. The anti-Judaic complement is included thus: "De incarnatione verbi contra iudae[os]" (On the Incarnation of the Word against the Jews). Further down, the list itemizes "De sancta Trinitate". This seems to be a confused reading of the above-cited Anselmian bibliography of Vincent of Beauvais. The first item in Vincent's list is "Monologion idest soliloquium de sancta Trinitate librum unum" (Monologion, that is, a soliloquy on the Holy Trinity, one book).²⁹

Within about six years or so of its publication in 1491, Danhauser's edition was reprinted twice with minor changes, both editions titled *Opuscula beati Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ordinis sancti Benedicti*. It is not entirely clear when they came out. Johann Amerbach, a famous publisher located at Basel, who printed Trithemius's *Liber de scriptoribus*, is responsible for the *opera omnia* edition printed not after 1497 (GW 2033).³⁰ The titles attached to *De incarnatione* accord with Danhauser's with minor variation. The anti-Judaic component is no longer found in the table, but instead in the *incipit* clauses of the preface and the text proper.³¹ The variant is the same as in Trithemius, "contra iudeos" rather than "contra hebreos" as in Danhauser. Our other incunabular reprint is assigned tentatively to Georg Husner of Strasbourg and printed in 1496 or very soon after (GW 2034). *De incarnatione* is referred to with various appellations, deriving from Danhauser. The variation is slight, except that the discussed anti-Judaic component is absent.

²⁷ His edition of Anselm's letters remained a textual influence until the twentieth century; cp. Niskanen in Anselm 2019, "Introduction", p. cxlvii.

²⁸ Trithemius, 1494, fol. 53r-v.

²⁹ Vincent of Beauvais, 1624, col. 1589.

³⁰ Niskanen in Anselm 2019, "Introduction", p. cxlviii.

³¹ Table: "De incarnatione verbi li[ber] i." The text: "Eiusdem Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariorum in librum sive epistolam ad Vrbanum papam de fide, quem de incarnatione verbi contra iudeos invenimus prenotatum prefatio. [...] Capitulum libri seu epistole de fide vel de incarnatione verbi beati Anselmi annotatio. [...] Beati Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis liber siue epistola ad Vrbanum papam de fide seu de incarnatione verbi contra iudeos feliciter incipit. [...] Beati Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis liber de fide sive de incarnatione verbi explicit."

While it is unclear whether the touch to cancel "contra Hebreos" was a deliberate one, that element is not transmitted in subsequent printed editions. Antoine de Mouchy, or Demochares, professor at the Sorbonne, canon of Noyon and inquisitor, made a new edition of Anselm's *opera omnia*, entitled *Omnia divi Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, theologorum omnium sui temporis facile principis, opuscula* and published in two volumes in Paris in 1544. Several manuscripts were collated. The titles "De fide" and "De incarnatione verbi" are found, articulated in much the same way as in Danhauser's edition: "Praefatio sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis episcopi, ordinis benedicti, in librum de fide, quem alias de incarnatione verbi per se reperimus praenotatum" and "Explicit de fide christiana sive incarnatione verbi". Various reprints were again made: in Paris in 1549, in Venice in 1547 and 1549, and in Cologne in 1560 and 1573. As regards *De incarnatione*, the quoted titles remained a constant except for minor textual variation. The same applies to a genuinely new edition of Anselm's *opera omnia* undertaken by Jean Picard, published in Cologne in 1612 and that of Théophile Raynaud, published in Lyon in 1630.³²

The juncture at which the transmission of Danhauser's construct for the title of *De incarnatione* was finally fully halted was Gabriel Gerberon's edition, published in Paris in 1675. While Gerberon's editorial work has been criticized for various errors, he was the first to have explicitly sought to assess the status of *De incarnatione*'s title. According to his short *censura*, he had consulted "two Gothic editions", neither of which bore the information of the place and year of publication. These two books must be the reprints of Danhauser's edition, by Amerbach and, apparently, Husner, since later editions did not use a Gothic typeface. Gerberon had seen the titular complement "contra Iudaeos" in one of the two Gothic editions, certainly the Amerbach reprint. Unaware of Danhauser's original 1491 edition, Gerberon presumed that Trithemius, whose above-mentioned bibliographical work came out in 1494, had added the words "contra iudeos". Remarking that *De incarnatione* had nothing to do with anti-Judaism, Gerberon noted that the other Gothic edition and subsequent editors correctly omitted that titular complement.³³

³² In demonstration, table (not paginated): "Liber de fide, sive de Incarnatione Verbi"; p. 80: "Praefatio sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi in librum de fide, quem alias de Incarnatione Verbi reperimus praenotatum"; Anselm 1630.

³³ Anselm 1675, "Censura" (not paginated): "Hic liber extat in omnibus sive MSS, sive excusis sancti Anselmi exemplaribus: et quidem inventus est sic praenotatus, Liber sive epistola de fide, seu liber de Incarnatione Verbi contra Iudaeos: ut fidem facit hujusce libelli praefatio in editionibus Gothicis, quae nec annum nec locum habent, et in quarum altera omittuntur haec verba: contra Iudaeos; quae et in subsequentibus postea editionibus merito

Gerberon did not only criticize; he also put forth a new title. In his *censura* this reads as “De fide Trinitatis, et de Incarnatione Verbi” and in the editorial text as “Liber de fide trinitatis et de incarnatione verbi: contra blasphemias Ruzelini, sive Roscelini” (A Book on Faith in the Trinity and the Incarnation of the Word: against the Blasphemies of Ruzelinus or Roscelinus).³⁴ The ending of the latter identifies the person against whom Anselm wrote *De incarnatione*; that title is attested in manuscripts in a slightly different form.³⁵ Gerberon explained his rationale for his inclusion of “De fide Trinitatis”. The comment neatly encapsulates a pre-Maasian editorial approach. Not only was “De trinitate” found in a manuscript, but it also made perfect sense: *imprimatur!*³⁶ In the reprints of his edition with new supplements, Gerberon’s proposition became a convention, again with minor textual variation. These were taken in Paris in 1721 and Venice in 1744; their supplemented text became incorporated in volumes clviii and clix of the *Patrologia Latina*, printed in Paris in 1853 and 1854.

While Schmitt certainly captured an authorial title, this essay demonstrates that modern editors of medieval literature should seek to assess the status of their predecessors’ titular constructs. This applies also to designations which incorporate inauthentic elements, as is the case with Danhauser. The mutually resonant testimonies of Paris MS lat. 2143 (and possibly Douai MS 354) and the comments of Bishop Malchus of Waterford should be reported in the apparatus criticus of any new critical edition. The Paris manuscript suggests by implication that Malchus’s appellation of *De incarnatione* as “de sancta trinitate” betrays a title. This was either an authorial one, which then proved provisional, or a design that emerged almost immediately after first publication to capture the gist of the work.

expuncta sunt. Irrepserant enim, ut conjicio, ex Trithemio, qui in l. de Eccl. script. censuit S. Anselmum librum de Trinitate, et quidem ab eo opere distinctum, contra Judaeos scripsisse, qui error ex variis hujus opusculi inscriptionibus ortus est.”

³⁴ Anselm 1675, no pagination and p. 41 respectively.

³⁵ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *clm* 21248 and Paris, BnF, lat. 2475.

³⁶ Anselm 1675, no pagination, “Nam in Ms. 336 bibliothecae Regiae [now Paris, BnF, lat. 2143] hic liber sic inscriptus legitur, *Anselmus de Trinitate*. Nec immerito: quandoquidem Trinitatis fides in eo maxime explicatur. Unde et nos integrum titulum restituimus, *de fide Trinitatis*, etc. nec enim eum duximus omittendum, qui magis operis argumentum indicat.”

Bibliography

Manuscripts cited

- Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, MS Msc. Patr. 10
Busto Arsizio, Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di San Giovanni Battista,
MS M.II.5
Cambrai, Le Labo (*olim* Bibliothèque Municipale), MS 259 (249)
Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.9.5
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 34
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 154
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 155
Cambridge, Jesus College, MS 64 (Q.G.16)
Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS 246 (2.4.7*)
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.1.37
Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore (*olim* Bibliothèque
Municipale), MS 352
Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, MS 353
Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, MS 354
Edinburgh, University Library, MS 104
Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3520
Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 739 (35/76 Folio)
Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1545 (42/4 Octavo)
Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P. I. 1
Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P. II. 1
Innsbruck, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol, Cod. 564
London, British Library, MS Add. 15407
London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius E. I
London, British Library, MS Harley 203
London, British Library, MS Harley 4352
London, British Library, MS Royal 4 B. x
London, British Library, MS Royal 5 E. XIV
London, British Library, MS Royal 6 D. VIII
London, British Library, MS Royal 7 A. II
London, British Library, MS Royal MS 7 B. IX
London, Lambeth Palace, MS 224
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *clm* 21248
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 271
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 569
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Pat. Lat. 204
Oxford, Jesus College, MS 4
Oxford, Merton College, MS 19

- Oxford, Queen's College, MS 315
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1769
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 2143
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 2155
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 2479
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 2885
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 3358
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 13414
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 14502
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, MS 324
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrits de Cîteaux, MS 182
(146)
Prague, Knihovny pražské metropolitní kapituly, MS A. CLVII (262)
Rouen, Bibliothèque Jacques Villon (*olim* Bibliothèque municipale), MS A.
366 (539)
Todi, Biblioteca Comunale "Lorenzo Leonii", MS 26 (cat. 2008: 43)
Todi, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 52 (cat. 2008: 45)
Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes (*olim* Bibliothèque municipale), MS
836
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ottob. lat. 173
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 101
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 175
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 310
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 655
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 656
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 657
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 10611
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ross. 343
Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library, MS F. 41
Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library, MS F. 132

Printed sources

- Anselm 1491, *Opera et tractatus beati Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ordinis sancti Benedicti*, ed.; Peter Danhauser, Nuremberg: Hochfeder, Caspar [GW 2032].
Anselm 1496 or soon after, *Opuscula beati Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ordinis sancti Benedicti*, reprint of Danhauser's edition with minor changes, Strasbourg: Husner, Georg [GW 2034].
Anselm 1497 or before, *Opuscula beati Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ordinis sancti Benedicti*, reprint of Danhauser's edition with minor changes, Basel: Johan Amberbach [GW 2033].

- Anselm 1544, *Omnia divi Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, theologorum omnium sui temporis facile principis, opuscula*, ed.: Antoine de Mouchy, Paris; reprinted: Paris 1549, Venice 1547 and 1549, Cologne in 1560 and 1573.
- Anselm 1612, *Divi Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis opera omnia*, ed.: Jean Picard, Cologne.
- Anselm 1630, *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed.: Théophile Raynaud, Lyon.
- Anselm 1675, *Sancti Anselmi ex Beccensi abbate Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera nec non Eadmeri monachi Cantuariensis Historia novorum et alia opuscula*, ed.: Gabriel Gerberon, Paris; reprinted with minor changes: Paris 1721, Venice 1744.
- Anselm 1853–4, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, ed.: Jacques-Paul Migne, vols clviii and clix, Paris.
- Anselm 1938–61, *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, 6 vols, Seckau, Rome & Edinburgh.
- Anselm 1969, *Memorials of St. Anselm*, ed. R.W. Southern, & F.S. Schmitt, F, London (*Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi* 1).
- Anselm 2019, *Letters of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, The Bec Letters*, ed.: Samu Niskanen, Oxford (*Oxford Medieval Texts*).
- Dehaisnes, Chrétien 1878, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque publique de Douai*, Paris (*Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements* 6).
- Gameson, Richard 1999, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, Oxford.
- Logan, Ian 2006, "Anselm and Thidricus: Revisiting Bodley 271", *Anselm and Abelard: Investigations and Juxtapositions*, ed.: Giles E.M. Gasper & Helmut Kohlenberger, Toronto, 67–86.
- Maffioli, Daniela 1998, *La Capitolare di Busto Arsizio attraverso la storia e alcuni suoi codici (XII-XV secolo)*, Busto Arsizio (*Quaderni della Capitolare* 4).
- Mews, C. J. 1991, "St. Anselm and Roscelin: Some Texts and Their Implications", *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge* 58, 55–98.
- Niskanen, Samu 2022, "Anselm's so-called Commendatio operis ad Vrbanum papam II: its affiliation, transmission, and a new critical edition", *Revue d'histoire des textes* 17, 341–366.
- Niskanen, Samu 2023, "From author to authority: Anselm's public reputation and the council of Bari (1098)", *Journal of Medieval History* 49, 1–22.
- Podlaha, Antonin 1910, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny Metropolitní kapitoly pražské*, Prague.

- Schmitt, Franciscus Salesius 1939, "Cinq recensions de l'Epistola de incarnatione Verbi de S. Anselme de Cantorbéry", *Revue Bénédictine* 51, 275–287.
- Schmitt, Franciscus Salesius 1955, "Die unter Anselm veranstaltete Ausgabe seiner Werke und Briefe, die Codices Bodley 271 und Lambeth 59", *Scriptorium* 9, 64–75.
- Schmitt, Franciscus Salesius 1984, "Die verschiedenen Rezensionen der Epistola de Incarnatione Verbi", *Prolegomena seu ratio editionis in Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, repr. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1984, vol. 1, 78–89.
- Sharpe, Richard 2003, *Titulus: Identifying Medieval Latin Texts. An Evidence-Based Method*, Turnhout.
- Sharpe, Richard 2009, "Anselm as Author: Publishing in the Late Eleventh Century", *Journal of Medieval Latin* 19, 1–87.
- Trithemius, Johannes 1494, *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, Basel: Amerbach, Johann [GW M47578].
- Vincent of Beauvais 1624, *Speculum doctrinale*, ed.: Balthazar, Bellère, Douai.