

Climbing Ladders: Childhood and Monastic Formation in  
England, c.950-1200.



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### **Short Abstract:**

This thesis seeks to understand the lives of oblates, children given by their parents to Benedictine monasteries in England between c.950 and 1200. Scholars have long recognised that children were important to monastic recruitment and drawn attention to the significance of the ritual by which they entered religious houses, but few have explored their experiences afterward. This thesis addresses that gap. It seeks to demonstrate the capacity of surviving sources to establish conditions of boyhood and girlhood after oblation, and it argues that these give us access to and allow us to understand changes in their development between infancy and adolescence.

It also argues that a child-centric approach, focussed on examining evidence for child experience, allows us to represent children's development in a more realistic way, showing how their world-views were informed by encounters with religious knowledge in disciplinary, liturgical, and literary spheres. Chapter one asks whether children's experience of discipline relied upon the preferences of teachers in Anglo-Saxon England, but were shaped by processes of institutionalisation at Canterbury after the Norman Conquest. Chapter two assumes that boys and girls were probably formed by similar experiences of liturgical performance, but it also examines evidence for competition, and suggests that processions became more significant to boys' experiences after the Conquest and that girls may have encountered a different emphasis in their needlework. Chapter three, on literary instruction, explores how experiences of learning Latin grammar played a role in shaping children's religious knowledge, behaviour, and monastic identities. Chapter four, on adolescence, argues that adulthood was signposted by the emergence of a new ritual of confirmation as well as by children's training in activities explored previously, and it confirms the significance of some of these experiences through an examination of children's own surviving compositions.

### **Long Abstract:**

This thesis seeks to understand the lives of oblates, children who were given by their parents to Benedictine monasteries in England between c.950 and 1200. Religious children were an important part of contemporary religious life and their presence has left its mark in a large number of surviving school-texts, mortuary rolls, and religious consuetudinaries, but their conditions, the dynamics of their formative experiences, and their voices have often been overlooked. This thesis seeks to demonstrate the capacity of surviving sources to improve our understanding of children's conditions and to represent the lives of boys and girls in parallel.

This thesis addresses a gap in the historiography of oblation and monastic childhood in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England. While I show that contemporaries placed great importance on oblation as a source of recruits and as an experience of religious life, investing resources in children's care and training, I recognise that few scholars have shown a similar research interest. Arguing that early studies on monastic recruitment in the nineteenth century and more recent studies on medieval childhood and even Anglo-Saxon childhood have neglected the voices and experiences of religious children, this thesis draws on contributions made in theology by Maria Lahaye-Geusen which have demonstrated the utility of monastic customaries for recovering and representing evidence of child experience. It also builds on developments in sociology, and the studies on childhood experience of Sheila Greene in particular – which have argued for more critical approaches to 'child knowledge' and for the need to represent 'development' in narrative form. Informed by sociological principles, this present study therefore moves from infancy to adolescence, focussing in each life-stage on evidence for children's experiences in three spheres: discipline, the liturgy, and Latin learning, and it compares evidence for these spheres in pre- and post-Conquest monastic environments.

Chapter one examines discipline in the light of evidence for contemporary strategies to manage children's behaviour. It argues that children's experiences of discipline appear to have been dependent on the preferences of dedicated teachers in Anglo-Saxon England, but that the experiences of their Anglo-Norman counterparts at Canterbury were shaped by processes of institutionalisation and by a more detailed body of

disciplinary regulations. Chapter two, on the liturgy, examines how structures relating to the choir and daily round might have played a role in enabling children to emerge into liturgical communities. It argues that boys and girls appear to have been formed by similar experiences of selectivity in the performance of parts of monastic liturgies, with the difference that boys' experiences centred on feast days and ritual processions after the Conquest and that girls' experiences centred more on craft-skills useful for elaborating church vestments and spaces. Chapter three, on literary instruction, considers the role of the school as an educational environment and of Latin learning as an area of intellectual development. It explores the idea that the process of learning Latin grammar in Anglo-Saxon England was not fixed or optimal, but dependent on a variety of changing local conditions in houses of both men and women. It also considers how learning Latin grammar might have been important to shaping boys' and perhaps also girls' religious knowledge at a foundational level. Chapter four, which closes this thesis, explores questions relating to how and when children were recognised as religious adults. It does so by exploring evidence for the emergence of a new ritual of confirmation or consecration which marked the elevation of children into senior status. It also shows how changes in the dynamics of experience which I raise in earlier chapters might have played a role in signposting that elevation and in addition to opportunities for promotion to monastic offices or priestly orders.

The thesis concludes by considering how the evidence of children's own written compositions confirm the significance of experiences explored in earlier chapters. In addition to establishing the importance of this source base, however, it assesses the nature of research aims articulated in the introduction and asks how far the primary source base as a whole enabled us to meet our initial ambitions. This section offers a survey of the limitations and uses of prescriptive sources, arguing that while they do not offer grounds suitable for understanding the experience of religious infancy or girlhood, they provide important insight into how children's experiences may have varied between different houses and generations and draw our attention to the ways in which children integrated into daily rounds and memorised and performed liturgical texts. This section then demonstrates how developmental perspectives enable more realistic and more connected understandings of child experience, drawing together a picture of boyhood and girlhood which depends on my structure and on arguments entertained in each section of the thesis.

## Acknowledgements

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Για σένανε, μικρό μου, είναι γραμμένο.

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Any errors or infelicities of expression that remain are, of course, entirely my own.

## Abbreviations

ÆlfBColl = Ælfric Bata, *Colloquia*, ed. and trans. Scott Gwara and David Porter, *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: The Colloquies of Ælfric Bata* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997).

ÆlfCHom I = Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text, EETS s.s. 17 (Oxford: University Press, 1997).

ÆlfColl = Ælfric of Eynsham, *Colloquium*, ed. George N. Garmonsway, *Ælfric's Colloquy* (London: Methuen, 1939), rev. ed. Exeter: University Press, 1991.

ASE *Anglo-Saxon England* (Journal)

BL British Library

BT Bosworth-Toller Dictionary of Old English: <http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/>. Last updated c. 2013.

CCCC Cambridge, Corpus Christi College

CCCM *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*

CCSL *Corpus Christianorum*, Series Latina (Turnhout: Brepols, 1952- ).

CCM *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, ed. Kassius Hallinger (Siegburg: Franciscum Schmitt, 1963- ).

C&S = *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church AD. 871-1204*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, Martin Brett, Christopher N. L. Brooke and Frederick M. Powicke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 2 vols.

*Constitutiones* = Lanfranc of Canterbury, *Constitutiones*, ed. and trans. David Knowles and Christopher N. L. Brooke, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002).

CSEL *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*

DOE *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus: A to H online*, Dictionary of Old English Project, ed. A. Cameron, A. C. Amos, A. Healey et al (Toronto, 2016): <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/?E04749>.

DOEWC = *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*, ed. Antonette diPaolo Healey with John Price Wilkin and Xin Xiang. (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2009): <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doecorpus/>.

DRV Douay-Rheims Latin Vulgate: <http://www.drbo.org/lvb>.

- EETS    Early English Text Society
- o.s.    = Ordinary Series
- s.s.    = Supplementary Series
- EGA     = Ælfric of Eynsham, *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice*, ed. Julius Zupitza., *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar: Text und Varianten*, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben (Berlin: Weidmann, 1880); repr. with introduction by Helmut Gneuss, Hildesheim: Weidmann, 2003.
- EME     = Ælfric of Eynsham, *Epistula ad monachos Egneshammenses directa*, ed. and trans. Christopher Jones, *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo Saxon England 24 (Cambridge: University Press, 1998).
- Gneuss, *Handlist* = Helmut Gneuss (ed.), *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, (Tempe, Arizona: Center (sic) for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001).
- HBS     Henry Bradshaw Society
- MGH     Monumenta Germaniae Historica
- Auct. ant. = Auctores antiquissimi
- Capit. = Leges, Capitularia regum Francorum, 2 vols.
- Capit. Episc. = Capitula Episcoporum
- Conc. = Concilia, Concilia aeui Karolini (742-842), 2 vols
- Script. supp. tom. = Scriptores, Supplementa Tomorum
- MS      = Manuscript
- OERB    = *The Old English Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. Arnold Schröer, *Die Angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerregel*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 2 (Kassel: G.H. Wigand, 1885-88); repr. with introduction by Helmut Gneuss, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964.
- OMT     Oxford Medieval Texts
- PG      *Patrologia cursus completus series: Graeca*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris: Garnier fratres, 1857-66), 161 vols.
- PL      *Patrologia cursus completus series: Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris: Garnier fratres, 1841-64), 221 vols.

- RC = Æthelwold of Winchester, *Regularis Concordia*, ed. and trans. Thomas Symons, *Regularis Concordia Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque. The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, Medieval Classics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953).
- RSB *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Bruce Venarde, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 6 (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University, 2011).

Note: All references to the Psalter and Bible will follow the *Douay-Rheims Vulgate* (see DRV above). My own translations are also marked as such in references.

## Introduction: Monastic Childhood

Tibi gratias ago, summe Rex, qui [...] odelerium patrem meum aspirasti ut me sibi penitus abidi caret, et tibi omnimodis subiugaret. Rainaldo igitur monacho plorans plorantem me tradidit et pro amore tuo in exilium destinavit nec me umquam postea uidit. Paternis nempe uotis tenellus puer obuiare non presumpsit, sed in omnibus illi utro adquieri [...]

A uenerabili Mainerio abbate (c.1066-89) in monasterio uticensi undecimo aetatis meae anno ad monachatum susceptus sum, undecimaque kalendas octobris dominico clericali ritu tonsoratus sum. Nomen quoque 'Vitalis' pro anglico uocamine quod Normannis absonum censebatur michi impositum est. Idus Martii cum xvi essem annorum, iussu Serlonis electi Giselbertus, Luxouiensis presul (c.1077-1101), ordinavit me subdiaconum.<sup>1</sup>

This account of childhood memory, written by Orderic Vitalis (c.1075-1141) in the last year of his life, has long transfixed modern readers interested in the lives of medieval children. Orderic, a monastic historian of early twelfth-century Normandy, belonged to an influential group of men and women in medieval Europe of the Latin west who are now collectively described by scholars as 'oblates'. These individuals had been 'offered' (*offerare, oblatus*) by their parents to monasteries in childhood, and were raised inside the cloister to become religious. Few of those who grew up in monasteries provided any account of their religious entry, however, and so Orderic's reflections here, have, over the intervening centuries, and with the emergence of a historiographical canon on monastic recruitment, come to dominate historians' views of oblation and

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<sup>1</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, OMT (Oxford, 1968-1980), VI, bk. 13, pp. 552-3, 554-5: 'I give thanks to you, supreme King, who [...] did inspire my father, Odelerius, to renounce me utterly and submit me in all things to your governance. Weeping, he gave me, a weeping child, into the care of the monk, Reginald, and sent me away into exile for love of You. He never saw me again. I, a mere boy, did not presume to oppose my father's wishes but in all things willingly obeyed him [...] I was accepted to be an oblate monk in the abbey of Saint-Evroult by the venerable Abbot Mainer in the eleventh year of my age and was given a clerical tonsure on Sunday the twenty-first of September 1085. In place of my English name, Orderic, which sounded harsh to the Normans, the name *Vitalis* (lit. 'lively') was given me, [and] on the fifteenth of March 1091, when I was just sixteen years old, Gilbert, Bishop of Lisieux ordained me as sub-deacon'.

represent the voices of oblates generally.<sup>2</sup> Orderic's recollection of his oblation, and the processes by which he entered a religious house in Normandy at the age of eleven, therefore provides a useful entry point for this thesis. His first-hand account provides us with a clear basis from which we can recognise that oblation had a life-long significance, encouraging him to adopt a monastic view of his life as part of a Divine Plan and to justify his father's decision to give him away.

Many hundreds if not thousands of children were given by their parents to religious houses in the early and high middle ages, however, and Orderic's account, useful though it has been to historical research on oblation, is rather singular. It is also rather slim, and represents only a handful of initial moments, centred on his entry into religion. His brief recollection tells us almost nothing of his monastic training between the age of eleven and the age of sixteen, when he was ordained, and, what memories of childhood he does provide also appear to have been deeply coloured by retrospection as an adult. If it is clear too that this portrait does not tell us much about the lives of other boys, who lived in other regions of Europe, who were born into different generations, and who encountered different customs and religious values in different houses after oblation, then it is clear that his words tell us even less about girls who entered religious communities of women in a similar period.

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<sup>2</sup> For example, Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings: 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000), p. 414: 'Traditional Benedictine monasticism presumed that large numbers would begin the monastic life as child oblates. A notable example was Orderic Vitalis (sic)...'. See also Conrad Leyser and Lesley Smith (eds.), *Motherhood, Religion, and Society in Medieval Europe, 400-1400: Essays Presented to Henrietta Leyser* (Farnham, 2011), p. 96.

We possess a large number of surviving documents which illuminate aspects of the lives of some of the many children who shared in Orderic's oblate status. The writings of contemporary religious authors, many of whom were teachers of children, throw light onto the different ways in which children entered religious communities and were cared for by those who raised them to become religious. Medieval school-texts, used by teachers to organise experiences of formal instruction, demonstrate that at least some monastic children were educated carefully. They indicate that contemporary religious recognised the importance of children, and went to extraordinary lengths to equip them with literary skills and forms of conceptual and socio-behavioural knowledge that would secure their communities for future generations. Monastic customaries, documents which were intended to organise the lives of monks and nuns, reveal more about the lives of children after oblation too, and show that they were initiated into the routines of the *Opus Dei*, learning cycles of monastic intercessory prayer framed by the hourly, daily, weekly, and yearly recital of Christian scripture. Monastic histories also reveal that religious children were valued as conveyers of community memory. Indeed, several monastic historians active in Europe between the tenth and twelfth centuries appear to have begun their religious lives as children. Historical writers are known to have sought out the testimonies of religious men and women who had entered their communities as children and who were assumed to constitute particularly trustworthy witnesses to past events. We find one such example in the case of Eadmer, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury (c.1060-1126), who sought out the senior monks who had entered Glastonbury as oblates before the Norman Conquest in order to confirm that Canterbury had acquired a collection of relics once held there.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Eadmer of Canterbury, *Epistola ad Glastonienses*, in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1874), pp. 412-22, at 421-2: 'Puto superesse qui ante ista Normannorum tempora inibi nutriti in monachica religione fuerunt. Quærite ab eis'; trans. Richard Sharpe in *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey: Essays in Honour of the Ninetieth*

This wider body of evidence for oblate experience and for a contemporary appreciation of the importance of religious children within monastic communities has not, however, always found similar parallel in modern scholarship, much of which has either focussed on individual portraits, like Orderic's, or found an origin in the problematic work of Philippe Ariès, *La Vie Familiale*.<sup>4</sup>

This work was in fact fundamental to launching the entire field of childhood history. It played an important role in arguing for the historicity of childhood, demonstrating that childhood was a socio-cultural construct, subject to change over time, and worthy of serious historical examination. But it also argued that childhood was a modern concept, and concluded, rather importantly for us, that there was no such thing as 'childhood' in the Middle Ages.<sup>5</sup> Ariès' work has therefore provided one of the most puzzling of beginnings for research into religious children. While his research led to an explosion of interest in and publication on children's lives in a modern context, it also initially consigned medieval childhood to a kind of 'Dark Ages', confining scholarship to a rather narrow perspective which assumed that children lived in broadly the same manner throughout the medieval period; that children 'grew up' or took on adult roles relatively early, and that the lives of children were emotionally distressing, physically brutal, and subject to cultures where abuse was not only endemic, but normal.<sup>6</sup>

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*Birthday of C. A. Raleigh Radford*, ed. Lesley Abrams, James P. Carley, and Courtenay A. R. Radford (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 205-16: 'I think that some survive [in your house] who were nurtured to become monks before these Norman times, please ask of them [what they remember]'.

<sup>4</sup> Originally published in French and later translated into English, Philippe Ariès, *L'Enfant et la Vie Familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1960); trans. Robert Baldick, *Centuries of Childhood* (London, 1962).

<sup>5</sup> Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. Baldick, p. 125: 'In medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist'.

<sup>6</sup> Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. Baldick, p. 129.

In this context, interest in Orderic Vitalis' emotional account appears less surprising. Many studies on medieval children which have emerged since the publication of Ariès' work have either followed or been affected by his principles when approaching this kind of evidence, and have contributed further to an image of the difficult lives of medieval children. Lloyd DeMause's work on *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, for example, framed Ariès' picture of childhood in terms which emphasised the primitive nature of the Middle Ages, assuming that 'the further back in history one goes, the lower the level of child-care, and the more likely children are to be killed, abandoned, beaten, terrorized (sic) and sexually abused'.<sup>7</sup> DeMause characterised the Middle Ages as an embryonic stage in child-adult relations, and as little more than a starting point in a longer progression of parental attitudes which, beginning with 'Infanticide and Abandonment', led towards an enlightened and more child-friendly age of 'Socialising and Helping' in the twentieth century.<sup>8</sup>

David Herlihy's article on 'Medieval Children' contested parts of this picture, arguing that the process of Christianisation from Late Antiquity, and the adoption of ritual practices relating to baptism in particular, were positive for children. But his study also continued to frame childhood conditions in terms which assumed 'progress' over time, and only asserted instead that the Christian Church had been a primary motor for that development, and had humanised children in the eyes of adults, ensuring that previously widespread practices of infanticide became less acceptable.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Lloyd DeMause, *The History of Childhood* (London, 1974), p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> DeMause, *History of Childhood*, p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> David Herlihy, 'Medieval Children', in *Essays on Medieval Civilization: The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures*, ed. Bede K. Lackner and Kenneth R. Philip (Austin Tex, 1978), pp. 109-41.

Linda Pollock's monograph, *Forgotten Children*, which focusses on the early modern period, is now considered to have played an important role in challenging some of the assumptions on which these studies depended. She argued, for example, that scholars working on the history of childhood not only tended to accept Ariès' thesis without question, but very often fell into a pattern of actively seeking out evidence of child neglect. This meant that scholars often ignored a far larger, if less sensational, corpus of evidence indicating that children were loved by their parents or guardians, and that children had in fact typically received the kinds of care which we could reasonably expect to find in any functional society, enabling children to develop into socially and economically effective adults.<sup>10</sup>

It is the case of course that research on oblate monks predates the appearance of Ariès' thesis, and owes an origin to a period, long before the emergence of history and childhood history as academic fields, when the primary rationale for studying religious childhood was owed to the personal religious convictions of independent scholars. But these studies contributed little to our understanding of the lives of children beyond exploring the ritual by which they entered monasteries. Early studies of monastic oblation find a certain beginning in the works of religious historians who were writing in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and perhaps chiefly in the works of M. P. Deroux and Dom Ursmer Berlière. But their researches primarily explored an early history of oblation as part of a wider church history, treating monastic childhood as an issue of recruitment, rather than as a kind of experience.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Linda A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> M. P. Deroux, *Les Origines de l'Oblature Bénédictine: Étude Historique* (Vienne, 1927); Ursmer Berlière, *Le Recrutement dans les Monastères Bénédictins aux XIIIe et XIVe Siècles* (Brussels, 1924).

Numerous studies which emerged later, in the 1970s and 1980s, were informed by early childhood studies, and began to integrate this history of oblation into currents of research that were more focussed on understanding childhood. Again, however, many of these framed experiences of oblation as symptomatic of medieval conditions and produced narratives which took a moralising approach, characterising oblation as just another, if more visible and more institutionalised, type of childhood mistreatment. John Boswell, in his *The Abandonment of Children*, identified oblation recruitment practices in this way, as a notionally more ‘humane’ alternative to otherwise prevailing practices of infanticide.<sup>12</sup> Joseph Lynch’s study on *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life* interpreted patchy evidence for the survival of oblation practices in the twelfth century in a similar way too, as an indication of the persistence of primitive attitudes and economic systems, and the result of an abiding attachment in the most socially and economically conservative areas of Europe to concepts of ‘parental disposal’.<sup>13</sup>

Although this view of oblation continues to hold weight in some respects, the history of childhood has moved on from debates centred on Ariès, and ideas of the early medieval period as a time of pervasive neglect of children have undergone significant revision. Allison James and Alan Prout, who explicitly advanced a *New Sociology of Childhood* in the early 1990s, are perhaps emblematic of recent directions.<sup>14</sup> Their studies demonstrate a confluence which has emerged between scholars working in sociology and history and which has since contributed towards a shift in childhood history. This shift can be understood in terms of a process of theorisation and in terms of an

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<sup>12</sup> John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York, 1988).

<sup>13</sup> Joseph Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000- 1260: A Social, Economic and Legal Study* (Columbus Ohio, 1976), pp. 36-9.

<sup>14</sup> Allison James and Alan Prout, *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood* (New York, 1990), rev. ed., Washington DC, 1998.

intellectual movement towards a more critical evaluation of how we represent childhood in narrative form and how, indeed, research methods determine our access to and understanding of childhood in historical contexts.<sup>15</sup>

This means that scholars now increasingly seek to understand and represent childhood on its own terms.<sup>16</sup> Scholars approach research on childhood in ways which recognise that ‘childhood’ refers to the discrete experiences of boys and girls, and that the experience of childhood belonged to a wider continuum of experience – that it connected with and led into biologically and culturally determined adulthoods – and that it belonged to and was shaped by a wider historical context.<sup>17</sup> Sociologists also take more critical approaches to their understanding of ‘child knowledge’, pointing to the acquired nature of knowledge, and arguing for the need to avoid projecting adult values, perspectives, and skills onto children.<sup>18</sup>

This shift now fundamentally shapes the direction of research in our field. These directions have provided particularly important road maps for historical researchers who might not otherwise sufficiently question the significance of research questions or the way in which approaches to primary sources fundamentally determine our access to and understanding of children as historical subjects. They have also provided grounds

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<sup>15</sup> For an evaluation of this ‘Turn’, see Sarah H. Matthews, ‘A Window on the ‘New’ Sociology of Childhood’, *Sociology Compass* 1 (2007), pp. 322-34.

<sup>16</sup> For an example of this critique, see Judith Ennew, ‘Time of Children or Time for Adults?’, in *Childhood Matters: Social Theory, Practice, and Politics*, ed. Jens Qvortrup, Giovani Sgritta, and Helmut Wintersberger (Aldershot, 1994), passim, esp. p. 127.

<sup>17</sup> Gisela Labouvie-Vief, Grünh Daniel, Manfred Diehl, and Mark Lumley, ‘Developmental Trajectories or Ego-Development across the Adult Life-Span: Evidence from a 12-year Longitudinal Study’, *International Journal of Psychology*, 43 (2008), p. 392.

<sup>18</sup> See, Steven Pinker, *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature* (New York, 2002); and also, Ian Butler, ‘Children and the Sociology of Childhood’, in *A Case of Neglect? Children’s Experiences and the Sociology of Childhood*, ed. Ian Butler and Ian Shaw (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 1-18.

from which we can better understand the role of children in the transmission of ideas, and, in the case of studies on religious childhood, ideas that were most important to monasteries, including religious identity and Christian doctrine. And they highlight a need to consciously represent perspectives which are often overlooked by virtue of the fact that researchers are adults – who tend not to value experiences particular to children, such as growth and ignorance.<sup>19</sup>

Yet while many areas of childhood history have responded to these currents, undergoing significant transformation and attracting renewed academic interest and publication, scholarship on monastic oblation has only partly responded.<sup>20</sup> Interest in the study of childhood in Anglo-Saxon England has been marked by the publication in 1999 of Sally Crawford's primarily archaeological study, *Childhood in Anglo-Saxon England*, by the publication of a number of studies interested in the education of children in medieval England, such as Nicholas Orme's *Medieval Schools*, and by studies of the representation of children in literary contexts, such as Susan Irvine's and Winfried Rudolf's edited collection on *Childhood and Adolescence in Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*. But these either side-stepped advances between sociology and history, or did not seek to understand monastic childhood as a discrete experience.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Paula Fass shows that all knowledge is acquired from childhood, see her 'The World is at Our Door: Why Historians of Children and Childhood Should Open Up', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 1 (2008), p. 13.

<sup>20</sup> These include, Ruth Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formation of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2002) and Merridee Bailey, *Socialising the Child in Late Medieval England, c.1400-1600* (Woodbridge, 2012).

<sup>21</sup> Sally Crawford, *Childhood in Anglo-Saxon England* (Stroud, 1999); Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven, 2006); Susan Irvine and Winfried Rudolf (eds.), *Childhood and Adolescence in Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* (Toronto, 2018).

In fact, for the most part, the study of monastic oblation has remained firmly locked into a broader field of church history which has tended not to ask how children lived in their own terms, but what oblates and oblation tell us about the values of other adults and of the role of the Church in medieval society as a whole. Mayke de Jong's study on the oblation of boys in the Carolingian Empire, *In Samuel's Image*, characterises this state of affairs. Although published more than two decades ago, it remains the standard authority on monastic oblation.<sup>22</sup> This study remains highly significant. It demonstrated that the development of rituals of oblation for girls as well as boys in Europe was closely bound up with the growth in use of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* (or 'Rule of Saint Benedict').<sup>23</sup> Although earlier customaries, including those of the Greek-speaking East, such as Saint Basil's greater and lesser *Asketikon* (*Ἀσκητικόν*), had provided monastic houses with authorisation to receive children into their communities at 'any time and from the earliest age' (*πάντα καιρὸν και τὸν της πρώτης ἡλικίας*),<sup>24</sup> she has argued that the *Regula Benedicti* was unique among monastic rules emerging in the sixth-century Latin west in that it contained the earliest-known prescription for a ritual which secured boys as permanent members of religious communities:

[c. 59: *De Filiis Nobilium Aut Pauperum Qui Offeruntur*]

Si quis forte de nobilibus offerit filium suum Deo in monasterio, si ipse puer minor aetate est, parentes eius faciant petitionem quam supra diximus et cum oblationem ipsam petitionem et manum pueri inuoluebant in palla altaris, et sic eum offerant. De

<sup>22</sup> Mayke de Jong's monograph is based on her Ph.D. thesis, 'Kind en Klooster in de Vroege Middeleeuwen: Aspecten van de Schenking van Kinderen aan Kloosters in het Frankische Rijk (500-900)', *Ph.D Dissertation, Amsterdam* (1986).

<sup>23</sup> Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 56-99. For a more general study on the Frankish reforms see the 'Introduction' of Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (Cambridge, 1977). See also Matthew D. Ponesse, 'Smaragdus of St. Mihiel and the Carolingian Monastic Reform', *Revue Bénédictine* 116 (2006), esp. pp. 371-6.

<sup>24</sup> *Asketikon*, ed. Migne, 'eiusdem regulae fusius tractatae', PG 31, cols. 890-1050, at cols. 952-8; see *Regula Basilii*, ed. and trans. Anna Silvas, *The Rule of St Basil in Latin and English: A Revised Critical Edition* (Collegeville Minn, 2013), c. vii, pp. 88-9.

rebus autem suis, aut in praesenti petitione promittant sub iure iurando quia numquam per se, numquam per suspectam personam nec quolibet modo ei aliquando aliquid dant aut tribuunt occasionem habendi [...] atque ita omnia obstruantur, ut nulla suspicio remaneat puero per quam deceptus perire possit [...] similiter autem et pauperiores faciant. Qui uero ex toto nihil habent, simpliciter petitionem faciant et cum oblationem offerant filium suum coram testibus.<sup>25</sup>

Mayke de Jong's study has shown that this ritual gained ground after a series of church reforms under Charles the Great (768-814) called for the *Regula Benedicti* to serve the monasteries of the Carolingian Empire in preference to all others. A reform council at Aachen in 817 dealt with contemporary anxieties about the involuntary nature of child recruitment by allowing a mixed position, deciding that parents had a right to give away their children and that monasteries of the Carolingian Empire should consider oblations irrevocable, but requiring that boys should also confirm (*confirmare*) the terms of their religious status at a later 'age of understanding' (*tempus intelligibilis*).<sup>26</sup> De Jong's work made contributions to the history of childhood too. Her study moved historians of monasticism away from aspects of Ariès' thesis which had infiltrated scholarship on oblation, playing an important role in rejecting narratives that had viewed accounts of oblation, like those of Orderic, in overly emotional terms and as a form of 'abandonment'.<sup>27</sup> De Jong's thesis was also innovative in its narrative focus on the oblation ritual, and so provided a close and sustained examination of a childhood experience.

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<sup>25</sup> RSB, c. 59, p. 193: 'If it happens that a nobleman offers his own son to the monastery, if the boy is young, his relatives should make the petition we discussed above, and they should tie together the petition and the boy's hand in an altar cloth, with the oblation, and offer him that way. Concerning his property, they should either promise under oath in this same petition that they will never give him anything themselves, nor through a third party [...] In this way, everything is closed off, so that the boy cannot harbour (sic) any hope by which, God forbid, he could be deceived and ruined [...] Let poorer people do likewise. Those who have no property at all should simply draw up the petition and offer their son before witnesses, with the oblation'.

<sup>26</sup> *Collectio Capitularis*, CCM I, c. 48, 529; De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, p. 234.

<sup>27</sup> De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 219-20.

This final contribution was perhaps achieved only incidentally, however, and resulted more from an orientation toward a ritual which happened to include children. De Jong's monograph was more fundamentally an examination of the history of an institution and recruitment practice. Her study sought to replace narratives which had emerged from social history, including the studies of John Boswell and Patricia Quinn, which forwarded divergent views of oblation either as a form of child neglect or as an attempt to foster a microcosm of the ideal medieval society. De Jong adopted a position which was primarily aimed to support a view of oblation as a Christian ritual, sustained by aristocratic parents, enabled by the Church, and intended to save children's souls. She also adopted adult-centric methods, measuring the 'significance' of oblation practices in terms which represented the perspectives and assumptions of parents and priests first, and before those of children.

A little known study by Maria Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer der Kinder* (The Oblation/Sacrifice of Children), moved the history of oblation towards a closer child-centric study of the experience of monastic childhood in early and high medieval Europe. She explored the nature of boys' lives through monastic customaries, asking whether and how far prescriptive documents surviving from dozens of male communities across Europe tell us how the boy oblate, as an 'Idealtyp', became a religious; what he learned, what form his education took, how he was supervised, how he was disciplined for misbehaviour, and how (and why) contemporaries sought to safeguard him from interactions with adult monks.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Maria Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer der Kinder: ein Beitrag zur Liturgie- und Sozialgeschichte des Mönchtums im Hohen Mittelalter* (Altenberge, 1991), esp. pp. 160-9.

Although this study was a work of theology, and had primarily sought to emphasise the religious significance of experiences in monastic boyhood, Lahaye-Geusen's study demonstrated the utility of prescriptive documents to the childhood historian, establishing how they can give us access to conditions which shaped boys' experiences in monastic contexts. Its greatest limitation lay in the fact that it did not extend to girls. Layah-Geusen relied on customaries too, and did not give any space to exploring non-prescriptive sources which might have added useful nuance to her impression of boys' conditions. It also ranged quite broadly across Europe, moving seamlessly between houses in Germany, Flanders, and France, and so it did not account for the ways in which childhood experience likely depended on children's own communities, cultures, and emerging national polities.

This means that there is room for a study which explores the experiences of both boys and girls after they entered religious houses and which asks how far surviving sources enable our understanding of their development before adulthood. Indeed, there is space for a study which focuses on a particular area of Europe too, representing the ways in which childhood experiences intersected with religious communities and national cultures. It is with this in mind that this study asks how far surviving evidence gives us access to and allows us to understand the experience of religious boyhood and girlhood in the Benedictine monasteries of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England. Beyond the fact that a closer regional and institutional focus could enable a meaningful study of childhood, it recognises that England had become a relatively – and perhaps an unusually – coherent kingdom from the mid-tenth century. It also recognises that monastic life in England was dominated by a close network of Benedictine communities

from a similar period. The kingdom supported a small number of organised Benedictine communities which housed religious women in addition to those which housed men.<sup>29</sup> Many of these communities were stable, and, indeed, existed continuously until the dissolution of the monasteries under King Henry VIII (1509-1547). What is more, these institutions serve our material needs well. They produced and have left behind a rich and surprisingly large body of primary sources, and, indeed, they were the only institutions to produce the kind of materials relating to the conditions and experiences of boys and girls which make this study possible.

For this thesis, I have settled on a chronological focus starting in around 950, enabling me to use primary sources associated with a period of monastic history known to specialists as the ‘monastic reform’. This phrase describes evidence for the extensive reorganisation of religious life in England which had origins in a network of clerics – notably, Archbishop Oda of Canterbury (d.958), Bishop Ælfheah of Winchester (c.934-51), and Bishop Coenwald of Worcester (c.928-957) – shaped by the influence of Carolingian monasticism at the court of King Æthelstan (c.924-939).<sup>30</sup> It also describes a movement which emerged either at the Abbey of Glastonbury or the Abbey of Abingdon under the stewardship of a younger generation of clerics, namely Dunstan (Abbot of Glastonbury and later Archbishop of Canterbury, c.909-988) and Æthelwold (Abbot of Abingdon and later Bishop of Winchester, c.904/9-984). These figures appear

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<sup>29</sup> For an excellent study which compares aristocratic foundations such as Barking, Shaftesbury, Wilton, Nunnaminster, Horton, Amesbury, and Romsey, organised in line with the Benedictine Monastic Reform with more ephemeral religious communities, see Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women I: The Disappearance of Nuns from Anglo-Saxon England 871-1066* (Aldershot, 2000), esp. ch. 4, pp. 85-110, 145-98, and ch. 7, pp. 199-208. For women’s religious houses after the Conquest, see Sally Thompson, *Women Religious: The Founding of English Monasteries After the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1991), esp. pp. 83-93, 166-72, 174.

<sup>30</sup> David H. Farmer, ‘The Progress of the Monastic Revival’, in *Tenth Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. David Parsons (London, 1975), pp. 10-19, at 10. For more on the role of Æthelstan’s court, see Sarah Foot, *Æthelstan: The First King of England* (New Haven, 2011), pp. 107-9.

to have played an important role in introducing into England monastic regulations related to the Carolingian reform councils which encouraged the widespread adoption of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* as a universal guide for monastic life.<sup>31</sup> In addition, this period of monastic reform also gave rise to an Old English translation of the *Regula Benedicti* – meaning that the primary source base of England provides unusual insight into how monasteries in England sought to organise themselves and the childhoods of the boys and girls who joined them.<sup>32</sup>

My choice of end terminus for this study, set around 1200, bridges two important events in English and monastic history. First, it enables an examination of the lives of child oblates who grew up in either an Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman context, providing a perspective useful to continued debates about the impact of the Norman invasion in 1066. Second, and perhaps more importantly for a study on child oblation, a terminus at the end of the twelfth century enables this thesis to include primary sources composed in the late twelfth century and early thirteenth, ensuring that this thesis supports a revised picture of the decline and end of oblation practices in England. John Doran first challenged an assertion made by David Knowles in his *Monastic Order in England* that oblation declined in England from the early- and mid-twelfth century (e.g. ‘the last, or one of the last recorded cases of oblation was at Abingdon in 1150’).<sup>33</sup> Indeed, Nora

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<sup>31</sup> For more on the recension of the RSB known as the *textus receptus*, see Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 245-7. For an early hagiographic witness to Dunstan’s introduction of the *Regula* at Glastonbury Abbey in the 940s, see ‘B’, *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, in *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge, OMT (Oxford, 2012), pp. lvii, 51. Dunstan’s leadership of this ‘reform’ has been disputed, and the agencies of Bishop Æthelwold are increasingly favoured, see Nicola Robertson, ‘Dunstan and Monastic Reform: Tenth-Century Fact or Twelfth-Century Fiction?’, in *Anglo-Norman Studies XXVIII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2005*, ed. Christopher P. Lewis (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 153-167.

<sup>32</sup> See, OERB.

<sup>33</sup> David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216* (rev. ed., Cambridge, 1963), p. 421; for a correction of Knowles’ thesis, see John Doran, ‘Oblation or Obligation? A Canonical Ambiguity’, in *The Church*

Berend, exploring the evidence of canon law, has shown that past attempts to find prohibitions against oblation in Gratian's (fl.1140) *Decreta* were misplaced as well, and ignored evidence for the gradual nature of changes in canon law, meaning that oblation practices continued into the thirteenth century.<sup>34</sup> But despite these directions, a revised pattern for oblation practices has yet to find widespread acceptance.<sup>35</sup>

For my study it will be important to set out how I organise chapters and handle sources in order to produce a meaningful picture of childhood experience in England's Benedictine houses. The first step in preparing this thesis has been to consider the process by which it should be undertaken and written: how (far) it should be supported by sociological frameworks, what shape it should take, in what order it should be arranged, and how far my study might be affected by and so must account for material and argumentative limitations. As such, this thesis adopts an analytical focus on evidence for child 'experience'.<sup>36</sup> In doing so, it follows the 'reflective and flexible' research methods outlined by Sheila Greene.<sup>37</sup> Her studies recognise experience, or 'social action', as a central and consistent driver of all processes of psychological and sociological development during childhood. They suggest that a narrative on childhood

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*and Childhood: Papers Read at the 1993 Summer Meeting and the Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford, 1994), passim, esp. p. 141.

<sup>34</sup> Nora Berend, 'La Subversion Invisible: La Disparition de l'Oblation Irrévocable des Enfants dans le Droit Canons', *Médiévales* 13 (1994), 123-36, esp. 125-6: 'Dans la littérature sur l'oblation, le rôle décisive dans la disparition canonique de l'oblation irrévocable est attribué soit à Gratien, soit à un des deux papes, Clément III (1187-1191) ou Célestin III (1191-1198)...je me propose de montrer que les textes de droit canon traitant de cette question présentent plus de complexité...il est possible d'avancer la thèse d'un changement lent et graduel'.

<sup>35</sup> Knowles' work continues to be cited, see for example Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c.800-1200* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 194.

<sup>36</sup> William James established that 'experience' must define the scope of development, William James, *The Principles of Psychology* (rev., ed. London, 1990), p. 361; Sheila Greene, 'Researching Children's Experience: Methods and Methodological Issues', in *Researching Children's Experience: Methods and Approaches*, ed. Sheila Greene and Diane Hogan (London, 2005), p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Greene, 'Researching Children's Experience', 8; see also, Shulamit Reinharz, 'Who Am I: The Need For a Variety of Selves in the Field', in *Reflexivity and Voice*, ed. Rosanna Hertz (London, 1997), pp. 3-21.

experience should seek to represent a reality of childhood development in written form and, in a connected way, that research on childhood should aim to make visible any evidence of change in boys' and girls' conditions and contingent experiences over time.<sup>38</sup>

In order to represent a reality of experience of childhood over time, my planning, reading, writing, and revisions have therefore shadowed an expectation of biological growth. This has meant that I have sought out evidence according to the developmental stages of childhood, and organised each section of each chapter so that I can move through the life-cycle.<sup>39</sup> This study therefore benefits from a two-fold, diachronic and synchronic, form of organisation. By diachronic, I refer to the way in which the thesis takes us through a period of historical time, from c.950 to c.1200, and by synchronic I refer to its longitudinal organisation by age and experience, unfolding within each main chapter. This organisation allows several modes of access to the reader. A primary point of access reproduces a conventional approach to a book, following a sequence of ordered chapters. Another, however, enables readers to adopt a more targeted approach to independent chapters and sections divided by age, and yet another divides each chapter according to gender, enabling a comparative reading of my approaches to the experiences of religious boyhood and girlhood.

Organising a thesis by experience and gender in this way does raise unique challenges. It has required me to work out how much space should be given to any chapter, age group, and gender. In a connected way, this has required me to decide whether

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<sup>38</sup> Sheila Greene, *The Psychological Development of Girls and Women: Rethinking Change in Time* (rev. ed., London, 2015), pp. 137- 40.

<sup>39</sup> Sheila Greene and Diane Hogan, *Researching Children's Experience: Methods and Approaches* (London, 2005), p. 8.

‘reflective and flexible’ methods mean that I can raise similar questions and impose similar forms of organisation upon each section – in a way which might seem rigid, but which would be most useful for the purposes of comparison – or should follow a more responsive method instead, allowing each chapter and section to behave independently – and in a way that would kaleidoscope evidence for childhood experience and perhaps better represent variations in the nature of the available source base.

It is the case, however, that I have settled on a framework which adopts the first of these two sets of principles, one that uniformises, and which better meets the needs of a comparative study of childhood experience. This is not to say that the whole thesis follows this organisation. Of the four chapters which follow, only the three interior chapters, that is chapters one, two, and three, conform to these principles. Each focusses on specific areas of experience in monastic life, dividing into studies on discipline, liturgical training, and literary instruction. It will be important to note that these divisions and the sizes and order of each of these chapters should not be seen to represent any hierarchy of childhood experience. Any difference which readers may notice in their size, and I refer to the greater length of the first of these three, that is, of chapter one in particular, should be seen as the direct result of a desire to meet conventional academic expectations of style, and of a degree of ‘front-loading’ onto the first chapter which has been necessary in order to avoid repetition in succeeding chapters.

I have also arranged these chapters according to considerations of narrative convenience. This is particularly important to note in light of the works of both Mayke de Jong and Maria Lahaye-Geusen, however, since they have set a pattern in a

historiography of approaches to church history which has tended to dismiss the value of studies, such as Patricia Quinn's *Better than the Sons of Kings*, which do not emphasise the religious dimension of monastic life.<sup>40</sup> That emphasis has become something of an *a priori* expectation in studies of religious childhood, and scholars could naturally assume that this present study might also give pre-eminence to a chapter on the liturgy, emphasising the centrality of the *Opus Dei*, the choir and the celebration of Mass around consecrated altars in the lives of religious children. But while that emphasis has many virtues, I do not adopt this approach here. There can be no question of the significance of religion in monastic life, and of the significance of religious thought and experience in the lives of monastic children by extension, but this point is now widely accepted, and would not seem very necessary to repeat beyond this moment. As we have seen above (pp. 17-19), in relation to sociological concerns about historical approaches to child knowledge, too unquestioning a focus on the sacred and on aspects of religious symbolism undermine studies which aim to understand and represent childhood experience. Ideas relating to the sacred are, after all, acquired forms of

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<sup>40</sup> Patricia Quinn, *Better than the Sons of Kings: Boys and Monks in the Early Middle Ages* (New York, 1989). For scholarly criticism of Quinn's study, see de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 5-6: 'Patricia Quinn's study of early medieval monastic education is apologetic rather than critical, depicting the monastery as a paradise for little oblates cherished by their loving masters [...] another problem with this book is that its author seems to have relied mostly on translated sources'. See also Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer der Kinder*, p. 6, n. 14: 'Die kürzlich erscheinene Arbeit von P. A. Quinn über *Better than the Sons of Kings* [...] ist das jüngste Beispiel für solch fehlgeleitete Interpretationen. Auf der Basis des Sankt Gallter Klosterplanes, des Utrecht-Psalter und einiger Bruchstücke aus Brauchtexten bemüht sich Quinn um eine psychohistorisch motivierte Darstellung des Lebens der *pueri oblati*, läßt aber die religiöse Dimension weitestgehend außer acht, was zwangsläufig zu Schlüssen führt, da schließlich die Religion im Mittelalter der bestimmende psychologische Faktor war/Quinn's work is the most recent example of such misguided interpretations. On the basis of the *Saint Gall Plan*, the *Utrecht Psalter*, and some fragments from standard texts, Quinn strives for a psycho-historical-motivated portrayal of the life of oblates, but leaves the religious dimension largely ignored, which leads inevitably to false conclusions, since, after all, religion was *the* defining psychological factor in the Middle Ages', and see also on her treatment of the liturgy p. 137: 'behandelt die Liturgie überhaupt nicht und stellt den Alltag nur eklektizistisch in oberflächlicher Weise dar, ohne seine religiösen Implikationen zu erfassen/([Patricia Quinn] does not treat the liturgy at all and merely presents everyday life in a superficial way, without grasping its religious implications' (my translation).

knowledge, and are necessarily most valued by informed adults. We cannot immediately assume or easily demonstrate they were significant to children, let alone to the youngest and least educated of oblate children. While this thesis therefore accounts for the importance of religion in children's lives as they grew up, and insofar as I give space to considering the sources and significance of this acquisition in children's emerging world-views, I have arranged the following chapters in order to allow evidence for children's different areas of experience to sit equally side by side, in a way which is intended to improve our understanding of how those experiences intersected.

These chapters share similar approaches. Each divides into sections on boys and girls, each considers evidence of the most important dynamics of childhood experience in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England, and each assesses prescriptive and non-prescriptive sources in sequence. I consider first the evidence of monastic prescriptions, asking how this source base gives us access to and allows us to understand children's experiences of religious discipline, the liturgy, and Latin instruction. I foreground each chapter with a brief survey of the contents of the *Regula Benedicti*, a rule which increasingly informed monastic practices in England from the mid-tenth century, and I then turn to examine a contemporary body of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman prescriptive texts, asking what these sources can tell us about how contemporaries shaped the lives of boys and girls instead.

There are no bespoke customaries surviving from communities of women and girls, and this different set of documentary conditions means that I approach the opening of each of my three sections on girls' disciplinary, liturgical, and educational conditions with a

view to weighing up evidence of potential conditions rather than to reaching certainties. Prescriptive sources continue to be useful, however. Since we know that the *Regula Benedicti* and other more contemporary customaries were adopted by religious women and men, my sections on the conditions of religious girls follow similar directions. Although this makes for a contingent approach, my sections on religious girlhood also draw attention to the evidence of adjustments made to prescriptions which were either made by women themselves or indicate how religious girls and women observed the prescriptive record.

Chapter one, on monastic discipline, asks how primary sources give us access to and allow us to understand how Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman houses shaped children's behaviours. This area of my thesis has attracted some scholarly attention in the past, and so I build upon research which has approached monastic prescriptions and emphasised the importance of supervision and corporal discipline in particular. This chapter also takes into account more recent directions of research, however, and seeks to integrate studies on child discipline on the European continent which have encouraged a wider view of behaviour and considered experience of 'instruction' important to our understanding too.

This chapter therefore assesses conditions of 'discipline' from several angles, exploring evidence for children's entry into monastic routines as well as for their learning of behavioural norms and conditions of physical correction. The first of these *foci* allows me to ask how children might have adjusted into patterns of daily life and entered spaces and structures which signalled membership of a monastic community. The second allows me to ask what primary sources tell us about ideals of behaviour, and how,

indeed, contemporaries expected children to adopt and express those ideals. The third of these also allows me to ask what the surviving record tells us about the place of violence in religious childhood, what forms violence might have taken, under what conditions it might have been imposed, what effect it might have been intended to have, and how those conditions might have differed between religious communities and changed over time.

Chapter two carries a similar approach to primary sources, asking how far evidence allows us to understand children's experience of the liturgy in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England. It asks what prescriptive sources tell us about how children integrated into a liturgical community after oblation and what they were expected to learn in the context of the monastic liturgy. Perhaps unsurprisingly, most studies concerned with the monastic liturgy have an origin in Christian theology and focus on aspects – on the sacramental and religious nature of the activities involved in the liturgy – which have often been wrapped up with a research focus on the significance of religious beliefs. As such, past scholarship has often neglected the child, treating children as incidental to liturgical activity, or as catalysts of development in liturgical dramas, and has tended to emphasise the role of children in the more significant history of the liturgy rather than to ask about the role of the liturgy in the history of childhood. This chapter is more concerned with recovering a picture of the conditions of children, however. It first considers what the contemporary prescriptive record tells us about children's earliest visible entry into liturgical communities, it then explores whether the liturgy was expected to shape all children similarly, in a way which might have been suitable to reinforcing a communal monastic identity, or whether it reveals a more nuanced reality

of child experience, supporting a development useful to acquiring particular liturgical reputations too.

I carry similar questions about the liturgy into my section on girls, and consider whether contemporary prescriptions and non-prescriptive materials throw light onto differences with boys. This section assumes that some difference will have been necessary – and I recognise here in particular that girls and women were prohibited from roles belonging to the ordained orders of the priesthood, allowing men to monopolise areas of liturgical performance centred on the altar-space. But it also builds upon Maureen Miller’s ground-breaking research, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe c.800-1200*, which has drawn attention to differences in women’s use of craft-work in the liturgy.<sup>41</sup> This and similar studies have not yet been connected up with our understanding of religious girlhood, but this chapter gives space to explore that connection. In doing so, it analyses the documentary record to see whether girls were expected to develop skills in craft, and it asks whether such experiences might have informed their liturgical activities in ways which are not visible for boys.

Chapter three, the last of my three core chapters, focusses on experience relating to children’s literary instruction in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman houses. This chapter builds upon a particularly extensive body of previous research which has been chiefly concerned with understanding the intellectual horizons of monastic authors who lived in England between the tenth and twelfth centuries. These studies have, at times, shown an interest in elementary areas of education, and so their directions provide important

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<sup>41</sup> Maureen Catherine Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800-1200* (New York, 2014).

road maps for the organisation of a chapter on childhood experience. These studies have tended to reinforce an impression that educational structures were ‘curricular’ and ‘programmatic’, and that they depended on an enclosed environment which scholars have often described as a ‘classroom’.

This chapter adopts and problematises some of these directions. It approaches education in terms which focus on becoming ‘literate’ and follows a course of literary development which we can understand in terms of acquiring a series of discrete skill-sets and forms of knowledge, allowing children to read, understand, and compose Latin texts. Prescriptive materials again provide a framework within which I first explore the conditions of children’s education. These are particularly useful in grounding our view of Latin literacy through the lens of liturgical performance, for example. But again, I turn away from prescriptive materials in order to explore evidence for children’s wider experience of Latin texts. I ask what teachers expected children to learn over the course of their childhoods, and consider what role school-texts might have had in shaping students’ world-views, behaviours, and religious identities as their comprehension of Latin improved. This chapter also asks how successful children might have typically been in meeting adults’ expectations. In doing so, I deliberately set out to challenge optimal views of educational development supported by studies on the contents of monastic libraries and school-texts. In order to do so, I explore areas of our documentary base which have potential to tell us about boys’ struggles with Latin instruction, asking what impact such experiences might have had on their religious identities and on their intellectual trajectories and career prospects in a similar timeframe.

I carry similar questions and approaches into a study of girls' experience of education, but there is a distinctive historiography on the literacy of religious women and so this section adopts some different directions. This section does not concern itself, for example, with establishing the now very well understood point that religious girls and women were educated in Latin. Monastic customaries indicate that the Latin liturgy was an essential feature of religious life, providing the same anchor for girls' experience of Latin literacy. In order to retrieve a wider picture of girls' educational conditions and of girls' expected learning outcomes, however, this study explores female saints' lives and other writings composed by men who are known to have acted as teachers to religious girls. It asks how far this source base, which is dominated by portraits of women of a very privileged social background, should be considered representative of the experiences of less advantaged girls. This section builds on these questions by thinking about the nature of their participation in a broader pedagogic context before the Norman Conquest too, asking if the surviving corpus of Latin school-texts informed girls' experiences in parallel to boys.

Chapter four asks how monastic children became monastic adults. This chapter does not focus on exploring biological process of maturation, however. Instead, it understands monastic adulthood as an acquired status. It asks how children adopted it, and how, indeed, evidence for the most important dynamics of boys' and girls' experiences in those areas of discipline, liturgical training, and education which I examine beforehand, might have played a role in signposting children's acquisition of that status. Since this final chapter coincides with the study of more literate oblate religious, I also allow space here to examine evidence for children's own writings. It is argued that such texts, though neglected, have the greatest potential to reveal the life-

trajectories of contemporary children, and not only offer us our most direct point of access onto their acquired-thoughts, values, and skill-sets, but offer a unique opportunity to confirm the significance of experiences explored in the preceding chapters too.

By choosing to do so here, I also consciously adopt an aim which finds an origin in the work of MacNaughton and Smith who have encouraged reconstruction of what they call children's 'Voice'.<sup>42</sup> For us, however, in a medieval context, 'Voice' takes on a wider significance than the direct speech of actual children – which, quite obviously, we cannot have. This requires us to make clear what exactly we mean by 'Voice' and how we might access and assess its significance in contemporary written sources. The significance of voice in written text is most obvious in the terms which I have mentioned above, and can be seen to take on a visible, accessible, and relatively unfiltered form in texts which we can be confident were composed by children themselves. But we can understand evidence of child 'Voice' more inductively too, in ways which recognise 'Voice' as a form and expression of 'Agency', allowing us to retrieve evidence of child voice through reported evidence of child behaviour and reported dialogue as well as through first-hand accounts written by children.

The feasibility of this thesis depends on the survival and nature of our sources, and on documentary and prescriptive records which are often well-known to specialists, but

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<sup>42</sup> i.e., Donaldson, Margaret, *Children's Minds* (London, 1978). See, Glenda MacNaughton, Kylie Smith, and Heather Lawrence (eds.), *Hearing Young Children's Voices* (Melbourne, 2003); Aspa Baroutsis, Glenda McGregor, and Martin Mills, 'Pedagogic Voice: Student Voice in Teaching and Engagement Pedagogies', *Pedagogy, Culture & Society* 24 (2016), pp. 123-40; Pam Alldred 'Ethnography and Discourse Analysis: Dilemmas in the Representation of the Voices of Children', in *Feminist Dilemmas in Qualitative Research: Public Knowledge and Private Lives*, ed. Jane C. Ribbens and Rosalind Edwards (London, 1998), pp. 147-70.

which have attracted only moderate interest with a view to understanding monastic childhood. As we shall see, some of these sources present greater difficulties than others. Some of these difficulties are also the product of our historiography, resulting from the fact that certain materials have attracted visible derision. As a result, my task here is not only to present an overview of the documentary base which is potentially most useful to us, but also to argue more forcefully for the significance of texts which have been characterised in various ways, to various extents, and for various reasons, as being unoriginal, ridiculously repetitive, and otherwise unrepresentative of the conditions of monastic childhood.

Prescriptive sources, in the form of customaries which organised daily life and liturgical routines, have tended to be dismissed as evidence of contemporary realities, for example, and have often been considered as evidence only of adult aspirations and of borrowed ideals in the houses where they had been composed and/or to where they were eventually transmitted. This may be the case on one level, but it is not perhaps the limit of their usefulness. Prescriptions, like any written text, are more significant, and reveal more about their author and about the wider culture and community which produced, copied, and chose to read them, and on more levels than is often or immediately understood on a narrow genre-led basis of analysis alone. Maria Lahaye-Geusen has shown in a continental context that monastic rules tell us a good deal about local conditions, for example, and might, in the case of more idiosyncratic and local customaries, even describe routines children typically followed.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Maria Lahaye-Geusen, *Das Opfer der Kinder*, ch. 3 'Methodisches: die Evidenz der *Consuetudines*. Zur Problematik einer Monastischen Quellenart', pp. 29-41, esp. 13: 'In Bezug auf die *pueri oblati* geben die *consuetudines* Aufschluß über ihre Integration in Mönchsgemeinschaft und Klosterverband, ihre Erziehung und die grundsätzliche Einstellung der monastischen Gesetzgeber/Concerning the *pueri oblati*, the *consuetudines* provide information about their integration into the monastic community, their education and the fundamental attitude of the monastic

We are fortunate in this regard that the monastic reform coincided with a renewed interest in and the production of several new prescriptive documents. As we have noted briefly above (pp. 24-25), Anglo-Saxons adopted the *Regula Benedicti* as their most fundamental source of monastic organisation, and, in addition to this code, the reform allowed for the emergence of an Old English translation composed by Æthelwold of Winchester, giving us useful insight into how Anglo-Saxon readers had understood the *Regula Benedicti*.<sup>44</sup> Arnold Schröer, author and compiler of the still critical edition of the *Old English Rule of Saint Benedict* recognised more than a century ago that the work was in fact ‘not an accurate word for word translation but very often a work of enlargement and clarification’, and, indeed, Nathan Ristuccia has shown this more recently too.<sup>45</sup> But it will perhaps be helpful to demonstrate this utility here, by considering briefly how Æthelwold’s translation differed from the original Latin *Regula* and by showing how it gives us access to his views and to conditions which likely shaped the children whose lives were predicated upon them.

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legislators’ (my translation). She recognises that descriptions of oblation contained in customaries like the *Constitutiones*, are ‘nur ein Idealtyp’ (p. 29), but argues that those ideals had real consequences for the children who encountered them.

<sup>44</sup> For more on Bishop Æthelwold’s authorship, see OERB, pp. xiii-xiv; Dorothy Whitelock, ‘The Authorship of the Account of King Edgar’s Establishment of Monasteries’, in *Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt*, ed. James L. Rosier (The Hague, 1970), pp. 125-36; Mechthild Gretsch, *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti in England und ihre Altenglische Übersetzung*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 2 (Munich: Fink, 1973), pp. 9-11; Mechthild Gretsch, ‘Æthelwold’s Translation of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* and its Latin Exemplar’, *ASE* 3 (1974), pp. 125-51, at p. 125; Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations*, esp. pp. 226-33.

<sup>45</sup> OERB, p. xxviii: ‘Die Übertragung der *Regula* ist keine genaue wörtliche Übersetzung, sondern eine oft erweiternde, erläuternde Bearbeitung’ (My translation). See also Nathan J. Ristuccia, ‘Ideology and Corporal Punishment in Anglo-Saxon Monastic Education’, *American Benedictine Review* 61 (2010), pp. 373-86.

We can perhaps do so with respect to unusual features occurring in its chapter 59, on the oblation ritual, for example.<sup>46</sup> Æthelwold’s translation of chapter 59 of the *Regula Benedicti* is useful in that it would seem to disclose that Æthelwold had considered child oblations irrevocable. His translation largely followed the Latin *Regula*, and repeated terms stressing the permanence of the offering in similar positions and contexts; Æthelwold’s translation opened much like the Latin text, requiring parents ‘to offer’ or indeed ‘to sacrifice’ (*geoffrian*) their child to a monastery, and it required kin ‘to fasten’ a child (*gefæstnian*) to the monastic life. It reminded them again that this involved a process of making ‘an offering/sacrifice’ (*offrung*). Æthelwold also mirrored requirements that parents submit a petition (*gewrit*) to testify to the child’s ‘fastening’ (*his fæstnung*), and he required kin to promise again by word (*behaton*), but he did not replicate a legalistic reference in the Latin text, requiring parents to promise under law

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<sup>46</sup> OERB, c. 59, pp. 103-5: “Be riccera and ðearfena bearna andfeng”, gif hwylc rice mon and æþelboren his bearn Gode on mynstre geoffrian wile, gif þæt cild þæs angdites næbbe, þæt he sylf mæge oðþe cunne hine sylfne, gefæstnian hine þa magas mid ofrunge, þæt is, bewinde þæs cildes hand and þæt gewrit his fæstnunge on þæs altares weofodsceate and hine swa Gode geoffrien mid ofrunge hlafes and wines. Behaten þa magas and mid aþe gefæstnian, þæt hi næfre syndrige æhta hyra mæge ne gesellan, ne þurh hy sylfe ne þurh nænne gespelian, ne hy næfre nænne incan ne secen, hu him to syndrigum æhtum gerymed sy. Gif hy þonne hwæt syllan willan, sellan hi þæt þære haligan stowe to rihtum gemænscipe, him to ecum edleane; And swa mid wegneste ham cyrren, gif hi þæs wilnien. Syn ealle þa æhta, þe þam cilde gebyrien, swa fordylegade and todæled, þæt him nan hyht beon ne þyrfe, þelæs þe he losige, gif he his hyht beset on syndrigum æhtum, þæt na ne geweord[þ]e; we forost onfundon, þæt mænig þurh þone hiht syndrigra æhta losode. Do handswagelice be hyra bearnum, þa þe unrice synd and hæfenlease þearfan. Gif hi nane æhta to sellenne næbben, offrigen hyra bearn anfealdlice on gewitnesse rihtgelyfedra manna’.

Compare: RSB c. 59, p. 193: “De Filiis Nobilium Aut Pauperum Qui Offeruntur” Si quis forte de nobilibus offerit filium suum Deo in monasterio, si ipse puer minor aetate est, parentes eius faciant petitionem quam supra diximus et cum oblationem ipsam petitionem et manum pueri inuoluebant in palla altaris, et sic eum offerant. De rebus autem suis, aut in praesenti petitione promittant sub iure iurando quia numquam per se, numquam per suffectam personam nec quilibet modo ei aliquando aliquid dant aut tribuunt occasionem habendi, uel certe si hoc facere noluerint et aliquid offerre uolunt in elemosinam monasterio pro mercede sua, faciant ex rebus quas dare uolunt monasterio donationem, reserbato sibi, si ita nulla suspicio remaneat puero per quam deceptus perire possit, quod absit, quod experimento didicimus. Similiter autem et pauperiores faciant. Qui uero ex toto nihil habent, simpliciter petitionem faciant et cum oblationem offerant filium suum coram testibus’.

to keep to these terms, adding instead that they were ‘to make firm with an oath’ (*mid aþe gefæstnian*) the disinheritance of their child.<sup>47</sup>

Æthelwold’s decision to invoke ‘oaths’ in his translation (*aða*) might strike us here in particular. The term is easily overlooked perhaps, but it departs from original references to swearing under the law (*promittant sub iure iurando*) present in the *Regula Benedicti*. Although often treated as a universal reference for a pledge, modern scholarship on the vocabulary of sworn language in late Anglo-Saxon England has shown that the ‘oath’ was a culture-specific form of guarantee, and one of many forms of promise-making which were recognised by contemporary religious thinkers (including ‘swearing’, for one, which was recognised by Æthelwold’s student, Ælfric, in a description of juratives in a contemporary school-text on Latin grammar: ‘*Iuro per Deum, ic swerige ðurh God*’, or ‘I swear by God’).<sup>48</sup> While we should be mindful not to press this evidence too far, and should perhaps allow for the possibility that *að* provided the only possible translation for *promitto sub iure iurando* in the *Regula*, we can consider therefore that the ‘oath’ represents a careful departure, requiring parents to carry out what specialists have described as ‘the most complex of all expressions of honesty’, and following Gregory Laing’s research on differences between the pledge, the wedding, and the oath in particular, the strongest form of guarantee available in late Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> OERB, 102-5; DOE: n. *fæstnung*: ‘being firmly fixed, fixedness, stability’, v. *behatan*: ‘to promise, vow’, and n. *aþ*: ‘oath, promise, declaration, pledge’; BT: v. [*ge-*]*offrian*: ‘to offer, bring a sacrifice or gift in honour of another’.

<sup>48</sup> EGA, 227; I thank Joyce Jill for her suggestion that the ‘oath’ may have been the only way of translating the Latin *Regula*, and so I allow for that possibility here while also recognising Gregory Laing’s work which points to three distinct categories of swearing in late Anglo-Saxon legal practice – the pledge, vow (*wed*) and oath, Gregory L. Laing, ‘Bound by Words: The Motif of Oath-taking and Oath-Breaking in Medieval Iceland and Anglo-Saxon England’, *Ph.D Dissertation, Western Michigan University* (2014), pp. 21-6.

<sup>49</sup> Laing, *Bound by Words*, pp. 27-38.

This period also saw the emergence of new prescriptions. First among them appears to have been the *Regularis Concordia*, a Latin customary composed by Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester in c. 966x70 with the intention that it serve as a national customary in every Benedictine community and in addition to the *Regula Benedicti* and *Old English Rule*.<sup>50</sup> This document was not wholly original; Thomas Symons has shown that it owed an origin to ideals of reform which had spread from Cluny and Flanders.<sup>51</sup> But the *Regularis Concordia* only acquired extensive influence in England, after it was published at a national synod of bishops, abbots, and abbesses held under King Edgar (c.959-75) at the Old Minster, Winchester.

We can safely assume that this customary was adopted and observed by houses across Anglo-Saxon England. However, it is because we cannot be sure of the precise nature of observance outside the centres where copies or versions of that national customary have survived that this thesis takes the approach of reading the Latin text of the *Regularis Concordia* as emblematic of practices at Winchester, connecting us most immediately to Æthelwold's aspirations for the Old Minster, and to conditions which likely shaped the experiences of boys who entered that house from the mid tenth century.<sup>52</sup> For a wider view of conditions across England, we can turn to evidence of later copies of the *Regularis Concordia* and examine the translations and local versions of that text which both confirm the influence of that customary across England while also indicating how observance of that document evolved in and adapted to different

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<sup>50</sup> Scholars tend to locate the date of publication loosely, circa 970, however, Julia Barrow has made the case for a more precise date of 966, Julia Barrow, 'The Chronology of the Benedictine Reform', in *Edgar, King of the English, 959-975: New Interpretations*, ed. Donald Scragg (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 211-33.

<sup>51</sup> Thomas Symons, 'Sources of the Regularis Concordia', *Downside Review* 59 (1941), pp. 14-36, 143-70 and 264-89.

<sup>52</sup> RC, pp. 2-3.

conditions and generations.<sup>53</sup> A glossed copy of the Latin *Regularis Concordia* which was in use at Canterbury in the eleventh century has potential to disclose how its rules on children were enforced locally, for example.<sup>54</sup> Two surviving fragmentary copies of the *Regularis Concordia* composed in the vernacular at an unidentifiable house provide similar opportunities, revealing conditions which may have been important in another late tenth or early eleventh century context.<sup>55</sup> We also possess evidence of an alternative Anglo-Saxon customary. Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham (c.955-1010), a self-acclaimed student of Bishop Æthelwold and alumnus of the Old Minster at Winchester, composed the *Epistula ad monachos Egneshamnenses directa* (henceforth, EME or *Epistula ad monachos*) in the early eleventh century.<sup>56</sup> While he based this on the *Regularis Concordia*, since we know he had also adjusted it for the benefit of boys and men who lived at Eynsham in c.1005, we can treat it as a local customary, and can understand that its contents inform us about the particular disciplinary, liturgical, and educational conditions of the boys who lived at that house during his abbacy too.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> No ‘original’ copy of RC survives, all extant copies belong to later tenth or eleventh century moments of copying, see Gneuss, *Handlist*, nos. 59e (p. 33), 65 (p. 34), 332 (p. 63), 363 (p. 67), 925e (p. 141).

<sup>54</sup> Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 363, p. 67 (London BL Tiberius MS. A.iii). The Tiberius MS forms the basis of a printed edition by Lucia Kornexl, *Die Regularis Concordia und ihre Altenglische Interlinearversion mit Einleitung und Kommentar*. Münchener Universitätschriften. Philosophische Fakultät. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 17 (München, 1993).

<sup>55</sup> For these two copies, see Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 65, p. 34 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 201), no. 363, p. 67 (London, BL Tiberius MS. A.iii)

<sup>56</sup> Ælfric of Eynsham, *Epistula ad monachos Egneshamnenses directa*, ed. H. Nocent, with C. Elvert and K. Hallinger, in *Consuetudinum Saeculi x/xi/xii Monumenta Non-Cluniacensia*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, 7.3 (Siegburg, 1984), pp. 155-85; ed. and trans. Christopher A. Jones, in EME. The oldest surviving copy of this work, from Worcester, is now contained in CCCC MS 265, see Richard Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066-1130)*, British Academy Post-doctoral Fellowship Monograph (Oxford: University Press, 1999), no. 65, p. 62. Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham described himself as an alumnus of Winchester and Æthelwold in his *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* (EGA, p. 1: ‘Nos contenti sumus, sicut didicimus in scola Aethelwoldi (sic), uenerabilis praesulis, qui multos ad bonum imbuat/We are content it is just as we learnt in the school of Æthelwold, that venerable bishop, who instructed many to good’ my translation). He also does so in his customary, the *Epistula ad monachos* (EME, pp. 110-1: ‘Sed nec audeo omnia uobis intimare, quae in scola eius [Æthelwoldi] degens multis annis de moribus seu consuetudinibus didici/Nor do I dare to convey to you all those things that I learned about customs and usages while abiding for many years in his [i.e. Æthelwold’s] school’).

<sup>57</sup> For a good introduction to Ælfric, his life and writings, see Joyce Hill ‘Ælfric: His Life and Works’, in *A Companion to Ælfric*, ed. Hugh Magennis and Mary Swan (Leiden, 2009), pp. 35-65.

We might well ask whether and how far primary sources also give us access to communities of religious women. Æthelwold's preface to the Latin *Regularis Concordia* offers us the statement that 'not only monks *but also nuns*, under abbots *and abbesses*' were 'to be of one mind as regards monastic usage [...] lest [there should be] differing ways of observing the customs (sic) of one Rule and one country'.<sup>58</sup> This discloses that he had expected girls and women as well as boys and men to observe these regulatory document, demonstrating that he had actively encouraged contemporaries to work towards an ideal of uniformity. This still leaves us with a problem, however. Beyond the confines of the prologue we have little evidence to illustrate the extent of shared observance by men and women. The Latin *Regularis Concordia* itself was entirely directed at male categories – or boys and men. It does not readily express how girls and women applied its contents, and it does not readily seem to give us access to their conditions.<sup>59</sup> Fortunately for us, the surviving prescriptive record provides some direction. Joyce Hill has recently drawn attention to a series of additions which were incorporated into a surviving fragmentary copy of a vernacular version of the *Regularis Concordia*, for example.<sup>60</sup> She has shown that many of these take the form of intrusive 'feminisations', and has postulated that these additions, which were probably first added in the form of either marginal or interlinear annotations before being integrated into the text, were made, if not by religious women themselves, then

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<sup>58</sup> RC, pp. 2-3: 'Non solum monachos uerum etiam sanctimoniales, patribus matribusque constitutis [...] ut concordēs aequali consuetudinis usu [...] ne impar ac uariis unius regulae ac unius patriae' my emphasis. For Barbara Yorke's suggestion that, 'Æthelwold ... consciously adopted the Carolingian ideology of one God, one king, and one rule', see, *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 39-40.

<sup>59</sup> Gretsche, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 125-7; Nicola Robertson, 'The Benedictine Reform: Current and Future Scholarship', *Literature Compass* 3 (2006), pp. 287-8.

<sup>60</sup> Joyce Hill, 'Rending the Garment and Reading by the Rood: *Regularis Concordia* Rituals for Men and Women', in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Helen Gittos and Marvin B. Bedingfield, HBS subsidia. 5 (London, 2005), pp. 53-64.

certainly for the benefit of communities of religious girls and women, giving us rare insight into their practices, and the ways in which girls' experiences might have varied from those of boys.

We will need to consider whether the prescriptive documentary base also allows us to consider whether the Norman Conquest of England constituted a watershed in child oblation practices and experiences.<sup>61</sup> The autobiographical account of the life of Orderic Vitalis reminds us that we have little reason to expect any dramatic collapse in the custom of oblation itself. We can assume that the Norman invaders and their clerical and monastic followers were familiar with the practice, and subscribed to the custom in their own recently reformed communities in Normandy.<sup>62</sup>

We can expect too that there was no dramatic change in the underlying make-up of England's Benedictine communities in the immediate context of King William's conquest (1066-1087).<sup>63</sup> Even in a small number of cases where religious leaders died at or in the immediate aftermath of the Battle of Hastings, as was the case with Abbot Alfwyn of the New Minster, Winchester (1064-1066), and Abbot Leofric of Peterborough (d. 1066), they were often initially replaced by local English candidates. This was the case, for example, for Wulfric of New Minster (1066-1072) and Brand of Peterborough (1066-1069).

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<sup>61</sup> Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, pp. 111-3; Janet Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000-1300*, CMT (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 21-5; Rodney M. Thomson, 'The Norman Conquest and English Libraries', in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, ed. Peter Ganz (Turnhout, 1986), 27-40; Richard Eales and Richard Sharpe, *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066-1109* (London: Hambledon, 1995), pp. 145-58.

<sup>62</sup> We can perhaps identify some Norman oblates by name, including the Archbishop's two nephews, Lanfranc II and Paul Abbot of St Albans (d.1093), and others such as Gilbert Crispin (c.1055-1117), later Abbot of Westminster.

<sup>63</sup> Hugh Thomas, *The Norman Conquest: England after William the Conqueror* (Lanham Md, 2008), p. 120 and also Henry R. Loyn, *The English Church, 940-1154* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 76-7.

In most circumstances, continental alternatives only began to acquire leadership over Benedictine communities once those who had held or acquired office in the immediate aftermath of the invasion had died.<sup>64</sup> This was the case at Abingdon in 1071, for example, when Abbot Ealdred was replaced by Æthelhelm of Jumieges after encouraging a revolt against the king.<sup>65</sup> In other cases, abbots, and, we can imagine, a larger number of other, and much less visible holders of monastic office, including teachers, managed to retain control of religious communities for some while. These include Worcester under Bishop Wulfstan (1062-1095), Bury St. Edmunds, under Abbot Baldwin (1065-1098), and also Crowland under Abbot Ulfcytel (1051-1085), his English successor Ingulf (1085-1110) and, after the rule of the Norman Geoffrey of St. Evroult (1110-1124), under a series of English successors, including Waltheof of Crowland (1124-1138) and Edward of Ramsey (1142-1175). Ramsey Abbey stands out among its contemporaries in particular, where a long succession of English abbots, interrupted only briefly by the rule of Herbert of Losinga (1087-1091), managed to retain control over that community until the death of Abbot Aldwin (1091-1113).<sup>66</sup> Indeed, Benedictine nunneries appear to have fared similarly. Most transitions of power appear to have occurred naturally, and after the death of English incumbents. What is more, some English candidates appear to have held office at the Abbeys of Barking

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<sup>64</sup> For more on the impact of the Conquest on some religious communities, the replacement of their abbots and heads of house, and the spoliation of lands and disruption to their rights, privileges, and their benefactors, see Emma Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1135* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 37-41 (Abingdon), 54-5 (St. Peter's, Gloucester), 66-8 (Bury St. Edmunds), 81 (St. Albans), 99-100 (St. Augustine's, Canterbury), 109-119 (The Fenlands: Ramsey, Peterborough, Crowland, and Ely).

<sup>65</sup> Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, pp. 40-1. For other replacements of religious office holders with continental candidates, including at St. Peter's of Gloucester in 1072, St. Albans in 1077, Peterborough and St. Augustine's in 1070, and Thorney Abbey in 1066, see Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, pp. 54, 81, 100, 111-13, 121.

<sup>66</sup> For more on Bury St. Edmund, Crowland, and Ramsey see Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, pp. 66-8, 109-10, 114-15, 119; Knowles, *Heads of Religious Houses*, pp. 23-4, 28, 31, 33, 36-8, 40, 42, 43, 45, 47, 51-2, 56-8, 60-2, 67, 70, 72, 76, 79-81, 83.

(Abbess Ælfgifu d.1114) and Wherwell (an ‘Ælstrita’ was abbess until c.1113) decades after the Conquest.<sup>67</sup>

A degree of continuity in office holding at certain communities should not be taken to mean that there was no significant change in the practices of England’s Benedictine houses, however. The Conquest did herald changes, but many appear in the documentary record to have emerged in a limited and delayed way, and most visibly, in the case of boys and male houses, after the promotion of Abbot Lanfranc of Bec to the archiepiscopacy of Canterbury (c.1070-1089) and with his composition in around 1077 of a new framework of customs known as the *Constitutiones*.<sup>68</sup> Since these nominally replaced the *Regularis Concordia* at Christ Church priory, the emergence of the *Constitutiones* in c.1077 appears at first sight to have effectively ended an earlier set of ideals to maintain a uniformity of religious custom, allowing for greater fragmentation in the disciplinary, liturgical, and educational conditions of religious children across England.

Manuscript evidence suggests that this consuetudinary had a wider significance, and was acquired by other abbots and houses, by Anglo-Normans who were particularly inclined to support his reforms, and by communities with a recent history of foundation or monastic conversion, including St. Albans, Battle Abbey, and Durham Priory.<sup>69</sup> It is

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<sup>67</sup> Barking’s Abbess Ælfgyth died in c.1114, Abbess Ælstrita/Æthelthryth controlled Wherwell Abbey in c.1113, and Abbess Godgifu ruled Wilton for a brief period from 1067 and was succeeded by c.1093 by Matilda, see Knowles, *Heads of Religious Houses*, pp. 208, 219, 222-3.

<sup>68</sup> Lanfranc of Canterbury, *Constitutiones*, ed. and trans. David Knowles and Christopher N. L. Brooke, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, OMT (Oxford, 2002), p. vii. Knowles and Brooke use the two earliest and most closely related manuscripts, Durham Cathedral Library B.iv.24 (which was copied by Eadmer of Canterbury in c.1091), and Hereford Cathedral Library p.v.i (which was copied for Battle Abbey c.1100), see Gneuss, *Handlist*, nos. 248 (p. 52), 268.2 (p. 56) and Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, no. 268, p. 85 and no. 319, p. 91.

<sup>69</sup> Margaret T. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 173-4; Alan J. Piper, ‘The Durham Cantor’s Book’, in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, ed. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael

possible that the *Constitutiones* even came to shape the lives of boys at houses which had otherwise retained an Anglo-Saxon leadership. William of Malmesbury (c.1095-1143), reminds us of this possibility, for example, in his *Vita Sancti Wulfstani*, where he mentioned that Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester (1062-1095) had sent his student, Nicholas (later prior, c.1116-1124), to study the new customs of Canterbury.<sup>70</sup> The *Constitutiones* could therefore have been transmitted to other houses in ways which might have echoed earlier ideals of uniformity. But since its reach has left little trace in the documentary record, and since part of this evidence suggests that its transmission took place, not by exchange of documents, but on an inter-personal level, and by virtue of the movements of religious students into and between different religious houses, it would not perhaps be sensible to assume it as a basis of study here.

The *Constitutiones* will therefore only be considered significant in this thesis in terms which recognise that this document is representative of Lanfranc's organisation of the community of boys and men at Christ Church, Canterbury. It will primarily serve as a parallel Anglo-Norman source to an earlier body of regulatory texts connected to Æthelwold of Winchester, including the *Old English Rule* and the *Regularis Concordia*, and it will serve the purpose of enabling a comparison between two of the most important centres of pre- and post-Conquest monastic life in England. This may seem a very obvious line of direction, but, curiously, no publication appears to have undertaken such a comparison in this way before. It is not entirely clear why. The *Constitutiones*

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Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), 79-80. See Hereford Cathedral Library MS P.V. I. fols. 1-28 (from Battle Abbey c.1100) and Durham Cathedral Library MS B.IV.24 fols. 12-73 (composed by Eadmer of Canterbury in c.1096), in Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, no. 268, p. 85 and no. 319, p. 91.

<sup>70</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Vita Sancti Wulfstani*, in *Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom and Rodney M. Thomson, OMT (Oxford, 2002), pp. 132-3.

offer us a view of customs which give an impression that Lanfranc had encouraged development and elaboration in the disciplinary, liturgical, and educational architecture which surrounded boy oblates. This is perhaps best characterised by Lanfranc's decision to include a chapter on how to perform an oblation, a feature which finds no parallel in any original Anglo-Saxon composition, affording significant insight into the shape and significance of oblation rituals in the late eleventh century:

Offerendus puer, facta sibi prius corona, minibus portans hostiam, et calicem cum uino, sicut mos est, post euangelium sacerdoti, qui missam celebrat, a parentibus offeratur. Qua oblatione a sacerdote suscepta, inuoluant predicti parentes manus pueri in palla, qua altare coopertum est, et cuius pars antierius pendet, et tunc suscipiat eum abbas. Quo facto prefati parentes coram Deo et sanctis eius statim promittant, quod per se, uel a se per suppositam personam susceptum ordinem puer nunquam reliquat; neque se ei aliquid scienter daturus unde puer, quod absit, perire possit [...] Dehinc ducatur ad radendum et uestiendum, sicut nostri ordinis consuetudo est.<sup>71</sup>

If this chapter offers evidence of conditions which cannot be recovered from Anglo-Saxon materials, this evidence does at least allow us to consider conditions which were significant to boys' lives in that precise context. With respect to Lanfranc's particularly unusual decision to describe an 'Idealtyp' or the typical boy who arrived wearing a cloak (*cappa*), a fur piece (*pellis*), and even a mantle (*clamis*) – items of clothing that might have belonged to boys from wealthy families – the *Constitutiones* would even seem to allow us to consider the socially exclusive nature of the oblations that took

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<sup>71</sup> *Constitutiones*, pp. 162-5: 'If a child is to be offered to the monastery he shall first be tonsured, and then, bearing in his hands a host and chalice with wine in it, as is the custom, he shall be offered by his parents after the Gospel to the priest celebrating Mass. When the offering has been received by the priest, his parents shall wrap the child's hands in the cloth which covers the altar and which hangs down in front, and then the abbot shall accept him. When this is done the parents shall straightaway promise before God and his saints that the child shall never abandon the monastic life through their agency or that of anyone representing them, and that they will never knowingly give him anything that might lead – heaven forbid! – to his ruin [...] Then the child shall be taken to be shaven and clad in our monastic fashion'.

place under his eye.<sup>72</sup>

In a study focussed on understanding the experiences of an illiterate or semi-literate demographic of boys and girls, and in light of the aims of chapter three on Latin instruction in particular, it will be important to account as fully as possible for evidence of child literacy and for materials which have the potential to give us our most direct access to a context of teaching and educational experience. We are fortunate in this regard that we possess several well-known school-texts thought to have been composed for the benefit of monastic children between c.950 and 1200. Indeed, there are so many, that it will only be possible to consider here the nature of a few, and those few in particular which have perhaps attracted most controversy.

Twenty years ago, Scott Gwara and David Porter declared that a school-text known as the *Colloquia* – a Latin text composed by a monastic teacher known as Ælfric Bata (fl.1005), and which took the form of a series of situational dialogues intended to help boys speak Latin with confidence – ‘offer[ed] the richest information about the social nexus that produced much of Anglo-Saxon literature’.<sup>73</sup> Unfortunately, and as Michael Lapidge once recognised, Bata has ‘never received the kinds of attention which he deserves’.<sup>74</sup> In fact, the *Colloquia* have more often succeeded in attracting criticism for their apparent lack of originality, and in terms which have disapproved of their repetitive nature and of the expletives of dialogue no. 25 in particular.<sup>75</sup> This criticism has perhaps

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<sup>72</sup> *Constitutiones*, p. 111.

<sup>73</sup> Ælfric Bata, *Colloquia*, ed. and trans. Scott Gwara and David Porter, *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: The Colloquies of Ælfric Bata* (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 1.

<sup>74</sup> ÆlfBColl, p. 1, fn. 4; cf. Michael Lapidge, ‘The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England I: The Evidence of Latin Glosses’, in *Latin Learning and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. Nicholas Brooks (Leicester, 1982), p. 128.

<sup>75</sup> For more on this historiography, see Christopher A. Jones, ‘The Irregular Life in Ælfric Bata’s Colloquies’, *Leeds Studies in English* 37 (2006), pp. 241-60.

given ground to the idea that this school-text is a less worthy source of study, is less useful to the social historian, is less ‘representative’ of contemporary pedagogy, and so is also necessarily disruptive to any attempt to understand children’s material and educational conditions in Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>76</sup>

Gwara’s and Porter’s own studies of Bata’s *Colloquia* have dismissed some of these previous objections.<sup>77</sup> They have argued strongly for a need to re-evaluate these materials in terms which recognise their pedagogic context, not in terms which measure how far such content satisfies modern expectations of literary elegance or good religion.<sup>78</sup> They have also problematised concerns about originality. While Gwara and Porter have shown that Ælfric Bata had borrowed material from exemplars, leaning on works he had very probably encountered himself as a student – such as the *Colloquia de raris fabulis retractata* (which he used in twelve of his forty two dialogues), and the *Colloquium* of Ælfric of Eynsham – they have demonstrated that Bata had also effectively constructed an entirely new school-text.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> ÆlfBColl, p. 15. Gwara and Porter give the example of Caroline White, who considered that Bata had ‘ruined’ Ælfric of Eynsham’s *Colloquium* in the attempt of adapting it for his own school: Caroline L. White, *Ælfric: A New Study of his Life and Writings* (Boston, 1898), p. 98. They also point to William Stevenson who wrote ‘no plea can save a man capable of pages like that’, in his *Early Scholastic Colloquies, with Introduction by W. M. Lindsay*, ed. William Henry Stevenson (Oxford, 1929), pp. 52, 62-3.

<sup>77</sup> ÆlfBColl, pp. 14, 17, 22.

<sup>78</sup> ÆlfBColl, pp. 19-24, esp. 22.

<sup>79</sup> Gwara and Porter have shown that Bata only borrowed extensively from exemplars for dialogue no. 16\*. See dialogue nos. 1, 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16\*, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 23 in, ÆlfBColl, pp. 80-1 (fn. 3, 5, 6, 8), 82-3 (fn. 9, 10), 96-7 (fn. 53), 98-9 (fn. 59, 60), 106-7 (80, 83, 84), 108-9 (fn. 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90), 116-9 (fn. 107)\*, 118-9 (fn. 110), 120-1 (fn. 111, 112, 114, 115), 122-3 (fn. 116, 117, 118, 120), 128-9 (fn. 129, 130, 133, 134), 130-1 (fn. 136, 137, 139, 140, 141). For Gwara’s and Porter’s identification of possible – if uncertain – quotations, allusions to and/or notable intersections with the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* of Ælfric of Eynsham (EGA), see dialogue nos. 3, 5, 8, 9, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28 in, ÆlfBColl, pp. 82-3 (fn. 12, 13, 14), 84-5 (fn. 23), 88-9 (fn. 38, 39), 96-7 (f. 55), 98-9 (fn. 58), 100-1 (fn. 67), 128-9 (fn. 135), 132-3 (fn. 143), 134-5 (fn. 144, 145), 140-1 (fn. 165), 156-7 (fn. 300), 162-3 (fn. 320), 166-7 (fn. 335, 337).

Gwara and Porter have also argued that Bata's unusual compositional choices – his fondness of repetition and expletives, and his descriptions of arguments between students and teachers and of corporal violence were part of Bata's pedagogic method. In the place of considering that Bata's texts were too repetitive to be useful or were intended to corrupt future generations of teachers and student-readers, Gwara and Porter have shown that we are better served by considering that Bata's work was intentionally repetitive, and not only reflected boys' experiences of the liturgy, but represented the way in which contemporary teachers instructed boys by rote. They have also argued that Bata's expletives and descriptions of school arguments may have provided relatable and memorable contexts of conversation, and were intended to serve readers with different levels of Latin comprehension.<sup>80</sup> The result of their studies means therefore that we can recognise how the *Colloquia* give us access to students' conditions and educational experiences, and represent the ways in which teachers like Bata expected boys to speak.<sup>81</sup>

Given the large number of saints' lives about religious women and men who grew up in monastic environments and which were composed between the tenth and twelfth centuries, it will also be useful to recover this body of material for the present study. Their usefulness as sources on childhood has often been calculated in terms which

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<sup>80</sup> *ÆlfBColl*, pp. 14-15, 34-43.

<sup>81</sup> *ÆlfBColl*, pp. 80-1: 'Composuit pueris hoc stilum rite diuersum, qui uocatur Bata Ælfricus monachus breuissimus, qualiter scolastici ualeant resumere fandi aliquod initium latiniatis sibi/In short, one called Ælfric Bata, a very short monk, wrote these appropriately varied pieces for boys, so as students they might take up some introduction to speaking Latin', and 170-1 'Hoc constitui et meatim disposui sermonem hunc uobis iuuenibus, sciens scilicet quosque pueros iugiter suatim loquentes adinuicem ludicra uerba sepius quam honorabilia et sapientiae apta, quia aetas talium semper trahit ad irrationabilem sermonem [...] Et carius est illis, si eis licitum erit ludere et iocare cum suis sociis et suis similibus insipienter et in hoc maxime letantur/I have written and arranged these speeches in my own way for you young men, knowing that boys speaking to one another in their way more often say words that are playful than honourable or wise, because their age always draws them to foolish speech [...] And if they are allowed they would rather play and joke foolishly with their pals and peers, and in this they take great pleasure'.

consider saints' lives to be 'unoriginal' or irredeemably dependent on literary *topoi*, and so they are often thought to be unrepresentative of the conditions and experiences of contemporary children. These informed assumptions can make them challenging sources to handle, but we can still use saints' lives if we treat them as contemporary texts as well. They are contemporary texts in the sense that saints' lives composed and read in our period likely played an important formative role in themselves, providing religious audiences with models of religious behaviour. The optimal portraits of childhood presented in contemporary lives also offer important witnesses to contemporaries' inheritance and acceptance of ideals of childhood, and describe behaviours which contemporaries hoped children might adopt over the course of childhood.

Saints' lives can also be useful as organising documents, providing materials useful to comparing differences in contemporary expectations of boys and girls. Many of the saints' lives of Goscelin (fl. 1058-1107), a monk of the Flemish Abbey of Saint Bertin who settled in England shortly before the Norman Conquest, were devoted to religious girls and women.<sup>82</sup> These even appear at times to have been anchored in his own contemporary observations of women's religious practices. But even if we have no means to determine how far they describe the lives of actual girls, they still provide an important source of evidence for ideals of girlhood, and give us a valuable point of access onto expectations which might have shaped girls' and women's experiences and identities.

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<sup>82</sup> For an outline of Goscelin's career, see Moniker Otter, *Goscelin of St. Bertin: The Book of Encouragement and Consolation [Liber Confortatorius]*(Cambridge, 2004), p. 5.

While the ideals they contain were intended to be difficult to achieve, we can also consider that they were meant to be anchored in a credible reality, and were perhaps even expected to have been realisable to a few. This may depend on the extent to which individual saints' lives give us access to credible models of behaviour, but it allows us to remain open to that possibility. Joyce Hill has argued recently, for example, and in the case of several hagiographies composed during our period, that some saints' lives, and especially those composed within living memory of the saint in question, might have a capacity to describe episodes from the lives of actual children.<sup>83</sup> It is on these occasions in particular then, and where saints' lives refer to the misbehaviours of saints or present us with idiosyncratic accounts of particular events, that we can approach saints' lives with the view that they might even throw light onto the actual disciplinary, liturgical, and educational experiences of contemporary children.

Regardless of the genre to which any individual source belongs, the surviving documentary base which relates to religious childhood is not as adequate as we might hope. Before I proceed onto the main study itself, it will therefore also be useful to show how I signpost the uncertain significance of arguments which these and other sources allow us to entertain. While it is the case that no study on medieval children can hope to support the kinds of argument one could expect to find in a study centred on the lives of literate religious adults, it is particularly important to recognise that any attempt to recover evidence of the dynamics of childhood experience in England necessarily involves asking questions and orchestrating arguments that depend on a degree of

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<sup>83</sup> See Joyce Hill, 'Childhood in the Lives of Anglo-Saxon Saints', in *Childhood and Adolescence in Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, ed. Susan Irvine and Winfried Rudolf (Toronto, 2018), pp. 139-61, esp. p. 161: 'The formulaic treatment...tell[s] us more about literary tradition than about historical reality, but even so, in the lives of some saints, especially those written at no great chronological remove from the saints themselves, we can perhaps allow that there are occasional touches of humanity, and one or two rare glimpses of the contemporary conditions of boyhood and adolescence'.

interpretation, and on interpretation of sources which cannot be corroborated with independent material. I therefore employ terms of qualification such as 'possible', 'perhaps', 'probably', and 'might' in order to ensure that it is constantly made clear to readers the hypothetical nature of the positions I take in the chapters which follow. My use of these terms in this way, may, at times, seem excessive, but given the nature of our sources, and our difficulty in understanding how surviving sources give us access to the lives of contemporary children, I determine that it is essential, and not only so that this study accurately reflects the uncertain nature of any conclusions these sources can support, but so that it makes clear my own awareness of those fundamental uncertainties too.

## Chapter One: Discipline and Behaviour

In this first chapter, on monastic discipline, I ask how primary sources give us access to and allow us to understand how children integrated into the behavioural norms of monastic communities. In the past, scholars have approached questions like this through the evidence of monastic prescriptions, supporting a view of monastic houses as controlled environments where supervision and violence played a central role. Prosper Lorain held this view of the monastery in his study of prescriptions related to the continental Benedictine house of Cluny, for example, where he characterised life as one of ‘continual surveillance, operating at all times’, with no child ever ‘able to act without the company of at least one adult and another boy’.<sup>1</sup> More recently, however, scholars have approached experiences of discipline through more anecdotal documents, and have emphasised the importance of learning in joining monastic routines and adopting norms of behaviour.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter therefore adopts these directions. First, it explores monastic prescriptions, asking how contemporaries expected children to integrate into daily rounds, adopt norms of behaviour, and experience conditions of punishment. I then assess a body of more descriptive sources, asking whether these confirm impressions of religious childhood based on prescriptions and also enable us to understand the role of teachers and of education in shaping boys’ experiences of corporal violence.

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<sup>1</sup> Prosper Lorain, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Cluny : Depuis sa Fondation jusqu'à sa Destruction à l'Époque de la Révolution Française* (Paris, 1845), p. 131: ‘Une surveillance continuelle, exercée à toute heure...l'enfant ne pouvait faire un pas sans être au moins accompagné d'un maître et d'un autre enfant’ (my translation).

<sup>2</sup> For examples see, Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia, 1994), pp. 4-16; see also Michael Kobialka, ‘Staging Place/Space in the Eleventh-Century Monastic Practices’, in *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (Minneapolis, 2000), pp. 128-148, esp. pp. 130-32; and Valerie I. J. Flint, ‘Space and Discipline in Early Medieval Europe’, in *ibid*, pp. 149-165.

## Anglo-Saxon England: Infancy

For infant boy oblates who entered religious communities after c.950, we could turn to the *Regula Benedicti*, where *infans* appears to have been a preferred form of reference to the religious child, and which we can perhaps assume had included the youngest oblates, and where we can imagine that a first experience of monastic discipline might have depended on the oblation ritual described in chapter 59 of the *Regula* (pp. 20-21). That being so, however, the *Regula* does not tell us quite how boys might have adjusted into the patterns of daily life they likely encountered. The *Regula Benedicti* is useful in that it points us toward a moment of first encounters in boys' lives. It reminds us of the significance of boys' adjustment from secular life to monastery. But neither chapter 59 of the *Regula* on the oblation ritual, nor the translated version of that chapter we have seen previously and which was composed by Bishop Æthelwold in the *Old English Rule* (pp. 39-41, at fn. 46), discloses how contemporaries expected infant boys to integrate into their houses afterward.

Just one reference in chapter 45 of the Latin *Regula Benedicti* suggests that *infantes* might have entered and learnt monastic routines proper to the choir and were beaten (*bapulere*) for making a mistake in recitation of a psalm, responsory, or antiphon in that context.<sup>3</sup> If this were the case in the sixth century, however, and at communities which closely followed the language of the *Regula* in England or Europe, Æthelwold's

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<sup>3</sup> RSB, c. 45, pp. 154-5: 'Si quis dum pronuntiat psalmum, responsorium, antiphonam, uel lectionem fallitus fuerit, nisi satisfactione ibi coram omnibus humiliatus fuerit, maiori uindictae subiaceat, quippe qui noluit humilitatem corrigere quod negligentia deliquit. Infantes autem pro tali culpa bapulent/If anyone makes a mistake when he recites a psalm, responsory, antiphon, or reading, unless he is humbled by making satisfaction right there before all, he should be subject to more serious punishment, since he has refused to correct, in humility, an error made through carelessness. Children who make such mistakes should be whipped'.

translation of this passage in his own *Old English Rule* did not follow suit, but replaced the original Latin reference to an *infans* with a reference in Old English to *geonge men* instead.<sup>4</sup> The phrase *geonge men* had a broad semantic range, and could have related to anyone of any sex deemed to be of ‘early stage of life’, and so it is possible that Æthelwold had not entirely precluded ‘infant boys’ from these expectations, but this reading still presents some difficulty.<sup>5</sup> The phrase *geonge men* departed from Æthelwold’s own preferred use of the term *cild* for references to *infantes* elsewhere in the *Regula Benedicti*, and it effectively removed ‘infants’ from a context of violence in a contemporary prescriptive context.<sup>6</sup>

At this point we could, perhaps, take account of evidence for the interchangeability of terms relating to age in the written record. We might, for example, turn to evidence for Latin terms relating to age in Isidore’s *Etymologiae* or ‘Etymologies’, the most influential authority on the terminology of the human life-cycle in the Middle Ages. Isidore’s scheme provided for six distinctive stages of human development, moving from *infantia* (infancy), *pueritia* (childhood), *adolescentia* (adolescence), *iuuventus* (youth), *grauitas* (maturity), and *senectus* (old age).<sup>7</sup> This scheme recognised a degree of overlap between some age groups, for example, allowing for interchangeability between *infans* and *puer* by recognising that those stages both belonged to a non-

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<sup>4</sup> RSB, c. 45, pp. 154-5; OERB, c. 45, lines 9-10, p. 71: ‘Geonge men for swa geradum gylte swingelle polian/ young men, for failures such as these, should suffer a whipping’ (my translation).

<sup>5</sup> For a definition, see DOE: adj. *geong* + n. *mann*: ‘in the early stage of life or growth, young, lit. young man or young person (of any sex), youth, boy, adolescent, and referring to an individual in training and not yet capable of full work’.

<sup>6</sup> Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham also employed the term *geong mann* to translate the Latin ‘adolescens’ in his own school-text, see EGA, p. 301.

<sup>7</sup> Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae siue Originum*, ed. Migne, PL 82, xi, pp. 415-7 ; trans. Stephen Barney, J. A. Beach and Oliver Berghof., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2006), bk. xi, p. 241.

procreative stage of life.<sup>8</sup> His scheme therefore shows that terms relating to age could be applied in more fluid ways than is now obvious, and it opens the possibility that Æthelwold may have responded to the Latin *infans* in a similarly dynamic fashion.

But it is also the case that Isidore's scheme did not allow much overlap between infants and post-pubescent *adolescentes* or *iuuenes* ('youths' or 'young men'). Both of these categories belonged to an adult stage of life, when procreation was possible, and so Isidore made a clear distinction between post-adolescents and terms which related to pre-adolescent life-stages too.<sup>9</sup> Æthelwold's *Old English Rule* expresses age through the medium of the vernacular rather than Latin of course, and so we cannot preclude the possibility that Æthelwold's understanding of the term *geonge men* accounted for young adults while also including pre-adolescent children. But as it stands, we cannot be certain of it.

Whatever he intended however, we can recognise that Æthelwold was not followed universally in a contemporary context. Where evidence for other vernacular responses to this same prescription in the Latin *Regula Benedicti* survives in the documentary record (for example, in glosses added to later copies of the Latin *Regula*), it is clear

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<sup>8</sup> Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae siue Originum*, ed. Migne, PL 82, xi, p. 416: 'Infans dicitur homo primae aetatis; dictus autem infans quia adhuc fari nescit [...] Puer, a puritate uocatus, quia purus est, et necdum lanuginem floremque genarum habens'; trans. Stephen Barney, J. A. Beach and Oliver Berghof, bk xi, p. 241: 'It is called an infant, because it does not yet know how to speak [...] A boy is so called from purity, because he is pure and still retains, without the hint of a beard, the bloom of the cheeks'.

<sup>9</sup> Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae siue Originum*, ed. Migne, PL 82, xi, pp. 416: 'Puberes a pube, id est, a pudendis corporis nuncupati, quod haec loca tunc primum lanuginem ducunt. Quidam autem ex annis pubertatem existimant, id est, eum puberem esse qui quatuordecim annos expleuerit', 417 'Iuuenis uocatus, quod iuare posse incipiat...Sicut autem triginta perfectae aetatos est annus in hominibus'; trans. Stephen Barney, J. A. Beach and Oliver Berghof, bk xi, p. 241: 'Those who have reached puberty are so called from pubes, that is, the private parts, for this is the first time that this area grows hair. There are those who calculate puberty from age, that is, they take someone who has completed his fourteenth year', 242 'A youth is so called because he begins to be able to help...in human beings the thirtieth year is the time of full maturity'.

that other contemporaries translated *infans* with *cild*, and confined this prescription to infants and children by virtue of translating the Latin far more literally. We see this in annotations made to chapter 45 in a copy of the Latin *Regula* which was in use at Christ Church Canterbury in the second half of the eleventh century, for example.<sup>10</sup> Close study of this copy by Henry Logeman has shown that it preserves a distinctive apparatus of interlinear Old English glosses, providing readers with *cildra* in place of the *infantes* in the Latin *Regula* and *geonge men* in chapter 45 of the *Old English Rule*.<sup>11</sup> *Cild* is clearly far closer to the original *infantes*, it is a direct cognate of the modern word ‘child’ and, similar to Isidore’s Latin framework, would have allowed contemporaries to include children of all pre-adolescent ages, ensuring that the youngest oblates were subject to disciplinary conditions in the choir.<sup>12</sup>

This exposes a complex nexus of evidence for the use of terms relating to different age groups in a prescriptive context, of course, leaving us in a position of being unable to know how far contemporary authors shared a similar understanding of terms relating to age in Latin and the vernacular. If we cannot know precisely what Æthelwold might have intended with *geonge men* in his own *Rule*, and even if we cannot tell whether his decision to use that term was a result of the interchangeability of vernacular terms relating to age or the result of an intention to preclude infants from or add youths to prescriptions on discipline, we can at least see that chapter 45 of the Latin *Regula* gave rise to several different responses in the contemporary prescriptive record. This nexus

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<sup>10</sup> *The Rule of St. Benet: Latin and Anglo-Saxon Interlinear Version*, ed. Henry Logeman, EETS o.s. 90 (London, 1888), pp. xxxii, xli. Now contained in London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A.iii (fols 118r-63v). For the provenance of this MS, Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 363, pp. 67-68.

<sup>11</sup> *Rule of St. Benet: Latin and Anglo-Saxon*, ed. Logeman, c. 45, p. 79: the gloss appears in the edition as follows, ‘*infantes autem pro tali culpa uapulent/cildra... for swilcum gylta beimbeswungen*’.

<sup>12</sup> DOE: n. *cild*: ‘(1) child, an infant or young person, referring to unborn child, to male children, religious boys, school-boys, (2) offspring, (3), youth of noble birth, (4) a personal name’. *Rule of St. Benet: Latin and Anglo-Saxon*, ed. Logeman, p. xxxiv: Logeman recognised that its vocabulary was in many places ‘very different’ to Æthelwold’s translation.

of evidence suggests therefore that the disciplinary conditions of infants may have been determined by local interpretation, meaning that religious could depart from one another in their application of disciplinary procedures on oblates, and, ultimately, and if we can assume these terms represent real differences of intention, that boys' experience of discipline shifted from one house and generation to another too.

The *Regula Benedicti* and *Old English Rule* were not the only sources of regulation which were available to monasteries of this date, however. We have seen that they also interacted with and were checked by the *Regularis Concordia* of Winchester (pp. 38-41). But the *Regularis Concordia* only provides a slight extension to our view of monastic 'infants', focussing on just a single reference, where Æthelwold required the choir to perform a short liturgical service known as the *Trina Oratio*, before the monastic Office of Tierce:<sup>13</sup>

Infantibus autem ecclesiam intrantibus, aedituus primum sonet signum; peractis tribus a pueris oraminibus, uti prius a senioribus gestum fuerat, dispositi singuli in locis suis campana pulsata incipiant horam Tertiam.<sup>14</sup>

This section suggests that very young boys, potentially of infant age, might have been expected to enter religious houses, integrate into the choir, and contribute to structured liturgical services at the Old Minster in Winchester. We cannot, however, assume that the term *infans* related to infants in this particular case, and in distinction to the *pueri* who were introduced into the passage shortly afterwards. It is quite possible, as we

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<sup>13</sup> Christopher Jones sets out the constituent parts of the *Trina Oratio*, see EME, p. 153. For a discussion of the *Trina Oratio* and its development, see Thomas Symons, 'A Note on the Trina Oratio', *Downside Review* 42 (1924), pp. 67-83.

<sup>14</sup> RC, p. 16: 'As the children enter the church the sacrist shall ring the first bell; and when they have said the *Trina Oratio* in the same way as the seniors have done, all shall take their places and the bell shall be rung for them to begin Tierce'.

have considered through Isidore's *Etymologiae* above, that *infantes* and *pueri* were interchangeable here, and referred to the same group (indeed, a vernacular version of this customary, which we will see later, on p. 152, suggests that the two groups were considered the same group in at least one house). But even if we were to suppose that infant boys were included here, and were expected to enter into liturgical routines shortly after oblation and separately to boys, Æthelwold's phrasing still obstructs our understanding of their presence and of their potentially separate activities. The *Regularis Concordia* does not clearly prescribe what *infantes* should do, and the presence of the preposition 'a' appears rather to have confined a requirement of performance of the *Trina Oratio* to *pueri* alone, leaving us with the question of what, if anything, 'infants' might have been required to contribute in particular.

### Boyhood

This lack of positive prescriptive evidence for infants in either the *Old English Rule* or *Regularis Concordia* means that prescriptive documents before the Conquest may only safely provide evidence for Æthelwold's intentions to subject a broad or older category of *pueri* or 'boys' to monastic norms, suggesting that boys were increasingly subject to monastic regulations and normative expectations of behaviour. We can see that boys, or *pueri*, were expected to acquire the skills necessary for participating in monastic routines in the choir, for example. Choirs were normally divided of course, but it is worth mentioning that the text also required boys to split up into two manageable groups on opposing right- and left-hand sides (*pueri dexteri chori...et sinister*) and each side of the choir appears to have constituted a mixture of adults and children (*omnes fratres*

*dexterioris chori, scilicet seniores ac iuniores*); perhaps, we can speculate, with a view to enabling senior brethren to supervise the activities of each group, and providing seniors with a means of arranging children's liturgical duties according to their side.<sup>15</sup>

Æthelwold's references to the choir also allow us to consider how boys observed a daily round and encountered a hierarchical order in the choir arranged by seating. This presents itself at times directly, in requirements that boys and men should be assigned to their own spaces (*dispositi singuli in locis suis*), and keep to their positions in the 'order' of their choir (*residentibus cunctis in sedilibus suis ordinatim*).<sup>16</sup> But we also find it indirectly, in references which imply particularisation of their conditions and subject boys to their own forms of supervision, with two seniors required to act as their guardians for each of two groups (*pueri dexterioris chori cum uno custode illud peragant; sequenti die dominica residui pueri sinisterioris chori cum custode*).<sup>17</sup>

The *Regularis Concordia* suggests that *pueri* were expected to enter several environments in the complex of the Old Minster at Winchester, requiring them to learn a pattern of routines for daily life and undertake a series of separable activities for washing, eating, and sleeping in mundane spaces of the cloister, refectory and dormitory in addition to the liturgy.<sup>18</sup> The *Regularis Concordia* did not detail these extra-liturgical rounds with completeness. The purpose of a customary was to outline the plan for a liturgical life rather than for daily activities. But it signposts enough of

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<sup>15</sup> For the eleven occasions in which *pueri* appear in choir see RC, pp. 13-4, 16, 23, 28, 35-6, 51, 61. RC, pp. 36-7: 'All the brothers of the right-hand-side choir, that is to say, both seniors and juniors'. I owe thanks to Professor Joyce Hill for the idea that the organisation of boys in choir provided a means of determining when they contribute to the liturgy.

<sup>16</sup> RC, pp. 16 'All shall take their places', and 13 'All, ranged in order in the stalls'.

<sup>17</sup> RC, p. 61: 'The children of the right hand choir with their master shall carry it out, and on the following Sunday the other children, those of the left hand choir, with the other master'.

<sup>18</sup> For a reconstruction of the daily *horarium* in winter, see RC, pp. xliii-xli, 13-24, 30-5.

these daily rounds so as to allow us to recognise how conditions in these routines played a role in introducing boys into their communities.

Indeed, references to the activities of *pueri* in the *Regularis Concordia* allow us to recognise that boys learnt daily rounds that were different from their seniors. We can see, for example, that part of boys' own routines in the *Regularis Concordia* required boys to accustom themselves at an early age to using the toilet at set times of the day.<sup>19</sup> We could extend this evidence for boys' routines further still, including prescriptive measures which expected boys to accustom themselves to bathing and washing their faces and hands at fixed junctures: these prescriptions required that boys share only the company of their *magister* or 'teacher' – individuals who were required to supervise and instruct oblates in how to wash – and on a strictly separate basis from adult brethren, who were to wash at another time and individually (*Dehinc psalmodiis dediti facies suas, uti mos est, lauent schola uniuersa cum magistro et abbate; seniores uero unusquisque semotim*).<sup>20</sup>

*Pueri* also occur in prescriptions which assumed that boys would need to share duties with a wider community of seniors. The *Regularis Concordia* suggests that common routines centred on the choir and were signposted in the Old Minster's complex through the manipulation of its 'soundscape' or heard environment. Æthelwold's customary expresses this through mention of 'signals' (*signa*) and Thomas Symons, editor of the critical edition and translation of the *Regularis Concordia*, quietly

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<sup>19</sup> RC, pp. 14, 16, 45-6: 'Egressa schola cum magistro ad necessitudinis usum, ceteri...in ecclesia resideant/ When the schola with their master leave the church for the necessity of nature, the rest...shall remain in the church'.

<sup>20</sup> RC, pp. 14, 45-6, esp. 16: 'The entire *schola* with their master and the abbot shall wash their faces as is customary, intent on the psalms as they do so. As for the seniors, let each one [do so] separately'.

assumed that many of these *signa* were ‘bells’, describing them as such. But since he did not explore the significance of these particular items, and given that there have been only a select number of publications which have surveyed and drawn attention to the significance of *signa* and the variety of forms they likely took (as gongs, cymbals, and bells), it will be useful to ground the significance of Symons’ terminology here, and consider how *signa* might have enabled boys to learn routines of liturgical performance after oblation.<sup>21</sup>

In order to identify ‘bells’ in the soundscape of Winchester in c.970, we are helped by the fact that the Latin *Regularis Concordia* occasionally provided nouns such as *campana* (bell) and *tintinnabulum* (little bell) which indicate their place and role in signalling certain offices.<sup>22</sup> We are also helped by the survival of fragmentary vernacular versions of the *Regularis Concordia* and continuous vernacular glosses to Latin copies of that customary which allow us to see how contemporaries writing in a slightly later generation understood and perhaps practised the terms and customs which the *Regularis Concordia* set down. As we shall see later (pp. 110-111), at least one glossator used the Old English term ‘belle’ to translate *signa* in a Latin copy (i.e. London Tiberius MS A.iii which refers in one instance to ‘*þonne se belle cnelle, beon hi ealle gegaderode to primsançe*’).<sup>23</sup> Joyce Hill has also shown that yet another copy, in the form of a vernacular version of the *Regularis Concordia* (in the unprinted MS CCC 201) provided slightly different, often more specific, and perhaps more realistic

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<sup>21</sup> Joyce Hill, ‘Lexical choices for Holy Week: Studies in Old English Ecclesiastical Vocabulary’ in *Lexis and Texts in Early English: Studies Presented to Jane Roberts*, ed. Christian J. Kay and Louise M. Sylvester (Amsterdam, 2001), pp. 117-127.

<sup>22</sup> RC, p. 16: ‘Campana pulsata/The bell shall be rung’ and ‘Tintinnabulo a priore percusso/Then the prior shall strike the little bell’.

<sup>23</sup> Schröer, ‘De consuetudine monachorum’, p. 296: ‘When the bell knells, let them all be gathered to sing Prime’ (my translation).

readings of *signa*, employing terms such as a *tabula*, a gong or cymbal, as well as a bell in different locations, confirming their presence and use in the community for which that vernacular version had been written.<sup>24</sup>

The *Regularis Concordia* also distinguished between the qualities and modalities of monastic *signa* employed at different times and in different spaces. The *Regularis Concordia* assigned, for example, where, when, and whether *signa* might have been percussive or silent, and did so by using what we might call sounding verbs, or verbs relating to hearing, with forms such as *pulsare* (to pound),<sup>25</sup> *percutere* (to strike),<sup>26</sup> *sonare* (to sound),<sup>27</sup> *aduocare* (to call),<sup>28</sup> and *audire* (to hear)<sup>29</sup> notifying the community to gather. But it also appears to have done so by using less percussive verbal forms for what could have been other silent kinds of *signa*, such as *facere* (to

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<sup>24</sup> Joyce Hill, ‘Lexical choices for Holy Week: Studies in Old English Ecclesiastical Vocabulary’, pp. 120-1: ‘The Tiberius text, not surprisingly, is as unspecific as the Latin which it glosses and to which it is generally faithful, but the translation (of CCCC 201), which is characterised by a tendency to specify and explain, uses precise terms [...] For example...where the Latin has *facto signo* and the Tiberius gloss *gedonum tacne*, the CCCC 201 text has *mid beacne on þære formellan þæt getacnige*. Symons translates the Latin freely (indeed, inaccurately) as ‘the bell shall be rung’, but it is clear that in the community in which the Old English translation originated – and perhaps in other communities too – a bell was not used [...] what is in fact being referred to in the Old English explanatory translation is a wooden instrument, often used for signals in monasteries, and referred to elsewhere in the *Regularis Concordia*, as in other consuetudinaries of this date, as a *tabula*, and ‘when *facto signo* occurs again and is glossed as *gedonum tacne* (in Tiberius), the translation in CCCC 201 is the specific *sconylle* (shoe-bell)’ and for more on the presence of cymbals, see p. 121 ‘*Donec tintinnabulum pulsetur* [...] is accurately glossed in Tiberius A.iii as *oð þæt belle si gecnylled*, but is carefully adjusted in the CCCC 201 translation to *swa seo cymbalum sy geslægen* to reflect...the use of a small cymbal or portable gong which was struck, rather than a bell’.

<sup>25</sup> RC, pp. 13: ‘*Continuatim pulsetur tintinnabulum*/The little bell shall be rung continuously’, ‘*Pulsatis reliquis signis*/The remaining bells shall be rung’, 15 ‘*Pulsato signo congregentur ad Primam*/At the sound of the bell, come together for Prime’, ‘*Signo pulsato*/Then the bell shall ring’, 16 ‘*Campana pulsate incipient horam Tertiam*/The bell shall be rung for them to begin Tierce’, 21 ‘*Pulsatis signis celebrant Sextam*/The bells being rung, Sext shall be said’, ‘*Finita Missa pulsetur primum signum Nonae*/After Mass the first bell for None shall be rung’.

<sup>26</sup> RC, p. 22: ‘*Tintinnabulo a priore percusso*/Then the prior shall strike the little bell’.

<sup>27</sup> RC, pp. 13: ‘*Sonetur secundum signum*/The second bell shall be rung’, ‘*Primum sonet signum*/Ring the first bell’, 22 ‘*Signa dum sonant*/While the bells are ringing’.

<sup>28</sup> RC, p. 19: ‘*Mox signorum motu fidelem aduocantes plebem missam incohent*/The bells shall ring to call the faithful together and the Mass shall begin’.

<sup>29</sup> RC, p. 16: ‘*Antequam illud audiatur signum*/Before the bell is heard’, ‘*Usque dum audiunt signum ad induendum*/Until the sound of the bell for vesting’.

make),<sup>30</sup> and *dare* (to give),<sup>31</sup> and verbs which might have depended on the use of a bodily gesture, occurring where and when the author of the *Regularis Concordia* might have expected that the community was already gathered.<sup>32</sup>

The *Regularis Concordia* also describes the use of *signa* in ways which suggest that Æthelwold had intended them to create a variety of effects useful to recognising specific offices. We might detect this, for example, in prescriptions requiring that some *signa* ring once and others ‘continuously’ (*continuatim pulsare*), and that, on some occasions, one could ring individually, but at other times a larger number could ring ‘all together’ (*omnia signa*).<sup>33</sup> Similar evidence survives in other monastic customaries, such as Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham’s *Epistula ad monachos*. Written for the new foundation at Eynsham in c.1005, this customary depended on and shared much of Æthelwold’s framework on *signa*, and, perhaps unsurprisingly, appears to have expected *signa* to play a similar function. Indeed, it affords a view onto a similar complex of variations in the soundscape of his own community at Eynsham, and appears to have anticipated that some would be singular (*signum*), while others worked in the plural (*omnia signa pulsantur*).<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> RC, pp. 17: ‘Facto signo a priore/At a sign from the prior’, ‘Facto signo agant orationem/Then, when the bell is rung, there shall be a space for prayer’, 23 ‘Facto signo a priore/At a sign from the prior’.

<sup>31</sup> RC, pp. 21: ‘Donec iterum dato signo Nonam agant/Until None which shall be recited when the second bell has rung’, 23 ‘Rursumque dato tintinnabuli signo/When the little bell rings again’.

<sup>32</sup> RC, pp. 31, 21. Æthelwold also distinguished occasions for when the *tabula*, a board listing the daily chores of the brethren, ‘was to be sounded out’ (*pulsetur*), see RC, p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> RC, pp. 13: ‘Continuatim pulsetur tintinnabulum/The little bell shall be rung continuously’, 28-9 ‘Omnibusque signis motis agatur Missa/Then all the bells shall peal and the Mass shall be celebrated’.

<sup>34</sup> For all references to bells, see EME, pp. 110-11, 117-8, 118-9, 134-5, 140-1, 142-3, e.g. p. 110-11: ‘Usquequo signum Tertie insonverit/Until the bell for Tierce rings’, and 118-19 ‘Ad nocturnam et ad uesperam uti ad Missam omnia signa pulsantur/All the bells are rung at Nocturns and Vespers just as they are at Mass’.

Scholarship originating in anthropology has also long drawn attention to the significance of ritual gestures in the formation of communal identities.<sup>35</sup> These studies have considered that ritual gestures can function as a type of private language, providing a behavioural node around which individuals could show their acceptance of norms of behaviour. The *Regularis Concordia* appears to set down on occasions throughout the monastic complex these kinds of behaviours – ritual gestures which Æthelwold appears to have either associated with boys in particular, or which he expected brethren to express, and which, by extension, he appears to have expected that boys might encounter and would have been important to their behavioural learning after oblation too.<sup>36</sup>

Æthelwold's prescriptions indicate that expression of ritual gesture took on a relatively fixed form of routines, repeating on a daily and seasonal basis and beginning from the moment brethren arose from bed, when he expected them first of all to sign themselves with the Holy Cross.<sup>37</sup> The *Regularis Concordia* expected the liturgical community to partake in ritual silences proper to the cloister, where brethren were not permitted to speak between Vespers on one evening and Chapter on the following day.<sup>38</sup> The *Regularis Concordia* expected a similar course of ritual actions to be performed by

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<sup>35</sup> For example, Talal Asad, 'On Ritual and Discipline in Medieval Christian Monasticism', *Economy and Society* 12 (1983), pp. 287-327.

<sup>36</sup> For example, see RC, pp. 13: 'Trinitatis reuerentia ab omnibus legitime teneatur/The reverence to the Trinity shall be duly observed by all', 'Residentibus cunctis in sedilibus suis ordinatim/All, ranged in order in the stalls', 15 'His uero finitis subsequatur letania quam uniuersi, more solito prostrati humiliter nullo excepto/Then the bell shall ring for the Litany at which all without exception shall humbly prostrate themselves as it the custom', 17 'Tunc residentibus cunctis legatur martyrologium, quo dicto surgentes omnes/When the brethren are seated, the Martyrology shall be read; all shall then rise'.

<sup>37</sup> RC, p. 11: 'Primum sibi signum sanctae crucis imprimat per Sanctae Trinitatis incouationem/He shall first of all sign himself with the sign of the Holy Cross, invoking the Holy Trinity'.

<sup>38</sup> RC, p. 54-5: 'Silentium diligenti cura in clauastro custodiant; nam et omni tempore a primo pulsu uespertinalis Synaxis silentium teneatur in clauastro usquequo Capitulum finiatur alterius diei/Keeping strict silence in the cloister. For from the first bell of the Vesper Office silence must always be kept there until after the Chapter of the following day'.

those who entered the communal office of Chapter in the chapterhouse, requiring attendant brethren, upon entering, to turn east, salute the cross, and lower their heads in the direction of the abbot or presiding senior.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, it expected a large number of these ritual observances to focus on the space of the choir, where the *Regularis Concordia* required members to genuflect in unison,<sup>40</sup> and prostrate themselves on the floor, every day after Prime throughout the year, and a further eight times a day and every day during Lent.<sup>41</sup> We find these expectations and a similar picture of behavioural learning in Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham's later customary for Eynsham too. Here, Ælfric appears to have expected his brethren to conform to similar acts of genuflection in their choir (*omnes pariter surgentes genua flectent*),<sup>42</sup> to learn to walk with bare feet during processions (*nudipedalia*),<sup>43</sup> and to share in requirements to lie prostrate on the ground in the choir space (*prostrati*).<sup>44</sup>

The *Regularis Concordia* suggests that boys' experience of monastic discipline at the Old Minster also depended on participation in a 'school' (*schola*). Æthelwold provided at least four individual references to a 'school' in the course of his *Regularis Concordia*,

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<sup>39</sup> RC, p. 17: 'Conuenientes ad Capitulum ipso praecedente, uersu facie ad orientem saluent crucem et ceteris undique fratribus se uultu inclinato humilient/All shall come together for the Chapter, the prior leading. Turning to the east they shall salute the Cross and with bared heads abase themselves before one another'.

<sup>40</sup> RC, pp. 12 'Tunc flexis genibus in loco congruo et consueto/Then, kneeling down in his proper and accustomed place', 13 'Flectentes genua post quinque psalmos, facto signo a priore/Genuflecting at a sign from the prior after each set of five psalms', 17 'Subiungentes Gloria et flectentes genua si tempus ita dictauerit/With the *Gloria* at the end, the brethren making a genuflection if the season of the year demands it'.

<sup>41</sup> RC, pp. 15: 'His uero finitis subsequatur letania quam uniuersi, more solito prostrati humiliter nullo excepto, sugno pulsato compleant/Then the bell shall ring for the Litany at which all without exception shall humbly prostrate themselves as is the custom', 38 'Post quod letaniam agant prostrati/ After this they shall recite the Litany, prostrate'.

<sup>42</sup> EME, pp. 116-17: 'All shall rise together and genuflect'.

<sup>43</sup> EME, pp. 126-7: 'Parasceue etiam debent exercere nudipedalia usquequo crux adoretur/On Good Friday they should also go barefoot until the cross is venerated'.

<sup>44</sup> EME, pp. 122-3: 'Cotidie post expletionem uniuscuiusque hore duos psalmos prostrati solo oratorii peroremus deuoti/Everyday from Ash Wednesday [until Maundy Thursday (feast days excepted)], at the conclusion of every hour we are to prostrate ourselves on the floor of the church and fervently recite two psalms'.

and appears to have associated that term with *pueri* or boys, with a dedicated ‘guardian’ (*custos*), and with at least one dedicated ‘teacher’ (*schola cum magistro*) who appears to have been required to supervise and instruct them.<sup>45</sup> The prologue of the *Regularis Concordia* indicates that the *schola* was expected to occupy itself in ‘reciting psalms’ (*sed solito cum tota schola [...] psalmodiis inseruendo*), but, sadly, neither the prologue nor the customary as a whole tell us much more about its shape and disciplinary role.<sup>46</sup>

Studies originating in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries often assumed that monastic schools were physical spaces controlled by teachers.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, studies of Anglo-Saxon England have often adopted descriptors like ‘classroom’ and ‘schoolroom’, giving tacit approval to those impressions.<sup>48</sup> Despite our historiography, however, these forms of organisation are not obvious in the prescriptive record. The *Regularis Concordia* does not obviously associate the school with any single fixed

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<sup>45</sup> Symons postulated that some references to the *schola* refer to a school of trained adult singers rather than boys, but I find no overwhelming reason to follow the position, see RC, pp. 8: ‘Nec ipse custos cum singulo aliquo puerulo sine tertio qui testis assistat migrandi licentiam habeat, sed solito cum tota schola [...] eat/Nor shall the master himself be allowed to be in company with a boy without a third person as witness; but let master and *schola* go together...’, 14 ‘Egressa schola cum magistro ad necessitudinis usum/When the *schola*, with their master, leave the church for the necessity of nature’, 16 ‘Dehinc psalmodiis dediti facies suas, uti mos est, lauent schola uniuersa cum magistro et abbate/Next, the entire *schola* with their master and the abbot shall wash their faces as is customary, intent on the psalms as they do so’, 21-2 ‘Surgentes a mensa uacent lectioni aut psalmis iuxta praeceptum regulae/Rising up from the meal, they shall give themselves to reading or to the psalms, according to the ordinance of the Rule’, 42: ‘Itemque schola idipsum latine, *Sanctus Deus*/And the *schola* repeating the same in Latin, *Sanctus Deus*’, 48 ‘Postea descendat abbas cum schola canente letanias quinas ad fontes benedicendos/Afterwards the abbot shall go down with the *schola* to bless the font, singing the five-fold Litanies’, 57 ‘Postea descendat abbas cum schola canente letanias quinas ad fontes benedicendos/The abbot and *schola* shall then go down to bless the font, singing the five-fold Litanies’.

<sup>46</sup> RC, p. 8: ‘But let master and *schola* go together in the accustomed manner [...] reciting the psalms’.

<sup>47</sup> i.e. Arthur Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (London, 1915).

<sup>48</sup> For illustrations of this problematic terminology, see Patrizia Lendinara, ‘Instructional manuscripts in England, the tenth and eleventh-century codices and the early Norman ones’, in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence*, ed. Patricia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari, and Maria A. D’Aronco (Turnhout, 2007), p. 71; Gernot Wieland, ‘The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?’, *ASE* 14 (1985), pp. 153-73; and also John Contreni, ‘The Carolingian School: Letters from the Classroom’, in *Carolingian Learning, Masters, and Manuscripts*, ed. John Contreni (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 84-111.

location or even a series of locations, and, in fact, it more often assumed that the *schola* was a group rather than a part of the material complex. Indeed, Ælfric, in his own dependent customary, the *Epistula ad monachos*, described the *schola* in fluid terms, indicating that the *schola* moved around the monastic complex separately from seniors (*schola simul et seniores singillatim*), and was able to engage in a daily round not connected to experiences of instruction.<sup>49</sup>

Neither the *Regularis Concordia* nor the *Epistula ad monachos* allow us to be certain of how teachers or guardians managed and corrected the behaviours of boys in a *schola*, however. In fact, Æthelwold's customary only reveals an effort on his part to manage the behaviour of seniors. It prohibited seniors from taking 'immature youths' (*iuuenculi*) along with them on journeys.<sup>50</sup> It restricted all senior monks from embracing or kissing boys of any pre-adult age (*adolescentes uel pueruli*).<sup>51</sup> Indeed, it required that no guardian should be left alone with a single boy, adding that they should always have at least one other boy as a companion.<sup>52</sup> These prescriptions have attracted attention in the past. They have been considered as indicative of Æthelwold's anxiety at Winchester about abuses of seniors' privileges, and as elements of an initiative to prevent and/or reduce opportunities for favouritism, victimisation, and/or sexual scandal in England's emerging network of Benedictine schools.<sup>53</sup> Although we cannot

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<sup>49</sup> EME, pp. 110-11: 'The children together as a group, the senior monks individually'.

<sup>50</sup> RC, p. 7: 'Iterantes uero non iuuenulos sed adultos quorum admonitione meliorentur secum in comitatu ducant/Again, let the brethren take with them as companions on a journey not youths but grown-up persons from whose conversation they may take profit'.

<sup>51</sup> RC, p. 7: 'Domi uero degentes, non solum fratres sed etiam abbates, adolescentes uel puerulos non brachiis amplexando uel labris leuiter deosculando, sed caritatiuo animi affectu sine uerbis adulatoriis reuerenter cum magna cautela diligant/In the monastery moreover let neither monks nor abbots embrace or kiss, as it were, youths or children; let their affection for them be spiritual, let them keep from words of flattery, and let them love the children reverently and with the greatest circumspection.

<sup>52</sup> RC, pp. 7-8: 'Nec ipse custos cum singulo aliquot puerulo sine tertio qui testis/Nor shall the master himself be allowed to be in company with a boy without a third person as witness'.

<sup>53</sup> Patricia Quinn recognised a sexual dynamic in her *Better than the Sons of Kings*, esp. pp. 155-194, at 155. Maria Lahaye-Geusen also devotes a sub-section of a chapter in her *Das Opfer der Kinder*, and

know why Æthelwold sought to restrain adult religious in this way, at the outset of a document which declared the ambitions of a monastic reform, his prohibitions against adults are clear, and, what is more, his interest in setting down rules of behaviour for adults makes his (and also Ælfric's) lack of prescriptive direction on boys and on the management of the *schola* even more puzzling.

This vacuum of evidence relating to boys' experience in a *schola* context therefore leaves us in a difficult position. It means that we are not only unable to understand how *magistri* might have attempted to discipline their schools or teach boys about matters relating to monastic discipline, but that we are also unable to understand whether *magistri* were ever expected to adhere to a shared set of disciplinary principles. Without any guidance from the *Regularis Concordia*, we could even speculate that Æthelwold might have deliberately allowed this vacuum, and had either sought to impose his own disciplinary views on his contemporaries on an interpersonal basis, or had intended to allow *magistri* and/or *custodes* to act semi-autonomously, imposing their own disciplinary system onto boys instead.

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takes the rather delicate view that acts connected to homosexuality and paedophilia were considered to be a part of the same nexus of [deviant] male sexualities in the middle ages, see *Opfer der Kinder*, pp. 417-426, esp. 420-32 and at p. 431: 'die Homosexualität, damit auch die Nebenform der Päderastie, im Mittelalter weiter verbreitet war, als gemeinhin angenommen wird.../Homosexuality, and also the variant form of pederasty in the middle ages was more widespread than is commonly accepted'. Lahaye-Geusen's study, oddly, thought it would be useful to introduce an apologetic line on the record of the Christian church on child abuse by utilising the similarly apologetic work of Derrick Bailey [*Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* (London, 1955)], i.e. p. 421: 'Bailey konnte in der bisher besten Studie über die christliche Sichtweise der Homosexualität nachweisen dass gerade die Übernahme der Gerichtsbarkeit über solche Vergehen durch die Kirche die Homosexuellen vor härteren Strafen bewahrt hat/Bailey has been able to show, in what may be the best study to date on Christian homosexuality, that it was precisely the jurisdiction of the Church over homosexual offences which protected homosexuals from even greater punishment' (my translation).

Ælfric of Eynsham, student of Winchester, teacher of boys at Cerne Abbas, Abbot of Eynsham, and one of the most prominent authors of late Anglo-Saxon England, composed a number of influential school-texts which might help us to understand how he and contemporary teachers might have sought to manage ‘school’ groups in this surprisingly empty regulatory context:

Inceditis morigerate cum auscultaueritis ecclesie campanas, et ingredimini in orationem, et inclinate suppliciter ad almas aras, et state disciplinabiliter, et concinite unanimiter, et interuenite pro uestris erratibus et egredimini sine scurrilitate in claustrum.<sup>54</sup>

This short section of Ælfric’s *Colloquium*, a Latin school-text which constituted a single Latin dialogue intended to help students to learn how (and what) to speak in the language, is demonstrative of the potential of school-texts as an alternative source on monastic discipline to prescriptive regulations in late Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>55</sup> In this section in particular, we can see that Ælfric’s *Colloquium* contains a wealth of information with regard to contemporary disciplinary practices. It demonstrates that Ælfric had understood a connection between systems of discipline and experiences of Latin education, and had exploited this in the context of the monastic school in order to shape boys’ behaviours.

We should be clear that Ælfric’s school-text does not create an entirely original disciplinary system, we can see that his work leans on structures which can be found

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<sup>54</sup> ÆlfColl, p. 48: ‘When you hear the bells of the church, bow humbly before the holy altars, stand with discipline and sing together, intercede for your faults and leave without buffoonery into the cloister’.

<sup>55</sup> Joyce Hill has argued the *Colloquium* was part of a ‘triad’ of grammatical school-texts including Ælfric’s *Grammar*, *Glossary*, and *Colloquium*, ‘Ælfric’s Grammatical Triad’, in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence*, ed. Patrizia Lendinara, Lorendana Lazzari, and Maria Amalia D’Aronco (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 285-307.

in a prescriptive context. In the section given above, for example, we can immediately recognise routines and ideals of behaviour which conform with and seem to extend from the *Regularis Concordia*. For one, Ælfric's school-text explicitly associated boys' observance of a round with their hearing of bells, and he appears to recognise in them a function, considered above (i.e. pp. 64-66), to co-ordinate boys on their daily routine. Ælfric's insistence that boys observe a fixed series of ritual gestures upon entering the church and choir, that is that they should first 'bow', then 'stand', and 'sing together', in specific places, times, and in order, appears to correlate closely with and support an understanding of ritual gestures which we have set out above too (pp. 67-68).

This short section also reveals what appear to be more general expectations of boys' behavioural learning that are not often conveyed by a prescriptive source-base. It indicates, for example, that boys' behavioural learning should include the need to acquire and exercise spatial awareness. We see this particularly clearly, for example, where Ælfric's fictional *magister* insists that boys should adapt their behaviour to the church spaces they entered and left. His expectation that boys should change their behaviour in particular suggests that monastic boys were not only encouraged to acquire a heightened level of spatial and behavioural awareness, but to know also when to maintain behaviours and for how long, to learn the moments and spaces in which they were needed, and to learn too when their seniors expected them to adjust their conduct as those and any other unspoken expectations changed.

Ælfric's decision to focus on boys' behaviours in the church could even express a contemporary anxiety about the locations of misbehaviour. This concern appears to

centre on the conduct of boys in sacred spaces, or spaces which adults such as Ælfric might have thought of as sacred, but which untutored boys might not have valued as such or to the same degree themselves. We could recover evidence for this anxiety, for example, beneath the surface of Ælfric's *Colloquium*, and in directions that boys should observe a series of fixed ritual routines as they entered the church, and to focus on making a prayer or bowing to the altars as they entered together, and, indeed, that boys ought to avoid 'buffoonery' (*scurrilitas*) when inside and around the threshold of a church too.

The longer *Colloquia*, a school-text composed by his only known student, Ælfric Bata, were based on Ælfric of Eynsham's *Colloquium*, and, again, demonstrate the influence of teachers in shaping norms of discipline. They also show that Ælfric's attitudes, anxieties, and his subscription to the importance of entering sacred spaces were, in a narrow sense, successfully reproduced by at least one successive generation of students in a monastic *schola*:

Facite, et pulchre in oratorio et refectorio, nusquam sine licentia discurrentes, et in dormitorio similiter et in omni loco uos custodite.<sup>56</sup>

This passage, taken from dialogue no. 6 of Bata's *Colloquia*, echoes that of and provides visible testimony to his own formation under Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham, whom he called 'his teacher' (*Ælfricus Abbas meus fuit magister*).<sup>57</sup> Bata's text is not

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<sup>56</sup> ÆlfBColl, pp. 92-3: 'Act nicely in the chapel and refectory, in the dormitory and everywhere else, never running about, without permission'.

<sup>57</sup> Bata referred to Ælfric of Eynsham in the prologue to his own version of Ælfric's *Colloquium* which is now contained in Oxford St. John's College MS 154, fol. 204 recto: 'Hanc sententiam Latini sermonis olim Ælfricus Abbas composuit qui meus fuit magister sed tamen ego Ælfric Bata multas postea huic addidi appendices/Abbot Ælfric, who was my teacher, once composed this sentence of a Latin sermon, but I, Ælfric Bata, have since added many appendices' (my transcription and translation); cf. ÆlfBColl, p. 2.

a perfect mirror image of his teacher's, however. Its differences are as important, and they tell us about his own choices as an author. This section demonstrates his similar attitudes to and perhaps shared anxieties about oblate behaviour in sacred space, but his dialogue also reveals conceptions of misbehaviour and correction which are not visible in the works of Ælfric of Eynsham. Where Ælfric had discouraged any kind of 'buffoonery', Bata's text described with greater precision that running (*discurrere*) was especially discouraged (and, perhaps, most commonly observed). By indicating that boys required permission from teachers (*non sine licentia*), Bata also reveals to us that running might at times have also been acceptable. He thus provides us with a view of a disciplinary system of greater and more credible complexity, shedding light onto a system where it is not just fictional boys' misbehaviours which appear to be subject to qualifying conditions, but where disciplinarians appear to be subject to norms of conduct as well.

The question remains quite where did these norms come from, on what basis were they constructed, and indeed how widely were expectations surrounding the management and formation of boys' behaviours shared by teachers throughout Anglo-Saxon England. On the first of these questions, Nathan Ristuccia has confirmed that contemporary teachers did in fact turn to the prescriptive record for their disciplinary principles. He has argued, for example, that dialogue no. 4 of the *Colloquia* of Ælfric Bata was grounded on Bata's close reading of chapter 2 of the *Regula Benedicti*, which was itself based on II Timothy 4:2 – encouraging abbots to 'reprimand, implore, and reprove' poorly behaved brethren (i.e., *arguere, obsegrare* [sic], *increpare*).<sup>58</sup> Bata

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<sup>58</sup> RSB, c. 2, pp. 24-5. For the original identification, see Ristuccia, 'Ideology and Corporal Punishment', 375, 377-8;

appears therefore to have mined the *Regula* for principles which related to the abbot and the management of a monastic community, adopting them as a model for teachers and for the management of monastic schools instead:

O magistri, nolite prouocare ad iracundiam filios uestros cum superflua austeritatis duritia, sed mensurate et cum bonitate aliquando increpentes, aliquando arguentes, aliquando obsecrantes, et aliquando flagellantes.<sup>59</sup>

Insofar as dialogue no. 4 reveals Bata's adoption of this procedure, it also reveals that Bata had chosen to rearrange and add to them. For one, Bata's revised order encouraged teachers to use 'reproof' before 'reprimand' and 'imploring' (i.e. (3) (1) (2)), and Bata also appears to have added a fourth element, introducing the verb *flagellare* or 'to flog/beat' to his list, and accepting, therefore, there was a place for violence in the school. In doing so, Bata significantly transformed the verbal corrective centre of gravity of the original framework of the *Regula* and in a way which has gone unrecognised by Ristuccia. What this shows, however, is that Bata had brought his *Colloquia* into line, not with the Latin *Regula*, but with Æthelwold's *Old English Rule*, and with its own addition of *witnian*, or 'to torment or plague with violence' in particular.<sup>60</sup> Similar to how the *Colloquium* of Ælfric of Eynsham appears to have intersected with the *Regularis Concordia* then, the contents of the *Colloquia* of Ælfric Bata suggest that teachers had also explored Æthelwold's *Old English Rule* in order to construct disciplinary principles useful to managing schools, and, what is more, they indicate that teachers used the vehicles of their school-texts in order to ensure that

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<sup>59</sup> ÆlfBColl, pp. 86-7: 'Masters, do not provoke your sons to anger with needlessly harsh sternness, but discipline with moderation and kindness, sometimes rebuking, sometimes reproving, sometimes entreating, and sometimes whipping'.

<sup>60</sup> OERB, c. 2, p. 13: 'Ðrea and witna and halsa and cid'. BT: v. *witnian*: 'to punish, torment, plague'.

those principles acquired and continued to have influence in educational contexts, and wherever and for as long as they played a role in Latin learning.

In the absence of evidence for other contexts of violence in the prescriptive record, it would seem useful to explore whether and how far school-texts also give us access to teachers' views on and boys' experiences of corporal punishment. For one, Bata's syntactical choices, and his positioning of 'flogging' at the end of a long clause of less obviously violent and seemingly milder or verbally signifying corrective methods in dialogue no. 4 of his *Colloquia* could suggest that he had also viewed it differently to Saint Æthelwold, locating it in a position of final rather than second resort (see fn. 60 above). Supporting this view, Irena Dumitrescu has argued that the works of Bata's own *magister* also provide evidence for a preference of threats and forms of deterrence rather than violent correction. What is perhaps more significant about Ælfric of Eynsham's own writings, however, is that this evidence occurs in school-texts on grammar like the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* (EGA) which were intended for even younger children, and so reveal preferences of discipline which may have intersected with the experiences and learning outcomes of a significantly less experienced demographic of 'uneducated boys' (*inscientes pueruli*), 'tender young boys' (*pueruli tenelli*), and young children too (*geong cild*).<sup>61</sup>

Irena Dumitrescu has argued that the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* used this technique of threat as part of its educational framework, by including a series of

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<sup>61</sup> EGA, p. 1: 'Has excerptiones de Prisciano minore uel maiore uobis puerulis tenellis ad uestram linguam transferre studui/I have given time to translate into your language these excerpts from the minor or greater Priscian for you tender young boys', and 'Ego deputo hanc lectionem inscientibus puerulis, non senibus, aptandam/I determine that this work has been suitably prepared for untutored boys, not old men', and also 2 'Pæt ðeos boc mihte fremian gungum cildum to anginne pæs cræftes/So that this book might help young children to begin the craft' (my translations).

threatening mnemonics into examples of Latin inflection and conjugation which warned students of the possibility of violent correction in the event of poor behaviour. She has drawn attention to this in a section ‘on verbs’, for example, where Ælfric introduced students to the concept of active and passive verbal forms, and where he used images of pain and violence in order to facilitate student understanding of the active voice through *weorc*, signifying ‘labour’, and the passive voice through *þrowung*, meaning ‘suffering’.<sup>62</sup> Ælfric’s school-text also revealed this practice where he explained to boys how those forms differed by using examples which deliberately introduced descriptions of violence, describing the active form in terms of inflicting pain onto others (i.e. *uerbero, ic swinge*) and describing the passive in terms of experiencing violent correction too (i.e. *uerberor, ic eom beswungen*).<sup>63</sup>

These occasions in Ælfric’s *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* suggest that violence had a tangible place in contemporary boyhood too, and there are occasions in Ælfric Bata’s *Colloquia* that would support the view that these sources provide evidence of the uses of violence as well as of threat. We can turn, for example, to the evidence of dialogue no. 28, where Bata’s school-text appears to authorise the immediate beating of a boy who was accused of theft:

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<sup>62</sup> Irina A. Dumitrescu, ‘The Grammar of Pain in Ælfric Bata’s Colloquies’, *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 45 (2009), p. 241. BT: n. *weorc*: ‘work, operative action’, n. *þrowung*: ‘feeling, suffering, suffering which is painful’, see EGA, pp. 119-22: ‘*Uerbum* ys word, an dæl ledenspræce mid tide and hade butan case getacniende oððe sum ðing to donne oððe sum ðing to þrowigenne...*significatio* ys...hwæt þæt word getacnige, dæde oððe þrowunge [...] *actiua uerba*, þæt synd dædllice word, þa geswutelid hwæt men doð [and] geswutelað min weorc [...] *passiua uerba*, þæt synd þrowiendlice word [...] þa word eac sume...habbað þrowiendlice getacnunge, swaswa ys: *uapulo*, ic eom beswungen/ *Uerbum* means ‘word’, it is a part of Latin speech with tenses and conditions without cases and which signifies either something ‘to do’ or something ‘to suffer/feel’...*significatio* means what the word signifies, whether a ‘deed’ or a ‘sufferance’ [...] *actiua uerba*, is a term for doing words, which convey what we do and which convey our labours, for example, [...] *passiua uerba*, is a phrase which is for feeling words [...] words [which] can also have some signification of suffering, just like the verb: *uapulo*, meaning ‘I am beaten’ (my translation).

<sup>63</sup> EGA, pp. 119-22: ‘I beat [others]’, and ‘I am beaten’ (my translations).

[*Puer*]  
Ecce, habemus uirgas nunc, domne

[*Magister*]  
Uultis uos flagellare eum?

[*P*]  
Etiam statim, si debemus.

[*M*]  
Sumite uirgas duas et stet unus in dextera parte culi illius et alter in sinistra, et sic inuicem percutite super culum eius et dorsum, et flagellate eum bene prius, et ego uolo postea.

[...]

[*M*]  
Percute, tu stulte, melius. Deridet uerbera uestra, et ea non sentit omnino.

[*P*] Amodo, pater, cessare ab hac fraude uolo, pro qua hec patior. Satis sum modo flagellates et punitus hac uice [...] Iam moriturus sum [...] Hoc est mihi malum nunc. Karius esset mihi mortuum esse modo quam talia flagella sustinere. Uae est mihi misero! Ut quid natus sum?<sup>64</sup>

The dialogue is shocking to the modern eye, and it is not hard to see why it could be considered as an unreliable witness to the role and frequency of violence in boys' and teachers' lives. There are, however, good reasons for taking this dialogue seriously on both counts. Irina Dumitrescu, for one, has shown we can situate the dialogue against the backdrop of the treatment of thieves in contemporary royal law codes – which prescribed that 'men' of twelve years of age should be punished with death.<sup>65</sup> If this

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<sup>64</sup> *ÆlfBColl*, pp. 164-7 esp. 166-7: 'Here, we have got some rods now, sir/ Are you willing to whip him?/ Yes, sir. Right away, if we must/ Take two rods. One boy stand on the right side of his ass (sic) and one on the left. Take turns like this beating his ass (sic) and back. First you two beat him well and I will afterwards [...] Hit harder, you fool! He is making fun of your blows. He does not feel them at all./ Father, from this moment I will stop the lying I am suffering for. I have been beaten and punished enough this time [...] I am about to die [...] This is hurting me! I would rather be dead now than to bear such lashes. Woe is me! Why was I ever born?'

<sup>65</sup> Dumitrescu, 'Grammar of Pain', pp. 239-253. This age threshold for identifying a child as being criminally responsible can be seen under kings *Æthelstan* (925-939) and *Cnut* (c.1016-1035), see Dorothy Whitelock, *English Historical Documents I, c. 500-1042* (rev. ed., London, 1996), (VI *Æthelstan*), c. 2, no. 37, p. 428: 'No thief who steals over twelve pence and is over twelve years of age is to be spared...we are to kill him and take all that he owns'; (*Cnut* II, 'Secular Laws') c. 49, nos. 20-1, p. 464: 'Every man over the age of twelve is to give an oath that he will be steal or be an accessory to theft'.

means that we can better accept Bata's *Colloquia* as a credible source of evidence for the place of violence, however, that does not necessarily mean that dialogue no. 28 connects us to conditions and experiences that were typical or commonplace. Urging us to caution in particular is the fact that dialogue no. 28 is exceptional in the context of the *Colloquia*. Indeed, Bata describes the imposition of corporal violence on a boy in just this one case, and in the case of one dialogue out of a total of some forty one. We might consider therefore that dialogue no. 28 represents an exceptional experience, important perhaps to teachers' intentions to demonstratively punish in particularly grave circumstances. Bata's dialogue could also, and if we can allow ourselves to push this evidence slightly further, connect us to conditions of punishment that were deliberately inclusive, and which were intended to ensure that the memory of violence would play a part in preventing boys from theft and from a need to undergo serious corporal punishment in future.<sup>66</sup>

At the same time, since we lack corroborating sources, Bata's *Colloquia* could simply give witness to methods that were particular, and confined to his school. This need not surprise us of course. The *Colloquium* and *Colloquia* demonstrate that boys' experience of discipline and their conditions of violence depended to some extent on their own teachers, and, indeed, they may have been especially dependent given that pre-Conquest prescriptive documents did not offer much direction on teachers' disciplinary responsibilities. It is only in the light of the shared features we have encountered in these sources perhaps, that we can contemplate another situation, that these school-texts give us access to disciplinary conditions which did in fact shape

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<sup>66</sup> For an anthropological view of the role of pain and memory in medieval pedagogy, see Mary Carruthers, 'Reading with Attitude: Remembering the Book', in *The Book and the Body*, ed. Dolores W. Frese and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (London, 1997), pp. 1-33, at pp. 14-15; Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (rev. ed., Cambridge, 2008), p. 129.

boys' experiences of discipline much more widely. The *Colloquium* of Ælfric of Eynsham and the *Colloquia* of Ælfric Bata can, after all, testify to the ways in which religious teachers and students shared and transmitted ideals of discipline between themselves, and they show how school-texts played a role in filling a regulatory vacuum left by documents like the *Regula Benedicti*, the *Old English Rule*, and the *Regularis Concordia*, informing views about behavioural learning and violence wherever they came into use. While we cannot say with confidence therefore that the works of Ælfric and Bata connect us to shared practices in the use of corporal violence in late Anglo-Saxon England, their texts suggest that boys' disciplinary conditions and experiences of violence would have depended on similar sources: on their teachers, on their teachers' school-texts, and, ultimately, on their teachers' interpretation of a shared framework of prescriptive sources relating to disciplinary enforcement.

### **Anglo-Norman England:**

In this section, the *Constitutiones* form a similar bedrock to the *Regularis Concordia* for a study of disciplinary systems at Christ Church Canterbury after the Norman Conquest. Greater dependence on the *Constitutiones* for insight into a single post-Conquest environment in this section does not present a serious limitation, however. In fact, unlike the *Regularis Concordia*, and as we have seen in the previous chapter (pp. 47-48), Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* offer an outline for a contemporary oblation ritual, and, in doing so, provide us with a more immediate view onto boys' anticipated first encounters with a monastic context.

Lanfranc's rite of oblation shows that boys who entered Christ Church were, from the moment and duration of that ritual, subject to the regulatory framework of the

*Constitutiones*.<sup>67</sup> The rite itself does not disclose that the youngest oblates were expected to be capable of observing any forms of monastic discipline. As we have seen, Lanfranc described boy entrants in his prescription for a ritual of oblation, but did not require very much from new entrants. Whether tutored or not, experienced in religious behaviours or not, Lanfranc's ritual of oblation did not expect boys to express an understanding of monastic norms, save for submitting to being tonsured and wearing a monastic habit. The ritual therefore has only a limited capacity to allow us a view of an occasion when boys might have first become subject to prescriptive rules, and it is a view which lasts only for the length of Lanfranc's description. But it is emblematic of a difference between the *Regularis Concordia* and the *Constitutiones* as sources of regulation on child oblates, the *Constitutiones* is fuller and more detailed in its attempt to frame boys' experiences than its predecessor, and it raises a question which we will consider in this section, whether children's and teachers' conditions became more dependent on prescriptive authorities after the Conquest.

### Infancy

In the same way we have seen that the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* employed the term *infantes* as a preferred form for children (pp. 56-57), so too Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* appear to have used *infantes* and *infans* as preferred terms of reference for monastic boys. This terminology might suggest that Lanfranc had followed the Latin *Regula Benedicti*, and that he had authorised the use of beatings on 'infants' whenever they made a fault in the choir at Christ Church, Canterbury:

In choro presente abbate nisi precepto eius nullus eos percutiat.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 105, pp. 162-5.

<sup>68</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 109, pp. 172-3: 'When the abbot is present in choir no one shall strike a child'.

Sadly, however, this does not appear to be the case. On closer inspection of the *Constitutiones*, Lanfranc's uses of terms like *infantes* appears imprecise. Lanfranc's imprecision only becomes clear if we appreciate in particular the unlikelihood that 'infants' would have been able to carry out all prescribed duties. Instead, Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* appear to have used the term *infans* and *infantes* on a generalised basis, as a shorthand for all child oblates. One result of Lanfranc's use of *infans* in this way is that his customary obscures our understanding of conditions and expectations which may have been important to infants in distinction to older boys.

There is, however, one occasion which takes the form of a single prescription on the engagement of one *infans* after Sext, where Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* might provide a more reliable window:

Post Sextam nullus in claustrum loquatur donec infantes de monasterio exeant, et minimus eorum alta uoce *Benedicite* dicat.<sup>69</sup>

The significance of this passage for us lies in Lanfranc's use of the superlative form of comparison *minimus* to assign a liturgical duty to a child. Needless to say, this appears to have demanded an individual who was to be at a particularly early point of his monastic life. Its importance in this chapter also lies in the fact that it appears to reveal a dynamic not obvious from the earlier *Regularis Concordia* – that 'infants' participated

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<sup>69</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 8-9: 'After Sext no one shall talk in the cloister till the children come out of church and the youngest of them says aloud "Bless ye the Lord"'.

in a daily round. This portrait also seems credible. Lanfranc appears to expect little of this individual. The performance of this ‘youngest’ of the boys was to occur in an outlying space rather than in the choir or church, and this ‘youngest’ boy was also explicitly required to signpost the end of a monastic office. The occasion allows us to consider that young boys were prepared so that they could join in aspects of liturgical routines, and it allows us to suppose that in order to join in they were expected to learn a few enabling elements of liturgical Latin and obtain some enabling experience of liturgical performance outside the church and choir.

### Boyhood

The prescribed actions of this youngest boy are also useful because they allow us to consider the nature of a developmental gap represented here – a gap between the duties of this infant and the duties of all other and older *infantes* represented in this consuetudinary, and a moment when the youngest boy in the house was replaced by yet another younger boy, and when, by virtue of being replaced in this duty, he integrated into the older ‘boyhood’ community.<sup>70</sup> This gap therefore provides a helpful view onto Lanfranc’s changing expectations, shedding light onto how boys were expected to learn liturgical routines on a piecemeal basis once they outgrew the duty of saying *Benedicite* and entered into the ordinary liturgical community. Lanfranc suggests, therefore, that ‘boys’ (*infantes*) were expected to integrate gradually into the choir. His descriptions of its structure suggest that this also organised boys into two groups for similar reasons, occupying the right-hand and left-hand sides of the choir (*in dextro choro omnibus per*

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<sup>70</sup> For all references to boys (*infantes* and *pueri*) in relation to the choir-space including those which imply their presence, or directly required it\*, see *Constitutiones*, c. 2, 4-9, esp. 6-7\*; c. 3, pp. 12-13; c. 9, pp. 20-1; c. 19, pp. 28-9; c. 20-2, pp. 32-3\*; c. 25, pp. 40-1\*; 28-31, pp. 42-3\*; c. 33-9, pp. 52-3\*; c. 46-9, pp. 66-7\*; c. 55, pp. 74-5\*; c. 57, pp. 80-1\*; c. 62-5, pp. 86-7\*; c. 81, pp. 106-7\*; c. 82, pp. 110-1\*.

*ordinem et sic in sinistro*) in parallel to forms of organisation encountered above (pp. 61-62).<sup>71</sup> Each of these sides of Christ Church's choir also appears to have constituted a mixture of seniors and boys, and these appear to have organised the seniors at least into a hierarchical system of seating beginning from the 'lowest' of all choir places (*in loco...ultimus omnium*).<sup>72</sup>

Lanfranc never made clear whether or how far a hierarchy might have been expected to inform boys' experiences too. There is evidence which would seem to indicate that Lanfranc had allowed boys to be arranged in the choir differently to seniors, and as a group, and in terms similar to those visible in the *Regularis Concordia*. Lanfranc's text expresses boys' distinctive status in the choir through his use of phrases such as *ordo seniorum*, or 'the community of seniors', and through terms implying a separable view of the seniors (who stand with youths) and boys (who stand with their teachers).<sup>73</sup> Lanfranc also appears to have assigned to boys and adults different times of arrival into the choir (*infantes expectent/ ingressis infantibus*),<sup>74</sup> and, on other occasions too, he appears to have expected seniors and boys to hold different areas of seating. Indeed, Lanfranc suggested on one occasion that seniors occupied places nearest to the altar (*priores a parte altaris sint, reliqui post eos sicut est ordo eorum*),<sup>75</sup> and so, we might

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<sup>71</sup> See for example in arrangements for the celebration of feasts of twelve lessons, *Constitutiones*, c. 77, pp. 102-3: 'All in order on the right of the choir, and then those on the left'.

<sup>72</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 99, pp. 146-7.

<sup>73</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 28-31, pp. 42-3: 'In matutinis laudibus, cum incipiunt psalmum Laudate Dominum de celis, uadant magistri inter infantes, qui et uersi sint ad priores, sicut et ipsi infantes; iuuenes uero, qui in custodia sunt, mixtim sint in ordine seniorum/ At lauds, when the psalm Laudate Dominum is begun, the masters shall join the children and face the seniors with them; the young monks under ward shall be mingled with the seniors',

<sup>74</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 6-7: 'Incumbentes terre infantes expectent/Wait on their knees for the children'; c. 25, pp. 40-1: 'Cum infantes loti fuerint...ingressis chorum infantibus/When the children have washed....when the children have entered the choir'.

<sup>75</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 55, pp. 78-9: 'Priores a parte altaris sint, reliqui post eos, sicut est ordo eorum/The seniors shall be nearest to the altar, and the rest behind them in order'.

assume by extension, that he intended seniors to leave a space for boys to occupy beside them and in a place which was furthest away from the altar.

The *Constitutiones* give us grounds for considering that boys' daily rounds and, indeed, their experiences in the choir, were also particularised by conditions of supervision. Unlike the *Regularis Concordia*, Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* did not detail how many seniors were required to watch over each group of boys in the choir. His *Constitutiones* only clearly required that a number of *magistri* or 'teachers' enter the choir alongside boys (*pueri cum magistris suis primi ingrediantur ecclesiam*) and that these figures should have supervisory responsibilities over them (*remanentibus infantibus cum magistris suis in choro, qui ante missam debent esse induti*).<sup>76</sup> Just one occasion, relating to arrangements specific to Lauds on Maundy Thursday, requiring teachers to join the boys and face the senior community, seems to suggest that *magistri* did not ordinarily stand in amongst or mixed in with boys, but were otherwise expected to take seats belonging to the senior *ordo*.<sup>77</sup> Whether or not this tells us where teachers were usually expected to stand and why, however, and how this might have enabled supervision of boys, we cannot know.

Like the *Regularis Concordia*, Lanfranc's customary appears to subject boys to a separate daily round, requiring them to observe particular arrangements for washing, combing, eating, and to attend a *schola* and Chapter in the mundane spaces of the

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<sup>76</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 81, pp. 106-7 : 'The children and their masters shall be the first to enter the church' ; c. 62-5, pp. 86-7 'While the children, who should be vested before Mass, remain with their masters in choir'.

<sup>77</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 28-31, pp. 42-3: 'Uadant magistri inter infantes, qui et uersi sint ad priores, sicut et ipsi infantes/The masters shall join the children and face the seniors with them'.

religious complex.<sup>78</sup> The *Constitutiones* also appear to have enabled boys' familiarisation with the liturgical aspects of the daily round through a similar manipulation of the soundscape.<sup>79</sup> The *signa* of Canterbury would also seem likely to have also constituted bells. I say likely, rather than certainly, because we can only infer it from the ways in which they occur in this document, and because *signa* appear to be articulated in a similar way to the *Regularis Concordia* (above, pp. 64-66); *signa* attracted an association with percussive verbal forms signposting an auditory effect (*pulsare*, *sonare*, and *tangere*), they appear in different kinds and numbers, and Lanfranc gives the impression that they helped members to identify Regular Offices.<sup>80</sup> We see this at several places in chapter 2 of the *Constitutiones*, for example, beginning with the requirement that a small signal be rung at day break by the church warden (*illuscente autem die pulsetur a custode ecclesie paruulum signum modice*).<sup>81</sup> They include too a *signum* that was to be sounded later in order to indicate when the community should prepare for Tierce (*sonet signum ad apparatusum tercię*).<sup>82</sup> Before this Office even, Lanfranc had required another 'sign', described as the 'smallest' (*pulsetur a secretario modice signum minimum quod skillam uocant*),<sup>83</sup> to call seniors to church,

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<sup>78</sup> For all references to washing and combing, see *Constitutiones*, c. 9, pp. 20-1; c. 10, 22-3; c. 19, pp. 28-9; c. 20-2, pp. 32-3; c. 23, pp. 32-3; c. 25, pp. 40-1; c. 40-5, pp. 60-1 and 64-5; c. 55, pp. 74-5; c. 56, pp. 78-9; c. 57, pp. 80-1; c. 82, pp. 110-1; for direct references to boys engaging in a Divine Offices and other corporate celebrations, see c. 2, pp. 4-7 (Prime); for references to boys engaging in the celebration of Mass services see also, c. 2, pp. 8-9 (High Mass); c. 28-31, pp. 46-7 (On Maundy Thursday); c. 46-9, pp. 66-7 and 70-1 (On Holy Saturday); c. 62-5, pp. 86-7 (On Feasts); for references to boys' taking of a *mixtum* in addition to attendance in the corporate meal in the refectory, see c. 32, pp. 48-9; c. 33-9, pp. 52-3; c. 46-9, pp. 70-1; c. 55, 74-5; c. 56, pp. 80-1; references to the school, see c. 32, pp. 48-9; c. 82, pp. 110-1; c. 109, pp. 172-3.

<sup>79</sup> For references to those *signa* which may have constituted bells, see *Constitutiones*, c. 2, 4-9; c. 3, pp. 12-3; c. 8, pp. 18-9; c. 9, pp. 18-9 and 20-1; c. 10, pp. 20-1; c. 11-3, pp. 21-3; c. 17, pp. 24-7; c. 19, pp. 28-9; c. 20-2, pp. 32-3; c. 23, pp. 32-3; c. 25, pp. 34-7; c. 28-31, pp. 44-7; c. 33-9, pp. 54-5; c. 40-5, pp. 58-61; c. 46-9, pp. 64-9; c. 50, pp. 70-1; c. 51, pp. 70-1.

<sup>80</sup> *Pulsare*, was by far the most common form used, but for examples of each of these types, see *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 6-7; c. 81, pp. 104-5.

<sup>81</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 4-5: 'When day is breaking the small bell shall be sounded lightly by the warden of the church'.

<sup>82</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 6-7: 'The bell rings for preparation for Tierce'.

<sup>83</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 6-7: 'The sacrist shall sound lightly the smallest bell which is called the *skilla*'.

and before an even greater *signum (pulsetur maius signum ad horam)* reminded boys to join the choir in particular.<sup>84</sup>

In addition to sound, the *Constitutiones* suggest that light may also have played a role in a multi-dimensional disciplinary system. Lanfranc reserved the terms *laterna* and *luminares* for arrangements on the supervision of boys. He required that every two boys should carry at least one lamp between them whenever and wherever they went outside the hours of daylight (*duobus una laterna sufficiat*)<sup>85</sup> so that boys could see and could also be more carefully guarded by their teachers (*infantes in capitulo cum luminaribus diligenter a magistris custodiantur*).<sup>86</sup> The *Constitutiones* also allow us to suppose that boys entered into their own dietary regime at Canterbury. Brooks and Knowles, in their critical edition of the *Constitutiones*, have previously drawn attention to an additional opportunity for boys to take food, appearing to occur in two periods, after Tierce and Morning Mass.<sup>87</sup> In addition to this, however, the *Constitutiones* also suggest boys

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<sup>84</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 6-7: 'The large bell shall ring for the hour'.

<sup>85</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 109, pp. 170-1: 'One lantern shall suffice for two'.

<sup>86</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 3, pp. 10-1: 'The children shall be carefully looked after by their masters in the chapter-house with lights burning'; for other references to these illuminations, see c. 2, pp. 4-7 'Infantes et iuvenes cum luminaribus, ueniant in ecclesiam/The children and young monks with lanterns shall enter the church'; c. 28-31, pp. 44-5 'Lucescente die, ita ut pueri et iuvenes sine laternis possint exire/When day breaks, so that the children and young monks can go about without lanterns', and 'Stet unusquisque in loco suo usquequo magister infantum laternas accensas in chorum deferat, et ipsis infantibus tribuat/Everyone shall stand in his place until the master of the children brings lighted lanterns into choir and gives them to the children'; c. 46-9, pp. 66-7 'Laternam portare debet unus de magistris puerorum/This lantern shall be carried by one of the masters of the children'; c. 109, pp. 172-3 'Collacatis in lectis suis assistant magistri dum sint cooperti; in nocte cum accensis candelis/When they go to bed their masters shall be present, with candels lit if it be night, until they have the bed-clothes over them'.

<sup>87</sup> *Constitutiones*, pp. xxiii-xxv, at xxiv. For all references to boys taking a *mixtum*, see c. 2, pp. 8-9: 'Post orationem uadant in refectorium accipere mixtum ebdomadarii coquine et mense lector [...] in potestate abbatis uel prioris sit utrum et ipsi mixtum accipere, et statutam ebdomadariis debeant quantitatem panis et potus habere/ After prayer the weekly kitchen servers and the reader at table go to the refectory for their mixtum [...] the abbot or prior shall have the power to decide whether they too shall receive the mixtum and the measure of bread and drink allotted to the weekly servers'; c. 29-31, pp. 48-9: 'Quo completo, uadant in refectorium accipere mixtum/ After this they shall go to the refectory for the mixtum'; c. 55, pp. 74-5: 'Post terciam sumant mixtum pueri, et infirmi qui ieiunare non possunt/After Tierce the children and the sickly, who cannot fast, shall receive the mixtum'; and also c. 57, pp. 80-1: 'Post Tertiam pergant infantes et minuti sanguine, et infirmi, quibus

could take suppers in the refectory up to an hour earlier than the rest of their seniors, after High Mass rather than after Vespers, and enjoyed other smaller breaks for a *mixtum*, or ‘the measure of bread and drink’ (*quantitas panis et potus*), which Lanfranc only otherwise allowed to those ministering at altars.<sup>88</sup>

The *Constitutiones* provide a map of ritual gestures similar to the *Regularis Concordia*, suggesting that Lanfranc also expected boys’ behaviours to be informed by learning and shared expression of monastic behaviours. Lanfranc’s customary contains more direct references to gestures expected of boys, however, and described more behaviours belonging to mundane areas of a daily round. These included the washing of hair, hands, and feet, for example, but they extended to gestures similar to those anticipated by the *Regularis Concordia*, seen above (i.e. pp. 67-68), and belonging to spaces adults thought sacred – including common acts of genuflection and the taking up of holy water upon entering church.<sup>89</sup> A majority of references appear to have been required of all

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licentia data est, accipere mixtum/After Tierce the children and those who have been bled, and the sick who have permission, shall go to partake of the mixtum’.

<sup>88</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 46-9, pp. 70-1: ‘Qua facta uadant infantes in refectorium, si aliqui adeo parui sunt, ut usque post uesperas expectare non possint/ When this is done the children go to the refectory, if there be any so young as to not be able to wait until after Vespers’; c. 2, pp. 8-9 ‘Post orationem uadant in refectorium accipere mixtum ebdomadarii coquine et mense lector [...] in potestate abbatis uel prioris sit utrum et ipsi mixtum accipere, et statutam ebdomadariis debeant quantitatem panis et potus habere/ After prayer the weekly kitchen servers and the reader at table go to the refectory for their mixtum [...] the abbot or prior shall have the power to decide whether they too shall receive the mixtum and the measure of bread and drink allotted to the weekly servers’.

<sup>89</sup> For all direct references to behavioural requirements placed upon boys, see *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 6-7: ‘Cum uero infantes loti fuerint, et se pectinare inceperint pulsetur maius signum ad horam. Accedentes et ipsi ad aquam benedictam in chorum ueniant, et dimisso signo omnes simul tres orationes faciant/When these have washed and begun to comb their hair the large bell shall ring for the Hour. Then the children shall take holy water and enter the choir and when the bell ceases all shall say the Three Prayers together’; see also c. 9, pp. 20-1; c. 10, 22-3; c. 19, pp. 28-9; c. 20-2, pp. 32-3; c. 23, pp. 32-3; c. 25, pp. 40-1; c. 40-5, pp. 60-1, 64-5; c. 55, pp. 74-5; c. 56, pp. 78-9; for genuflection, see c. 25, pp. 38-9 ‘Deinde a pueris cantetur antiphona *Cum angelis*, in fine tantum antiphone genua flectentibus/Then the children shall sing the antiphon *Cum angelis*, genuflecting only at the end of it’; for obeisance, see c. 33-9, pp. 52-3 ‘Curuati supra formas decant in silentio *Kyrie eleison* (sic)/Bowling of their desks they shall say in silence *Kyrie eleison*’ and ‘Petitur uenia ab omnibus supra formas/All shall bow over their desks’; for additional requirements of ‘silence’ too, see c. 82, pp. 110-1 ‘In scolam suam redeant, et cum silentio sedeant/Return to their school, sitting in silence’.

rather than of boys in particular, but again, in requiring all to participate, and by requiring boys to be present when such gestures were to be expressed, the *Constitutiones* show how these ritual gestures might have shaped boys' behavioural learning. Within this category, for example, we can include requirements that brethren, the choir, or all perform ritual bows and inclinations (*inclinare ante et retro*),<sup>90</sup> and that they undertake at times a more profound type of bow, requiring them to lean with their backs forward over choir stands (*curuantes supra formas*).<sup>91</sup> We can include too requirements that brethren undertake demonstrative prayers (i.e. *faciat orationem*);<sup>92</sup> that they prostrate themselves on the ground (i.e. *prosternant se cuncti in terram*),<sup>93</sup> initiate and carry out processions while unshod (i.e. *uadant nudis pedibus/ discalcient se omnes*),<sup>94</sup> make ritual halts for prayer (i.e. *faciant stationem*),<sup>95</sup> and frequently make the sign of the cross (i.e. *signo sancte crucis in nomine domini*).<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 32, pp. 52-3 'Inclinantes se ante et retro/Doing double obeisance'; c. 33-9, pp. 56-7 'Ante et retro faciant, et postea sessum uadant; quibus abbas similiter potum ferat osculans eorum manus/Make a double obeisance and then go to their seats, whereupon the abbot shall bear drink likewise to them, kissing their hands'.

<sup>91</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 8, pp. 16-7: 'Factaque oratione, supra formas/When the prayer has been said by the monks kneeling over their benches'; c. 28-31, pp. 42-3 'Prosternant se super formas/They shall prostrate themselves over their desks'; c. 28-31, pp. 48-9 'Supra formas/They kneel over their desks'; c. 29-31, pp. 44-5 'Curuantes se supra formas/Bow over their desks'.

<sup>92</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 55, pp. 76-7 'Quo dicto inclinantes se faciant orationem/After this they shall bow down and pray'; c.77, pp. 102-3 (priest) 'Faciatur orationem suppliciter inclinatus/[The priest] shall make the prayers bowing down'.

<sup>93</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 8, pp. 18-9 'Prosternant se cuncti in terram/All may prostrate themselves on the ground'; c. 8, pp. 18-9 'Lector etiam ante analogium [prosternat]/The reader prostrates before the lectern'; c. 10, pp. 22-3 'Ab omnibus flexis ad terram genibus/All shall kneel down in worship'; c. 32, pp. 48-9 'Inclinantes se flexis ad terram genibus adoret Christum in pauperibus/Bowing down they shall adore Christ in the poor'; c. 40-5, pp. 62-3 'Tunc omnes petant ueniam, flexis ad terram genibus/Then all shall kneel on the ground and bow'.

<sup>94</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 20-2, pp. 32-3 'Discalcient se omnes/All shall take off their shoes'; c. 40-5, pp. 58-9 'Ad Primam pulsata tabula surgentes nudis pedibus uadant ad monasterium/When the board has been sounded for Prime all shall go barefoot to the church'.

<sup>95</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 25, pp. 40-1 'Et ingressi ecclesiam faciant iterum stationem/And entering the church they make another halt'.

<sup>96</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 28-31, pp. 46-7 'Signo tantum Sancte Crucis in nomine Domini/Over which only the sign of the cross has been made in the name of the Lord'.

The *Constitutiones* also suggest that boys' experiences of monastic discipline were shaped by groups of supervisors similar to those which we have seen were prescribed by the *Regularis Concordia* (pp. 61-63). Lanfranc appears to have envisaged that the abbot (or [arch]bishop), as well as the prior, sub-prior, claustral prior, 'roundsmen' (or *circatores*), and cantor(s), would have a role to play in policing the behaviour of boys in the different spaces of the monastic complex boys entered and wherever those seniors held influence.<sup>97</sup> Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* also give clear examples of the kinds of behaviours disciplinary authorities were to correct in seniors and which we could suppose he might, at some point before adulthood, have considered problematic in boys too. Relating to the duties of the claustral prior, for example, Lanfranc indicated that misbehaviours could be identified according to the appropriateness of a bodily gesture and the illicitness of a conversation. Lanfranc's customs on good discipline and on the infringements which he had hoped his brethren would avoid included a series of asserted errors such as not walking reverently (*non reuerenter incedere*),<sup>98</sup> not leaving the church with the monastic hood covering their heads as was custom (*non ualeant capitiiis capita...ut mos est*),<sup>99</sup> and not remaining somewhere one should not (*non debeat, ibi remanserit*).<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> The prior could supervise teachers and boys in school, see *Constitutiones*, c. 3, pp. 10-3: 'Deinde debet per claustrum et in capitulum ire, ac uidere qualiter se habeant magistri et infantes, et per loca alia ubi necessarium esse perspexerit/The [the prior] should go through the cloister and chapter-house to see how the children and their masters do, and whithersoever else he may judge necessary'. For the duties of the claustral prior, see c. 83-4, pp. 114-5 'Quecunque maior prior, dum in monasterio est, concedere potest uel prohibere, ulcisci culpas uel indulgere, hec quoque prior claustra absente eo facere potest, exceptis maioribus causis, quas uel ipsius maioris prioris uel abbatis iudicio reseruare debet/All permissions, prohibitions, punishments and remissions that may be given by the great prior when he is at home may be given by the claustral prior in his absence, save for matters which he should reserve for judgement by the great prior or abbot'. For the duties of the roundsmen or circas/circatores, see *Constitutiones*, c. 85, pp. 116-9.

<sup>98</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 83-84, p. 114-15: 'Unde bene possit obseruare qui sint, qui non reuerenter incedunt/So as to note who they are who do not wak reverently'.

<sup>99</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 83-84, p. 114-15: 'Et qui, in exitu ecclesie, ut mos est, non uelant capitiiis capita sua/And who do not put up their hoods, as the custom is, on leaving the church'.

<sup>100</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 83-4, pp. 114-15: 'Egresso toto conuentu, accepta absconsa si nox est, uadit per criptam et cetera membra monasterii, ubi suspicio potest esse, per claustrum, capitulum, ceterasque

The *Constitutiones* also referred to a *schola* on multiple occasions,<sup>101</sup> but Lanfranc provided more information than had the *Regularis Concordia* on how he thought behaviours in the *schola* ought to be managed. Like Æthelwold, Lanfranc insisted on certain restrictions against adults who might encounter boys in the complex and who were charged with the care of the school, allowing only the abbot, prior, and dedicated teachers or *magistri* and a head teacher to speak directly with boys (*Unus, super alios magister, sit magister eorum maturus et discretus*).<sup>102</sup> Lanfranc added further that the number of teachers should always approximate to the number of boys present, and that, ideally, the community should attempt to provide at least one *magister* for every two boys.<sup>103</sup> Lanfranc also outlined that teachers were not to confine themselves to Latin instruction, requiring them to undertake disciplinary responsibilities and supervise boys wherever they went or needed to go.<sup>104</sup> What is more, Lanfranc's frequent use of a

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officinas subtiliter obseruando, ne aliquis frater, qui non debeat, ibi remanserit/When all the community has left, he should take a dark lantern if it be night and go through the crypt and other such parts of the church as may harbour irregularity, through the cloister, also, chapter-house and other offices, looking carefully to see that no brother remain there who should not'.

<sup>101</sup> *Constitutiones*, pp. 6, 48-50, 56, 126, 128.

<sup>102</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 109, pp. 172-3: 'A monk of mature age and known discretion shall be their head master' and 'In nullius manum aliquid dent; de nullius manu aliquid accipiant nisi abbatis, prioris maioris, magistri eorum/They shall not give anything to anyone, nor receive anything save from the abbot, great prior, and their masters'.

<sup>103</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 109, pp. 170-1: 'Quocunque pergunt infantes unus magister inter duos infantes sit/Whithersoever the children go a master shall be between every two'.

<sup>104</sup> For references to supervision in dorms, the chapter, and choir, and in procession in that order, see *Constitutiones*, c. 82, pp. 110-11: 'Magister tamen infantum si uiderit transire horam, qua sonitus a priore fieri solet, surgat, et quam quietius possit infantes excitet, uirga tantummodo tangens pannos/If the master of the children see that the hour is passing at which the signal is wont to be given by the prior, he should rise and rouse the children as quietly as may be, simply touching with his rod their bedclothes'; c. 3, pp. 10-11: 'Infantes in capitulo cum luminaribus diligenter a magistris custodiantur/The children shall be carefully looked after by their masters in the chapter-house with lights burning', and c. 28-31, pp. 42-3 'Uadant magistri laudibus, qui et uersi sint ad priores, sicut et ipsi infantes; iuuenes uero, qui in custodia sunt, mixtim sint in ordine seniorum/The masters shall join the children and face the seniors with them; the young monks under ward shall be mingled with the seniors; for the procession which would welcome a visiting dignitary see also, c. 81, pp. 106-7 'Pueri cum magistris suis extremi ueniant/The children with their masters shall come last'; see also Palm Sunday and Holy Saturday, at c. 28-31, pp. 44-5 'Usquequo magister infantum laternas accensas in chorum deferat et ipsis infantibus tribuat/Until the master of the children brings lighted lanterns into choir and gives them to the children' and c. 45, pp. 66-7 'Hanc laternam portare debet unus de magistris puerorum/ This lantern shall be carried by one of the masters of the children'.

reflexive possessive, *sui magistri*, to describe boy's *own* teachers, suggests further still that he had not only expected many senior brethren to participate in the instruction of oblates, but had given seniors the care of their own specific groups of boys too.<sup>105</sup>

Lanfranc's choice of vocabulary for his school also indicates quite differently from the *Regularis Concordia* that the *schola* at Christ Church Canterbury might have possessed a more physical dimension. We can detect this dimensionality, for example, through Lanfranc's use of the accusative case in a formula indicating that he had required boys to *go into* a school (*infantes diuertant cum magistris suis in scolam suam*)<sup>106</sup> and return *into* a school as a fixed environment (*in scolam suam redeant*).<sup>107</sup> If this were the case, sadly, the *Constitutiones* do not easily allow us to confirm it, for they offer no satisfactory picture of where the school might have been located. It is possible that Lanfranc had not expected that location to be fixed, and had expected that it should move throughout the monastic complex, perhaps according to the needs of the senior community. Exhaustive survey of all references to the *schola* and to points in the daily round when Lanfranc required boys to study could offer us at least two different potential locations. It might have been in the cloister at Christ Church, for example, given that a series of references allude to the cloister as a place where boys were

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<sup>105</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 25, pp. 38-9: 'Pueri uero accedentes stabunt uersis uultibus ad ipsas reliquas cum magistris suis/The children shall draw near and stand facing towards the relics with their masters', and at c. 62-5, pp. 86-7 'Remanentibus infantibus cum magistris suis in choro, qui ante missam debent esse induti/The children, who should be vested before Mass, remain with their masters in choir'.

<sup>106</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 32, pp. 48-9: 'Egressi refectorium infantes diuertant cum magistris suis in scolam suam/ As they leave the refectory the children shall turn aside to their school with their masters'.

<sup>107</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 82, pp. 110-11: '[Infantes] factis solitis orationibus in scolam redeant et, cum silentio sedeant donec abbas de lecto surgat/After the usual prayer [the children] return to their school, sitting in silence till the abbot rises'; c. 23, pp. 32-3 'Infantes quoque post capitulum suum descendentes de dormitorio, hoc interuallo in scola sua sedeant et legant/The children likewise, coming down from the dormitory after their chapter, shall sit during this interval in their school and read'.

sometimes expected to read.<sup>108</sup> But Lanfranc's customs indicate that boys might have also studied in the chapterhouse, providing them with an enclosed space more suitable during bad weather, and allowing them to practise their liturgical assignments at a distance from their seniors.<sup>109</sup>

Regardless of location, Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* suggest that teachers were chosen with care. We find this, for example, in a prescription which echoes chapter 31 of the *Regula Benedicti* on the office and qualities of the ideal cellarer, requiring that *magistri* of Christ Church Canterbury should be mature (*maturus*), should possess discretion (*discretus*), and should be capable of understanding when and how to indulge boys and when to punish them for faults of delinquency (*qui [...] culpas delinquentium moderata discretione sciat uel punire uel indulgere culpas delinquentium*).<sup>110</sup> Chapter no. 109 of the *Constitutiones* expanded significantly on the apparatus of the *Regularis Concordia* and provided a framework of expectations of boys' behaviours in the *schola* too. These prescriptions reveal more about the aspired context of learning for boys which was intended to be quiet and isolating. Lanfranc not only required that boys should be seated, but that they should be seated apart from one another (*[infantes] separati ab inuicem ita sedeant*), and in a way which may have been intended to discourage peer-based interaction.<sup>111</sup> Lanfranc's prescriptions also placed great emphasis on controlling boys'

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<sup>108</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 6-7: 'Pueri uero primitus alte legant, et postea si opus fuerit cantent. Omni tempore antequam legant infantes nullus in claustro legat aut cantet, nisi in silentio/The children shall begin by reading aloud, and afterwards, if need be, practise the chant. No one shall ever read or rehearse the chant in the cloister, save in silence, until the children begin to read'; c. 40-1, pp. 60-1 'Sedeant in claustro, non loquentes, sed cantantes aut legentes/They shall sit in the cloister, not speaking but chanting or reading'.

<sup>109</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 3, pp. 10-11: 'Infantes in capitulo cum luminaribus diligenter a magistris custodiantur, canantes quod necessarium erit/The children shall be carefully looked after by their masters in the chapter-house with lights burning, practising such chant as may be necessary'.

<sup>110</sup> RSB, c. 31, c. 116-7; *Constitutiones*, c. 109, pp. 172-3: 'He [...] shall be skilled to punish or remit their faults when they are accused as a discreet moderation may suggest'.

<sup>111</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 109, pp. 170-1: 'They shall sit apart from one another'.

movements and conversation. He not only required that boys should not get up from their seats without command or permission, an expectation of behavioural management which perhaps parallels that of Ælfric Bata on running, encountered above (i.e. p. 75), but suggested that they also should not make clamours or signs to their peers.<sup>112</sup> Lanfranc did not forbid noise altogether, and insisted that boys should read aloud their lessons (*qui cum legere inchoant, alte aliquandiu legant*), but he appears only to have allowed this on the occasion that teachers wanted boys to memorise a passage or rehearse sequences of sacred scripture.<sup>113</sup>

As I have mentioned briefly above (p. 92), there are occasions in Lanfranc's prescriptions which suggest that *magistri* were to supervise and manage boys' behaviours elsewhere in the monastery. These occasions give us further opportunities to build a view of the behaviours which Lanfranc disapproved of in oblates and of the procedures which he expected to operate in order to manage boys when misbehaviours arose outside the school. We find this, for example, in the case of Lanfranc's prescriptions in chapter no. 109, where Lanfranc outlined punishments for the late arrival of individual boys into the choir. First, this tells us that Lanfranc considered a boy to be late if he did not enter choir before the *Gloria* of the first psalm had been recited. More specifically than this, it tells us that, should boys be late, Lanfranc

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<sup>112</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 109, pp. 170-1: 'Seperati ab inuicem ita sedeant, ut alter alterum nec manibus, nec uestibus contingere possit. Infans infanti non signo innuere, non uerbo aliquid dicere, nisi uidente atque audiente magistro, presumat; non de loco in quo sedet sine precepto uel licentia surgat/They shall sit apart from one another, in such a way that no one can touch his neighbour either with his hands or his clothes. No child shall make a sign to another, nor say a word to him, unless the master can see and hear him, nor shall a child rise from his place save under order, or with permission'.

<sup>113</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 109, pp. 170-1: 'When they begin to read they shall for a space read in a loud tone of voice'.

preferred that the boy's teacher or *magister* should in fact normally be punished in the boy's stead:

Si post uersum, qui ante cibum dicitur, ingrediuntur refectorium, uel post Gloriam primi psalmi ad horas intrant chorum, ipsi quidem ad loca sua uadant, solito more inclinent; magister uero eorum ad loca, que tardantibus instituta sint, eat.<sup>114</sup>

This prescription suggests that Lanfranc employed an unusual form of disciplinary correction, requiring the scope of punishment to expand onto individuals other than any single individual who might have committed an error. We cannot perhaps say with certainty what Lanfranc might have intended here. Lanfranc's efforts to manage disruption in a sacred space may, perhaps, disclose anxieties similar to those which we have considered in relation to Ælfric of Eysnham and his student, Ælfric Bata, in the section above (i.e. pp. 74-75). What is clear, however, is that Lanfranc's system functioned to offset the need for violence in choir and in the middle of an Office.

What is less obvious in the *Constitutiones* is how Lanfranc expected teachers to correct boys or impose corporal violence. Like the *Regularis Concordia* of Winchester, the *Constitutiones* nowhere offered explicit guidance on how and to what extent each of these visible infractions should have been handled. Apart from his suggestion that *magistri* should know when to indulge or punish a boy for a fault, a suggestion which would seem to imply that they could punish boys on a relatively reactive basis, and according to their own personal judgement, Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* otherwise only

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<sup>114</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 109, pp. 172-3: 'If they enter the refectory after the verse that is said before meals, or enter choir after the *Gloria* of the first psalm, they shall go to the places appointed for those who come late'.

seem to allow us the view that boys' punishments were decided upon at an office known as the Chapter.

The Chapter likely played an important formative role in boys' experiences of violent correction. But, sadly, we know little else about the role of this Chapter in boys' lives for certain. Despite indications that it was significant, Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* do not make it clear what role and how significant a role it may have had. At times, Lanfranc's prescriptions even seem to confuse our view of conditions, and point us towards the co-existence of at least three different types of Chapter at Christ Church, dividing Canterbury into three discrete disciplinary groups. These seem to expect one Chapter for seniors (*maiores in maiori capitulo*)<sup>115</sup>, another for boys,<sup>116</sup> and yet another for 'servants' (*capitulum seruiantum*),<sup>117</sup> or for those who held senior offices in the monastery, allowing for a degree of oversight of the activities of teachers of the boys and youths, as well as the cantor, the sacristan, and the prior.

If these references allow us to consider that there may have been distinct Chapters for men and boys, Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* also appear to suggest that boys were expected to enter the senior chapter. This evidence can only be inferred from Lanfranc's singular insistence that corporal violence at the senior Chapter should not be delegated to boys, youths, or novices.<sup>118</sup> But this prohibition is sufficient to indicate that Lanfranc had

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<sup>115</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 109, pp. 172-3: 'Their elders are in theirs [their chapter]'.

<sup>116</sup> For all references to the children's chapter see, *Constitutiones*, c. 2 pp. 8-9, c. 23 pp. 32-3, c. 94 pp. 136-7, c. 109 pp. 172-3, c. 112 pp. 180-1, c. 113 pp. 188-9.

<sup>117</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 83-4, pp. 112-3: 'Quotiens res expostulate, tenet aut teneri iubet capitulum de omnibus seruiantibus, qui intra officinas monasterii conuersantur, et secundum merita delinquentium, eo iubente, uindicate inferuntur/When need arises he holds, or causes to be held, a chapter of all servants who work in the offices of the monastery, and punishment is inflicted at his order according to the deserts of those culpable'.

<sup>118</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 106, pp. 166-7: 'Disciplinam corporalem inferat quicumque ille sit cui ab abbate uel priore iniungitur, hoc obseruato, ne infantibus uel iuuenibus aut nouitiis id facere iniungatur/The abbot

expected those groups (i.e. children, youths, and novices) to be present. Indeed, this might even disclose that Lanfranc had expected boys to enter the senior Chapter for that very reason; that he intended for boys to learn from the senior round as a proxy for their own, and that he had perhaps required them to observe senior disciplinary routines at a stage before they were subject to the arrangements of senior Chapters themselves.

The *Constitutiones* do seem to confirm on this occasion that Lanfranc had expected the boys' own chapter to be closely aligned with that of their seniors. Lanfranc's insistence that boys ought to be whipped in their own chapter in the same way that seniors were in theirs (*in capitulo suo uapulent sicut maiores in maiori capitulo*), demonstrates that assumption clearly.<sup>119</sup> But this, sadly, is also as much as Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* tell us about the shared nature of the two disciplinary meetings. Since we know that the two Chapters were connected, however, and since we are given some reason to consider that Lanfranc had expected boys to enter the senior Chapter, we can perhaps extend our view of boys' disciplinary experiences further, by exploring in more detail the better described senior Chapter, and by taking a view, on a very contingent understanding, that the conditions which shaped senior men might have been shared by boys to some corresponding extent.<sup>120</sup>

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or prior shall appoint him who is to administer punishment, taking care that neither child, nor junior, nor novice is bidden'.

<sup>119</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 109, pp. 172-3: 'They are flogged in their chapter, as their elders are in theirs'.

<sup>120</sup> For these chapters of the *Constitutiones*, see c. 99-100, pp. 146-53; c. 106, pp. 164-7; c. 107, pp. 168-9; c. 109, pp. 170-3. For the reading of the RSB at Chapter, see c. 89, pp. 128-9: 'Lecta uero in capitulo, et exposita predicta sententia/After the aforementioned passage has been read in Chapter and expounded'.

Lanfranc's prescriptions on the senior Chapter required all misbehaviours to be measured according to two categories, depending on whether a fault could be thought light (*si culpa leuis sit*) and could be remitted, or whether a fault was grave (*si grauis culpa sit*), and needed to be punished demonstratively.<sup>121</sup> According to this framework, 'light' misbehaviours could be corrected privately and outside the office of Chapter, but if reported at Chapter, they could either be indulged, or corrected with a non-physical punishment, such as a temporary prohibition against solo liturgical performances in choir.<sup>122</sup> Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* suggest that grave misbehaviours, transgressions considered serious, and which were also so commonly known that they could not be resolved privately, would need to be resolved publically, and with violence.<sup>123</sup>

Sadly, Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* do not tell us quite what (mis)behaviours might have been considered grave and how known they needed to be to attract such treatment. Nor, indeed, does he tell us whether grave faults might have been weighed and punished similarly in boys as in senior men. All his customary provides is a form of procedure for conducting the correction of grave faults in senior brethren. This offers us a view of a series of ritual *formulae* and behavioural gestures Lanfranc might have expected boys

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<sup>121</sup> For these, see *Constitutiones*, c. 95, pp. 140-1; c. 99-100, pp. 148-53.

<sup>122</sup> For Lanfranc's arrangements on light faults, see *Constitutiones*, c. 95, pp. 140-1; and also c. 99-100, pp. 146-9, esp. pp. 146-7: 'A communi mensa separetur [...] In monasterio et in capitulo, in loco ubi solet esse sit, aut ultimus omnium, aut inter utrunque, secundum quod culpa fuerit, et abbas preceperit. In ecclesia missam non celebret, epistolam uel euangelium uel lectionem non legat, responsorium non canat, antiphonam super psalmos non imponat, nec aliquid huiusmodi, nisi cum ceteris agat/He eats apart from the rest [...] In church and Chapter he shall be either in his usual place, or last of all, or somewhere between the two, according to the measure of his fault and the command of the abbot. In church he shall not celebrate Mass, nor read Epistle, Gospel, or lesson ; he shall not sing a responsory nor begin an antiphon to the psalms, nor do anything of the kind save along with all the others'.

<sup>123</sup> For Lanfranc's arrangements on grave faults, see *Constitutiones*, c. 99-100, pp. 148-53, esp. 148-9: 'In capitulo ante abbatem in conuentu examinetur. Et communi iudicio frater ille corporalem disciplinam acriter patiatu/The offence shall be examined before the abbot in Chapter in a meeting of the brethren, and the brother who is condemned by the judgement of all shall suffer severe corporal punishment'.

to learn and which he required adults to perform in the event that they were accused of a grave fault. Lanfranc also detailed what forms corporal punishment could take in the senior Chapter – that seniors could be scourged either with a single stout rod while lying in an undergarment, that they could be beaten with a bundle of finer rods sitting with a bare back, and/or that they could undergo a form of penance, continuing until rescinded at another meeting of Chapter.<sup>124</sup>

Lanfranc appears to have recognised that his system did not always function as intended, and there are occasions in the *Constitutiones* which set out a series of increasingly serious alternative punishments that could be adopted at the senior Chapter in the event that an individual either refused to accept culpability and/or expressed aggression.<sup>125</sup> In these events, Lanfranc advised that the individual in question should be removed from Chapter by force, placed into isolation and, indeed, further corrected with violence in a cell arranged for this purpose (*in carcerem*).<sup>126</sup> If brethren continued to reject these disciplinary structures, Lanfranc reserved the option to expel an individual from the monastery altogether (*uel de monasterio expelli*).<sup>127</sup> It is the case, of course, that we have no means of determining how far these procedures found an analogue in the junior Chapter at Christ Church, Canterbury. While it would be difficult to imagine that this context of punishment bore no resemblance to the conditions which shaped the lives of the boys who were eventually expected to enter into such arrangements, and while I

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<sup>124</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 106, pp. 166-7: ‘Susceptorum iudicium aut sola grossiori uirga super staminiam uerberetur, et prostratus iacet, aut pluribus gracilioribus uirgis, et nudus sedeat, utrumque ad arbitrium eius qui preest ordini, considerata qualitate et quantitate culpe/He who is to undergo punishment shall be scourged either with a single stout rod while he lies in his shift on the ground, or with a bundle of finer rods while he sits with his back bare. In each case he is punished at the discretion of the superior, who should consider the degree and the magnitude of the fault’.

<sup>125</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 99-100, pp. 152-3.

<sup>126</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 99-100, pp. 152-3: ‘Into the prison’.

<sup>127</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 99-100, pp. 152-3: ‘Or to expel him from the monastery’.

would argue that such forms should therefore contribute to our understanding of how boys integrated into a disciplinary system at Christ Church, we should recognise that Lanfranc's prescriptions only strictly point to the importance of the Chapter as a context of correction.

If the prescriptive record of this period does not throw more light on the role of the Chapter, or improve our understanding of how and why contemporaries used violence on boys, contemporary saints' lives may help further, and may not only serve to confirm that teachers used violence against boys, but shed light on how violence might have continued to serve a role in and intersect with experiences of religious education. The post-Conquest versions of the *Miracula Sancti Dunstani* by Osbern (c.1050-1090)<sup>128</sup> and Eadmer (c.1060-1126)<sup>129</sup> of Christ Church Canterbury, the *Lectiones in Natale Sancte Eormenhilde* of Goscelin of Saint Bertin<sup>130</sup>, and the *Miracula Sancti Erkenwaldi*,<sup>131</sup> all contain parallel accounts of the use of corporal discipline for example, and indicate that monastic houses instituted what Osbern of Canterbury in particular called a 'custom' of ritual beating of oblate boys (*mos in ecclesia tunc temporis erat*) occurring on a fixed time of day and point of the year (*prima diei hora...durius punerit*).<sup>132</sup> Like the compositions of his near-contemporaries, Osbern's work indicates that boys themselves did not consider beatings on these occasions

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<sup>128</sup> Osbern of Canterbury, *Miracula Sancti Dunstani*, in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1874), pp. 140-2.

<sup>129</sup> Eadmer of Canterbury, *Miracula Sancti Dunstani*, in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, ed. Stubbs, pp. 229-30.

<sup>130</sup> Goscelin, *Lectiones in Natale Sancte Eormenhilde*, in *Goscelin of Saint Bertin: The Hagiography of the Female Saints of Ely*, ed. and trans. Rosalind Love, OMT (Oxford, 2004), pp. 20-1.

<sup>131</sup> *Miracula Sancti Erkenwaldi*, in *The Saint of London: The Life and Miracles of St. Erkenwald*, ed. George E. Whatley (Binghamton, 1989), pp. 103-9.

<sup>132</sup> Osbern of Canterbury, *Miracula Sancti Dunstani*, in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, ed. Stubbs, pp. 140-2: 'There was a custom in the church at that time', and 'On the first hour of the day...he punished [us] harshly' (my translation).

justified, and disliked the idea that they could neither reduce their beating nor obtain the intervention of more sympathetic seniors (*nec spes intercessionis*).<sup>133</sup> Osbern's use of the first person in his own account distinguishes his own writings from those of his contemporaries too, implying that Osbern might even have experienced rituals of beating in his own boyhood (i.e. *mane ad magistros intrauimus uapitulari pro culpis quas commiseramus*);<sup>134</sup> the adoption of his narrative by Eadmer suggesting that those customs might have had an influence for some time, continuing at Canterbury after the Norman Conquest.<sup>135</sup>

What is also interesting about these parallel narratives centred on the lives of boys at Ely and Canterbury, however, is that each of their authors described the intervention of empathetic saints who either halted all punishment or retrospectively punished teachers for their callousness. Osbern recorded, for example, that boys had cried out for a remedy from Dunstan and were then saved by him from all punishment (*remedium crediderunt ut ad memoriam dulcissimi patris Dunstani confugiam facerent...ad illum multis lacrimis eius clementiam postulantes*).<sup>136</sup> Goscelin recorded too that the boys of Ely had attempted to avoid punishment on the feast day of Saint Eormenhild of Ely (d.700) and 'took refuge together at that kindly mother's tomb, crying out and begging for their deliverance' (*ad ipsius benignissime matris sepulchrum pariter confugere, clamantes*

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<sup>133</sup> Osbern, *Miracula Sancti Dunstani*, in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, ed. Stubbs, pp. 140-2: 'There was no hope of intervention' (my translation).

<sup>134</sup> Osbern, *Miracula Sancti Dunstani*, in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, ed. Stubbs, pp. 140-2. 'In the morning we went in to our teachers to be beaten for the faults which we had committed (my translation).

<sup>135</sup> Eadmer, *Miracula Sancti Dunstani*, ed. Stubbs, pp. 229-30.

<sup>136</sup> Osbern, *Miracula Sancti Dunstani*, in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, ed. Stubbs, pp. 140-1: 'Believing it a remedy, they made refuge at the tomb of their most sweet father, Dunstan...crying out at that place for his mercy and shedding many tears' (my translation).

*et orantes pro sui liberatione*).<sup>137</sup> While they did not avoid a violent beating in this instance, Goscelin's *Vita* asserted that Eormenhild intervened later, and bound up the limbs of the teacher who had punished them, only removing his bonds after he had apologised to the boys and once they had prayed to Eormenhild on his behalf.<sup>138</sup>

By describing boys' seeking out and receiving of saintly help, these materials disclose that rituals of violence might even have served that very purpose. They indicate how experiences of violence, and either the threat of violence or the imposition of violence, might have been intended to shape boys' awareness of the power of prayer and intercession, serving a purpose in monastic discipline beyond the narrow confines of enabling boys to learn behavioural norms or identify sources of authority. They indicate that violence sometimes intersected with an educational framework too, and may have allowed teachers to manufacture disciplinary contexts useful to encouraging boys to pray and view local saints as effective sources of protection from harm as well.

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<sup>137</sup> Goscelin, *In Lectiones de Natale Sancte Eormenhilde*, ed. and trans. Love, pp. 20-1.

<sup>138</sup> Goscelin, *In Lectiones de Natale Sancte Eormenhilde*, ed. and trans. Love, pp. 20-1: 'His actis, sub sequenti nocte ubi se lectulo composuit, ecce prepotens Eormenhilda, memor factorum, pedes illi ueloces ad persequendum et manus ad torquendum, forties quam compedibus et manicis ferries constrinxit [...] Mane autem pueros ad se conuocat, ueniam suppliciter efflagitat, et ut se ad tumbam piissime domine Eormenhild deferant, ibique pro se intercedant, lacrimabiliter implorat. At illi ut inualidis uiribus alii brachiis eius et humeris, alii tibiis se subicientes, ferebant sullimem miserabili spectaculo ad sancta Eormenhilde presentiam ibique aliquandiu psalmodiantes et orantes impetrauerunt ei salutem pristinam, ut redirect gressibus propriis qui uenerate minibus alienis/After this was all over, the following night when he was lying on his bed, lo! mighty Eormenhild mindful of his deeds, bound up the feet that were so quick to pursue and hands so hasty to punish more tightly than any iron shackles or fetters could [...] In the morning he summoned the boys to him, and humbly begged their forgiveness, and tearfully implored them to carry him to the tomb of the most holy lady Eormenhild, and there to plead for him. And they, although of feeble strength, some of them lifting his arms and his shoulders, and some his legs, carried him aloft, a wretched spectacle, into the presence of St. Eormenhild, and there for some time begged for the restoration of his health, chanting psalms and praying, so that he who had come there in the hands of others went away again on his own feet'.

## Communities of Religious Women: Infancy

Girls, especially those of royal or aristocratic background, appear to have been offered to Benedictine houses at much younger ages than we can see for boys, and the timing of their oblation rituals would seem to provide us with an immediate point of difference in the conditions of girls' religious lives. Several hagiographies of female saints, including that of Saint Wulfhild (d.1000), indicate that royal girls might sometimes have entered religious houses as soon as they had been weaned.<sup>139</sup> Indeed, we can ground this possibility in the case of the tenth-century religious girlhood of Saint Eadgyth (c.961-984), daughter of King Edgar (959-975), whose extremely young infant age at oblation, at just two years, has been widely accepted, and which is described in greatest detail by the late eleventh century author, Goscelin of Saint Bertin, in his *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, or 'Life of the Holy Virgin, Eadgyth':

Sistitur ergo bima infantula ut in florido prato hostia lactea, ut in diuina libra dragma aurea. Que, ut arca Dei, a dextris et a sinistris in reflexa, recto impetus de medio splendencium colorum solum uelum excipit et pro corona capiti imponit [...] Tum rex sorore, de conjugate facta in conuent angelorum et hominum paruulo Christo paruulam suam desponsant [...] reliquitur Deo sua pupilla, que et inter ipsa materna ubera a seculi illecebra exempta, uoce psallaret prophetica "Pater meus et mater mea dereliquerunt me, Dominus autem assumpsit me".<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Wulfhilde*, in 'La Vie de Sainte Vulfhilde par Goscelin de Cantorbéry', ed. Mario Esposito, *Analecta Bollandiana* 32 (Paris, 1913), pp. 14-5: 'Nata et ablactata traditur uirginibus UUultonie educanda/After having been born and weaned, she was given to the virgins of Wilton to be educated'.

<sup>140</sup> Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in 'La légende de ste Édith en Prose et Vers par le Moine Goscelin', ed. Arnold Wilmart, *Analecta Bollandiana* 56 (1938), pp. 44-7; ed. and trans. Stephanie Hollis, W. R. Barnes, Rebecca Hayward, Kathleen Loncar, and Michael Wright, *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and Liber Confortatorius* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 26-31: 'The little two-year old girl was put down therefore like a milk-white sacrificial victim. She, like the Ark of God turning aside neither to the right nor to the left, with unwavering purpose, picked out only the veil from the midst of the splendid colours and put it on her head as a crown. [...] Then the king, with the woman who had been his wife but was now his sister, betrothed their little child to the infant Christ [...] The little girl was left to God, and she, cut off from the enticements of the world in the bosom of

This account of oblation was written long after the events it describes in c.1079.<sup>141</sup> But even if the date of composition means that it cannot be treated as a reliable source for a tenth-century oblation, and even if Eadgyth never experienced this precise oblation ceremony, Goscelin's account seems likely to have been based on features which were accepted by religious women at Wilton. Her age may not have been typical of the many other non-royal girls who likely entered Benedictine abbeys in the tenth or later centuries either of course, and we must be careful not to assume so, but Goscelin's acceptance of her age in his account of Eadgyth's age oblation to Wilton is significant, and should be taken seriously.

This evidence for girls' younger ages at points of entry into Benedictine houses has implications for our understanding of potential differences in girls' experiences of monastic discipline in women's houses. It raises some expectation, for example, that their young ages at oblation might have had a corresponding influence on the provisions of child-care women provided. Goscelin's saints' lives support this view in fact, and offer accounts of girls' religious infancies indicating that women's religious communities provided levels of care not visible in the documentary record for male houses. In his *Translatio Sancte Edithe Virginis*, for one, Goscelin accounted for an infant (*in infantia apud monasterium*) raised at Wilton under the supervision of one of the younger religious women whom he described as a nurse (*nutrix*).<sup>142</sup> He suggested

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her mother, could have sung with the prophetic voice of the psalmist "My father and my mother have left me, but the Lord has taken me up".

<sup>141</sup> For an outline of Goscelin's career, see Moniker Otter, Goscelin of St. Bertin: *The Book of Encouragement and Consolation [Liber Comfortatorius]* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 5.

<sup>142</sup> Goscelin, *Translatio Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in 'La légende de ste Édith', ed. Wilmart, c. 17, pp. 292-3: 'Supradicti rebellionis supradicta et adhuc superstes propinqua in infantia sua apud hoc monasterium in gremio nutricis mori uidebatur febricata. Hanc uidens una priorum in exitum hanelantem: "Aufer, ait, ab hac cella morientem, quia hoc non funerarium speleum, sed domne Wlfrudis decet haberi sacrarium, unde illa celo reddidit spiritum". Idne errori ascribatur an fidei,

that she had a cell of her own (*cella*), a room which he described as having had a previous purpose, serving as a ‘shrine’ devoted to Saint Eadgyth’s mother, Abbess Wulfthryth of Wilton (d.1000) (*Wulftrudis sacrarium*). Goscelin also described an occasion when the infant girl had fallen seriously ill there, and where, he had imagined further, and after she had recovered, that the infant girl had wandered (*uagari*) out of her confinement and into Wilton’s complex, encountering other religious women, and making interruptive demands for food (*edulium poscere*).

This account provides for surprising details of a system of care for infants and conditions of religious infancy at Wilton in the eleventh century. Goscelin’s references to the infant’s ‘demands for food’, and his subsequent description of how senior religious women had sought to find her a dish of ‘curds’ or ‘coagulated milk’ (*lacteo coagulo*) present us with a portrait of a particularly young individual who might have only recently been weaned. Goscelin does not appear to have expected that such a girl would have been subject to a routine. In fact, Goscelin does not appear to have subjected her to a(ny) disciplinary system at all. Indeed, Goscelin’s account of the girl’s wandering and calling out for food – behaviours which we could reasonably expect

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patet note uirtutis mater, qualis hic habeatur meriti. At mulier procurrens seminecem coram opifera proicit Editha. Ibi cum triduo quasi funus immotum seruaretur, et nil preter exitum uel beate uirginis respectum prestolaretur, subito expectata, uel desperata, salus regreditur. Cepit paruula quasi a morte respirare, diem luminibus scintillare, uagitu edulium poscere; sumtoque lacteo coagulo, conualuit destinata sancta Edithe oblatio’; trans. Hollis, et al., *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 86: ‘The above-mentioned and still surviving relative of the above-mentioned rebellious man, when in her infancy she was being cared for in this monastery by her nurse, seemed to be dying of fever. One of the leading sisters. Seeing her gasping for breath on the point of expiring, said: “Take the dying child away from this cell; this is not a burial-cave, but it ought to be preserved as a shrine of the lady Wulfthryth, since here she returned her spirit to heaven’. Whether this should be ascribed to error or to faith, the lady is known to be of remarkable virtue, whatever the merits of this action. But the woman ran and cast the half-dead child before Edith the aid bringer. When it had remained motionless there for three days as if dead, and the only alternative to death that was expected was the intervention of the holy virgin, suddenly her health – despaired of, or hoped for – returned. The little girl began to breathe as if returned from death, to look upon the daylight with sparkling eyes; she began to wander about demanding food, and having eaten some curds she regained her strength for her future as an oblate of Saint Edith’; Knowles, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 222.

would have broken acceptable monastic norms if undertaken by adults – attracted no suggestion on his part that she would have needed to undergo a form of punishment. Goscelin’s description of her being soothed by religious women point us rather in an opposing direction. They disclose that religious houses might not in fact have sought to impose a similar framework of discipline on all members, did not expect very young girls of infant age to be subject to normative conditions, and did not expect them to recognise, let alone value, monastic routines.

### **Girlhood**

To understand the conditions of older girls, we can return to prescriptive materials seen above (pp. 56-61), and approach terminology relating to *pueri* in Latin customaries and *cild* in the *Old English Rule*, in terms which suppose that girls participated in an apparatus designed for the ‘child’. Rohini Jayatilaka has previously shown, in fact, that several surviving copies of the Latin *Regula Benedicti* show traces of adaptation for use by women and give visible testimony to the participation of girls in a prescriptive context.<sup>143</sup> These adapted copies are especially significant because feminine adjustments not only reveal that religious girls were governed by the *Regula Benedicti* but because they also reveal *how* they were.

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<sup>143</sup> Rohini Jayatilaka argues that ‘the Old English Rule was rapidly adapted to female use and extensively copied and was soon more freely available than the original male version’, see Rohini Jayatilaka ‘The Old English Benedictine Rule: Writing for Women and Men’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 32 (2003), pp. 147-87 esp. pp. 185-6. At least one copy was probably also adapted for a community of religious vowesses, however, see ‘Old English Benedictine Rule’, pp. 186-7. For more on the terminology of female religious, see Sarah Foot, ‘Language and Method: the Dictionary of Old English and the Historian’, in *Dictionary of Old English: Retrospects and Prospects*, ed. M. J. Toswell and Antonette di Paolo Healey (Kalamazoo, MI, 1998), pp. 73-87.

In the case of contemporary copies of the Latin *Regula Benedicti*, Rohini Jayatilaka has identified several adaptations which suggest that women participated in contemporary regulations simply by replacing masculine elements with feminine equivalents. We can see this particularly clearly, for example, in two unprinted copies of bilingual versions of the *Regula* which are now contained in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 178, and in Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 197. These not only reveal a ‘feminisation’ of pronouns in Latin headings to chapter 45, *De his qu[a]e fallunt[ur] in oratorio*, ‘On those [girls] who make a fault in the church’, but indicate that contemporaries believed that girls should be subject to conditions of corporal punishment, and, in the case of chapter 45 of the *Regula*, that girls should be beaten if they made mistakes in their liturgical performances in choir.<sup>144</sup>

We can ask similar questions of surviving copies of the *Regularis Concordia*, and consider whether they also tell us how girls and women might have participated in its conditions. We might ask, for example, whether surviving copies of the *Regularis Concordia* challenge the idea that girls were required to split up into more manageable groups on the right- and left-hand sides of the choir. We might ask too whether or not choirs were to constitute a mixture of adults and girls, and whether their groups were organised to create a hierarchical environment. We might ask, indeed, whether they tell us girls followed their own daily routines, and were subject to the care of ‘teachers’, ‘guardians’, or the multiplicity of other disciplinary authorities mentioned in the *Regularis Concordia* (pp. 61-63).

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<sup>144</sup> Several examples are printed in Jayatilaka, ‘Old English Benedictine Rule’, pp. 152 (Oxford MS CCC, 197, fol. 69r: ‘De his que falluntur in oratorio’), and 154 (Cambridge MS CCC, 178, p. 393: ‘De his que fallunter (sic) in oratorio’); Cambridge MS CCC, 178, pp. 393-4, at 394: ‘Geonge men for swa geradu[m] gylte swingelle þolian’, and also Oxford MS CCC, 197, fol. 69v: ‘Geonge m[en] for swa geradum gylte swingelle þolian’.

Sadly, these copies provide few answers. Two fragmentary vernacular translations of the *Regularis Concordia*, now preserved in London, British Library Cotton Tiberius MS A. iii (corresponding to pp. 14-19 of RC or pp. 112-13 of EME) and in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 201 (corresponding to pp. 36-43 of RC or pp. 124-133 of EME) contain examples of feminine vocabulary similar to those present in contemporary copies of the *Regula Benedicti*. They reveal that girls and women adapted their copies and participated in prescriptions in ways similar to the *Regula*, often simply by adding to Latin terms for male agents – for male monks, male abbots, male brothers – with a parallel apparatus of female equivalents.<sup>145</sup> We can see the results of this process of adaptation quite clearly, for example, where the Old English fragments of the *Regularis Concordia* anticipated that their audiences would include an ‘abbess’ (*abbodysse*), a community of ‘sisters’ (*geswyster*) or ‘female monks’ (*myneceña*) and a group of senior women or office holders which included a ‘reader’

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<sup>145</sup> For the fragment present in Tiberius MS A. iii, (fols. 173-6), see Arnold Schröer, ‘De consuetudine monachorum’, *Englische Studien: Organ für englische philologie* 9 (1886), pp. 290-6, at 294-6. For the fragment now in CCCC 201 (pp. 1-7), see Julius Zupitza, ‘Ein weiteres Bruchstück der *Regularis Concordia* in altenglischer Sprache’, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 84 (1890), pp. 1-24, at pp. 2-16. Lucia Kornexl has also recognised feminine adaptations in her ‘The *Regularis Concordia* and its Old English Gloss’, *ASE* 24 (1995), pp. 95-130. See also Joyce Hill (On CCCC MS 201), ‘Rending the Garment and Reading by the Rood: *Regularis Concordia* Rituals for Men and Women’, in *The Liturgy of Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield (London, 2009), pp. 53-64. For each instance of feminisation visible in Tiberius MS A. iii, see Schröer (Tiberius MS A. iii), ‘De consuetudine monachorum’, p. 296: ‘Anim[a]e fratrum et sororum nostrarum requiescant in pace’. For those in CCCC MS 201, see Zupitza, ‘Ein weiteres Bruchstück’, pp. 10 ‘Abbode oððe abbodysan; þa gebroðra oððe þa geswysterna’, 11 ‘Þæs abbodes oððe þære abbodysan dome’, 12 ‘Sy husl geseald ægðer ge þam gebroðrum ge geswysternum; nime se abbod oððe seo abbodisse þa gebroðra oððe þa geswysterna þe hi wyllan; æfter æfensange gan þa gebroðra oððe ælce geswyster’, 13 ‘Þam geendedum se abbod oððe seo abbodisse on heora setlum sitten...and hi æfter þan arisan and eallum gebroðrum oððe geswysternum wæter to heora handum gesellen; myneceña þonne, þeah him swage rad scrud ne gebyrige, gan hi þeah for arwyrdnesse þæs mæran dæges mid taporum and mid storcillan and swylc þincg be þære halgan rode ræde swylce him þearflíc sy to gehyrenne...’, 14 ‘Scence se abbod oððe seo abbodysse æne eallum gebroðrum oððe geswysternum heora hand cysende. Þære þenunge geendedre sitte se abbod oððe seo abbodesse...arise þonne se þe þam gefere yldest bið and scence þam abbode oððe þære abbodessan/ Gange seo abbodysse to cyricean mid hyre geswysternum’, 16 ‘Þonne mon ræde: “Partit[a]e sunt uestimenta mea”, þa twegen diaconas þe standað on twa healfe þæs altares toteon þæt getreagode hræ[g]l’.

(*rædestre*).<sup>146</sup> They therefore raise the possibility that girls participated in similar ways:

(Tiberius MS A. iii)

Ponne þa [...] geendode fram þam cildum [...] heom eallum sittendum on heore settlum endebyrdlice.<sup>147</sup>

(CCCC MS 201)

Acwuncenum eallum leohtum, gan twa cild [...] to þan sūþportice singan, hludre stefne: *Kyrieleison* (sic) [...] Þisum geendedum, andswarige eal chor: *Christus dominus factus est*.<sup>148</sup>

While the term *cild* in these contexts does not reveal an obvious element of ‘feminisation’, we can appreciate that terminology relating to children might have shaped the conditions of girls. These terms would allow us to suppose that girls entered choirs in parallel to boys, and may have joined hierarchical orders expressed in their arrangements of their seating (*healdan heora endebyrdnesse*).<sup>149</sup> These would also allow us to imagine that girls observed their own daily routines, including using the toilet at fixed times of day, as well as bathing and washing their faces and hands at particular junctures. They would also let us suppose that girls contributed to liturgical activities and encountered a similar index of ritual gestures, from ‘first setting on themselves the sign of the holy cross’ (*ærest he onsette him sylfum þæt tacn þære*

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<sup>146</sup> Zupitza, ‘Ein weiteres Bruchstück’, pp. 2-16; DOE: n. *abbodesse*: ‘abbess’; BT: n. *gesweostor*: ‘sister’, n. *mynececu*: lit. ‘female monk’ – i.e. a woman religious; the male pl. *munecas* and feminine pl. *munecena* are equivalent’, n. *rædestre*: ‘female reader’.

<sup>147</sup> Schröer, ‘De consuetudine monachorum’, p. 295: ‘Then [...] once this has been completed by the children [...] all shall be seated in their seats, in order’ (my translation).

<sup>148</sup> Zupitza, ‘Ein weiteres Bruchstück’, p. 6: ‘When all the lights have been extinguished, two children shall go [...] to the south-porticus to sing with loud voices: *Kyrieleison* (sic) [...] Once these things have been finished, the whole choir shall answer: *Christus dominus factus est*’.

<sup>149</sup> Zupitza, ‘Ein weiteres Bruchstück’, p. 3: ‘They should keep their orderliness’ (my translation); and see also Schröer, ‘De consuetudine monachorum’, p. 295: ‘Eallum sittendum on heore settlum endebyrdlice/With all sitting on their seats in orderliness’ (my translation). DOE: n. *ende-byrdnes*: ‘order/ arrangement, rank, priority/precedence, procedure/proper conduct, management, a natural course’.

*halgan rode*),<sup>150</sup> ‘bending their knees’ in church (*mid gebigendum cneowum*),<sup>151</sup> ‘making a procession...with tapers and censers and such things’ (*gan hi...mid taporum and mid storcillan and swylc þincg*),<sup>152</sup> and ‘going to Prime with unshod feet’ on Good Friday (*gan to heora primsange unscodum fotum*).<sup>153</sup> They would also imply that girls’ learning of those routines and behaviours might also have been helped by the monastic soundscape as we explored it above (pp. 64-66) through the manipulation of ‘bells’, struck at different times and creating a variety of effects (i.e. *þonne se belle cnelle, beon hi ealle gegaderode to primsancge*).<sup>154</sup>

These adapted fragmentary copies also expected children to enter ‘school’ structures, subjecting them to conditions of supervision under dedicated ‘teachers’:

(BL Tiberius MS A. iii)

Ga seo scola mid heora *magistrum* to þare gewunelican neode and belifan þa oþer innon cyrcean on heora gebedum.<sup>155</sup>

(CCCC MS 201)

...and siððan heora rædinge georne rædan oð sconylle.<sup>156</sup>

For all these potential conditions, however, it is the case that the prescriptive source base provides no means to determine whether, let alone how far, girls’ experiences

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<sup>150</sup> Schröer, ‘De consuetudine monachorum’, p. 294 (my translation).

<sup>151</sup> Schröer, ‘De consuetudine monachorum’, p. 295 (my translation); and Zupitza, ‘Ein weiteres Bruchstück’, pp. 9, 15.

<sup>152</sup> Zupitza, ‘Ein weiteres Bruchstück’, p. 13 (my translation).

<sup>153</sup> Zupitza, ‘Ein weiteres Bruchstück’, p. 14 (my translation).

<sup>154</sup> Schröer, ‘De consuetudine monachorum’, p. 296: ‘When the bell knells, let them all be gathered to sing Prime’ (my translation).

<sup>155</sup> Schröer, ‘De consuetudine monachorum’, p. 296: ‘Let the school go with a *magister* to the toilet for its needs, while the others [seniors] remain inside the church in prayer’ (my translation).

<sup>156</sup> Zupitza, ‘Ein weiteres Bruchstück’, p. 10: ‘After afterwards, let them go to study in prayer’ (my translation).

<sup>156</sup> Zupitza, ‘Ein weiteres Bruchstück’, p. 10: ‘After afterwards, let them go to their readings until the shoe-bell rings’ (my translation).

followed these expectations. While the survival of references to schools and teachers encourages the idea that girls encountered that structure, there is little anecdotal evidence to support it. We have already seen in the *Translatio Sancte Edithe Virginis*, for example, that Goscelin had accounted for a girl's infancy at Wilton as having been confined to structures we do not find in contemporary prescriptions (pp. 105-107), that is to say, to a cell or *cella*, and to the care of a young religious woman or *nutrix*. His accounts of older girls at Wilton provide a similar picture. His *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis* described Eadgyth's environment in ways which allow us to consider that she might have experienced her education at Wilton in the solitary occupation of a little chamber (*cubiculum*), for example.<sup>157</sup> Goscelin was quite consistent in this vocabulary. He nowhere allowed us to imagine that Eadgyth could have experienced a formal education in any collective unit alongside peers, and never broke from a pattern of references which would have allowed his description of her life at Wilton to conform better to the *Regularis Concordia*. Goscelin tells us that Eadgyth might have had an interior teacher, in the form of Wilton's own abbess, incidentally her own mother, Wulfthryth (d.1000).<sup>158</sup> He also tells us that she had access to an exterior set of teachers

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<sup>157</sup> Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in 'La légende de ste Édith', ed. Wilmart, pp. 45: 'Dilexit me rex et introduxit me in cubiculum suum'; trans. Hollis et al., *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 29: 'The king has loved me and brought me into his bedchamber'; Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in 'La légende de ste Édith', ed. Wilmart, pp. 60-1: 'Post uigiliarum sollempnia [...] post psalmodie, orationum ac lacrimarum holocausta medullata – non primum regnum Dei querebat – quasi de cubiculo Domini ad exteriora exit officia'; trans. Hollis et al., *Writing the Wilton Women*, pp. 36-7: 'After the celebration of vigils [...] after the fat-burnt offerings of psalmody and prayers – for she sought first the kingdom of God – she went forth to her exterior duties as if from the chamber of the Lord'. See also a reference to a closed little chamber where her clothes were thought to have been kept at Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in 'La légende de ste Édith', ed. Wilmart, p. 71: 'Rediuiua flamma faciem suam illuminat et clauso cubiculo intus stepere intus grassari, arduor inimicus ceperat'; trans. Hollis et al., *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 43: 'The revived flame flared up and became self-sustaining, and in the closed room the destructive head began to roar and rage inside the chest'; and see another reference to chamber made in relation to the place of her death at p. 95: 'Totumque cubiculum suauitate replere'; trans. Hollis et al., *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 59: '[Her tomb would give forth fragrance and] fill the whole chamber with sweet odours'.

<sup>158</sup> Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in 'La légende de ste Édith', ed. Wilmart, p. 49: 'Mater illi non auro rutilos crines impedire non aurea lammina uel gemmis in fronte dependentibus arcem crucis obnubilare [...] pro stibio pudorem docebat, pro uariis ornatibus litterarum ac uirtutum decore hanc preparabat'; trans. Hollis et al., *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 32: 'Her mother did not desire to load her reddish hair with gold, nor to obscure the stronghold of the cross with a gold plate or jewels

– or chaplains and bishops. In the case of both sets of teachers, Goscelin only ever accounted for a private type of instruction of Eadgyth, and in the case of her male chaplains in particular, he discloses that teachers might only have instructed girls like her through a window in their chambers or cells (*per fenestram*).<sup>159</sup>

It is possible that some girls entered a more communally orientated system of education centred on an abbey ‘school’ and dedicated teacher, in closer agreement with the language of the *Regularis Concordia* and the later *Constitutiones*. But the earliest and clearest source of evidence supporting this emerges at Barking Abbey after the Norman Conquest, in Goscelin’s *De Translatione Sanctarum*, commissioned by its abbess, Ælfgifu (c.1050-1114):

Erat huic dudum puellulae et coetanae scolae monasterialis  
magistra, bonae memoriae.<sup>160</sup>

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hanging over her forehead, nor to crown her with the finery of the married state [...] in place of purple, in place of cosmetics for the face and eyes, she taught her modesty; in place of a range of adornments she preferred to adorn her with the splendour of learning’.

<sup>159</sup> Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in ‘La légende de ste Édith’, ed. Wilmart, pp. 50-1: ‘Auctoritate quoque sancta flagrantie Edgari, inter sacerdotes Wiltonie qui precedebant arcam federis Domini, ministri dominici tabernaculi, pollebant duo, tam morum quam scientie philosophia uenerandi, quorum alter Radbodo Remensis de Sancto Remegio alter memoratur Benna Treuerensis canonicus de Sancti Paulini Patrocinio [...] Hi condigna reuerentia uicissim erudiebant alumnam spiritus sancti; hi portabant pedibus eius lucernam uerbi Domini, ut, accensis lampadibus scripturarum, lectis gradibus uirtutum, niteretur ad etherei regis solium [...] eruditor pudicus a foris per fenestram docebat et audiri magis quam uideri assueuerat, ut sancti pudoris uernulam decebat. Ornabant aures eius margaritis celestibus mater interius, magister exterius’; trans. Hollis et al., *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 32: ‘Among the priests of Wilton who went in procession before the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, ministers of the Lord’s tabernacle, there were twin instructors who were of special weight by Edgar’s authority, venerable for their wisdom both in life and in scholarship, of whom one is remembered as Radbodo of Rheims, from St. Remegius, the other as Benno, canon of Trier under the patronage of St. Paulinus [...] These men took turns to teach, with worthy reverence, this pupil of the Holy Spirit; these men brought to her feet the light of the word of God, so that by the light of the lamps of the scriptures and by choosing the steps of the virtues, she might advance towards the throne of the eternal king [...] The chaste teacher instructed her from outside through a window and accustomed himself to being heard rather than being seen, as was appropriate for the young pupil with her holy modesty. Her mother within and her teacher from outside adorned her ears with heavenly pearls’.

<sup>160</sup> Goscelin, *De Translatione vel Elevatione Sanctarum Virginum Ethelburgae, Hildelithae et Wlfhildae*, in ‘Texts of Jocelyn of Canterbury which Relate to the History of Barking Abbey’, ed. Marvin Colker, *Studia Monastica* 7 (1965), p. 453: ‘There was at that time a teacher [Wulfruna] of good memory of the monastic school of young girls and associate students’ (my translation).

In the same way that we find this account of a school at Barking Abbey comprised of a number of young girls (*puellulae*), we find evidence for similar structures later in the twelfth century and at women's houses which belonged to new monastic orders. Abbot Aelred of Rievaulx (c.1110-1167) accounted for a nun who grew up at the Gilbertine priory of Watton in c.1150 and who was apparently educated there in a similar collectivising system. Though Aelred did not use the descriptor *schola* or 'school' as such, he described what seem to be equivalent conditions; a space set apart for the instruction of a group of girls of similar age (*aliae [puellae]*), and governed by several dedicated teachers (*magistrae*).<sup>161</sup> The salient features of both Goscelin's early twelfth century and Aelred's late twelfth century accounts of religious education in a female house strongly imply that structures similar to those anticipated by the *Regularis Concordia* and *Constitutiones* might have shaped the disciplinary conditions and contingent experiences of religious girls at some point. Girls' experiences of supervision and correction might thus have come to conform with the *Regularis Concordia* and *Constitutiones* and to parallel those of contemporary religious boys in a period coterminous with the lifetimes of Goscelin and Aelred.

These same authors are also witnesses to ideals in girls' behaviours, and describe gestures which contemporaries expected girls to learn in their religious environments from their teachers or supervisors. Goscelin describes a series of behavioural ideals in his *Liber Confortatorius* to the young religious woman, Eafe of Wilton (fl. 1058-1125), for example:

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<sup>161</sup> Aelred of Rievaulx, *De Sanctimoniali de Wattun*, ed. Migne, PL 195, cols. 791-2: 'Furabatur magistrarum oculis horas, ut uel indulgeret, uel signis inordinatis diffiaeret, aut uacaret fabulis, aut inutile aliquid aliis suaderet'; trans. Boswell, *Kindness of Strangers*, p. 453: 'She wasted hours in plain view of her teachers, either doing nothing, or making naughty signs, or telling stories, or persuading others to waste time'.

Ubi uero inter quattuordecim uirgines, coruscantibus cereis tanguam syderibus et lampadibus supernis, ad dominicas nuptias trepida et penultima accessisti ac, populosa caterua sollemniter expectante, pignus fidei diuine cum sacrata ueste induisti, ille humilis habitus, ille tremebundus accessus, ille suffusus uultus, tamquam ab igneo throno Dei sedentis super cherubim, sapienter metuentis, altius uiscera me percussere cum hoc epithalamico carmine admirabilis gratie: “Ipsi sum desponsata, cui angeli seruiunt, et annulo suo subarrauit me”. Tacitus sum rore celesti et feruore irriguo fleui. Continuata quoque silentia tua, sollicita continentia, frequens psalmodia, pia magistre testimonia, magis accenderunt uota mea.<sup>162</sup>

In this passage, we find evidence of Eafe’s acquisition of a complex of ritual gestures Eafe had apparently mastered by the time of her consecration at Wilton in c.1065. Here, Goscelin identified himself as one of Eafe’s behavioural influences, alongside a more dedicated ‘teacher’ or *magistra*, and emphasised her learning and successful reception from them of a series of expressive monastic gestures centring on her control over the body and voice. In terms of managing Eafe’s misbehaviours, Goscelin’s *Liber Comfortatorius* recalled that he had been able to discipline her by vexing (*irritare*) and correcting Eafe (*corrigere*, and we are left to wonder quite how he did).<sup>163</sup> Goscelin’s

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<sup>162</sup> Goscelin, ‘The *Liber Comfortatorius* of Goscelin of Saint Bertin’, ed. Charles H. Talbot, *Analecta Monastica* 37 (1955), p. 28: trans. Otter, *Liber Comfortatorius*, p. 23: ‘But when you walked up to the Lord’s wedding, with trepidation, the penultimate of fourteen virgins, with glittering candles like the stars and constellations above; when, before a large crowd waiting in solemn silence, you put on the sacred vestment, it was as if from the fiery throne of God sitting above his cherubim, I was struck to the quick with this wonderously beautiful epithalamium: “I am given in marriage to him whom the angels serve, and he has wedded me with his ring”. I was touched by the heavenly dew and wept in tearful fervor (sic). And as I continued to witness your silence, your careful continence, your singing of the psalms and the praises of your teacher, my desire was inflamed even more’. N.b. Otter’s translation does not meet Goscelin’s word for word but this is largely because Goscelin practised a very idiosyncratic Latin style, hard to replicate in modern English, which indulged a contemporary interest in lofty poeticism, often at the expense of verbal precision.

<sup>163</sup> Goscelin, *Liber Comfortatorius*, ed. Talbot, p. 27: ‘Memor, dignaberis hec nostra monumenta respicere, estimato me tecum Wiltonie coram sancta domina nostra Eadyda aut etiam in hac pudica serie residere, te alloqui, te exhortari, te consolari’, and p. 28: ‘Meministi, anima mi dulcissima, ut primo tuam irritauerim infantiam, securus me facile correcturum tam piam animam’; trans. Otter, *Liber Comfortatorius*, pp. 21-2: ‘[Whenever] you will deign to look at these my letters, you will believe me with you at Wilton, before our holy Lady Edith, sitting chastely by your side, speaking with you, admonishing you, consoling you’, and ‘You remember, my sweetest soul, how I first vexed you when you were a child, quite certain I could easily correct such a pious soul’.

recollections therefore not only provide a useful window onto an individual girl's behavioural formation, but they provide a view of discipline centred on the use of verbal forms of correction. This emphasis is shared more widely in the hagiographic record too. Indeed, an anonymous *Vita Beate Sexburge*, composed by a monk of Ely in c.1107, suggests in two accounts of an ideal religious girlhood, that verbal conditions of discipline and correction were preferred as a means to shape girls' behaviours in the early twelfth century:

In annis itaque puellaribus [...] Caribdim ipsa sine uitio persequatur. Non lasciua, non garrula, sed sobria et modesta [...] Non iuuenibus cincinnatis aridebat nec applaudabat procis forma delicatis.<sup>164</sup>

The author of the *Vita* appears to have considered the face, aspects of personal appearance, and degrees of chattiness to be highly indicative of a state of sexual continence. Indeed, the work articulates the author's own anxiety about chastity, and about girls' understanding of and relationship with expressions of chastity as they approached adulthood in particular:

Uariis modis [...] iracundas patientes blanditiis correptione aggreditur. Iurgia et lites blando sermone conciliabat [...] Lascium uerbum et inhonestum nulla earum producebat garrulas ac procaces conuerti sepius hortabatur. Que in peruerso opere persistebat, a sororum sequestrabat consortio, uincebaturque pudore in publico quas obiurgatio non corrigebat occulta.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Anon., *Vita Beate Sexburge Regine*, in *Hagiography of the Female Saints of Ely*, ed. and trans. Love, pp. 139-40: 'In the years of her girlhood [...] she passed through the Charibdis of the vices herself without vice. Not lustful, or prattling, but sober and modest [...] She did not smile at youths with curly locks, nor show her approval of suitors comely in form'.

<sup>165</sup> Anon., *Vita Beate Sexburge Regine*, ed. and trans. Love, pp. 180-1: 'By various means [...] she approached the hot-tempered with kind words, the stubborn with punishment. She settled arguments and disputes with a gentle word [...] She frequently exhorted the over-talkative. She separated from the company of sisters any who persisted in wrong behaviour, and anyone who could not be corrected by private rebuke was dealt with by public shaming'.

What is perhaps just as noteworthy about this work, however, is that the author of the *Vita Beate Sexburge Regine* provided a verbal centre of corrective gravity. Here, we find a contemporary portrait of Seaxburh as a model disciplinarian and as someone who could have used an index of verbal methods of correction on the poorly behaved girls who stepped outside the behavioural boundaries which were being imposed upon them. In addition to this, Goscelin's *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis* provides yet another opportunity to explore potential systems of punishment in an account of a girl-thief who, Goscelin claimed, had once attempted to steal a linen cloth which had been kept at Wilton Abbey as a relic of Saint Eadgyth:

Muliercula, sola ibi relicta et ex solitudine furto contigua, excerpit, tibique inuolutum spoilium abducit. Mox diuina compes fugientem constrinxit et furtigerulum pedem radicatus fixit [...] pallore, temore, gemitu crimen prodit [...] resoluit.<sup>166</sup>

This account of a girl-thief is perhaps useful to us however because it provides a basis of comparison with Ælfric Bata's school *Colloquia* and with dialogue no. 28 in particular, where he accounted for the beating of a boy for theft (pp. 78-81). As with Bata's account, Goscelin seems to recognise that a girl of Wilton would ordinarily have been punished for theft, but his account, quite unlike Bata's, assigned no corrective act of violence at the hands of a dedicated female religious disciplinarian. Instead, Goscelin constructed a miraculous intervention, allowing the long-dead figure of Saint Eadgyth to behave as disciplinarian, and by so doing, also effectively denying

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<sup>166</sup> Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in 'La légende de ste Édith', ed. Wilmart, pp. 100-1; trans. Hollis et al., *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 62: 'A girl left there alone and in her solitude became inclined to theft and took it and tied the spoils around her shin. Suddenly divine fetters bound her as she tried to flee and rooted the thieving foot to the spot [...] she confessed her crime with a trembling paleness of complexion [...] and [her foot] released'.

us an opportunity to ascertain who might have impressed correction, and what disciplinary processes, if any, might have ordinarily played a role.

This account therefore seems to give further ground to the idea that corporal punishment might have been less significant to the experiences of religious girls. If that was the case, however, it would be difficult to imagine that violence was not used at all. Post-Conquest sources do describe occasions of the use of violence, and, indeed, Abbot Aelred of Rievaulx's (c.1147-1167) later twelfth century account of the pregnancy of an oblate nun who had grown up at Watton priory from the age of four, confirms the presence of violence in the experiences of girls of low social status. Although he confirms the place of violence only in the course of his attempt to explain why the young woman had become pregnant, his account is particularly useful because it focussed blame on and so described in unusual detail her formative disciplinary experiences. It blamed a failure to remain sexually continent on the girl's lack of acquisition of an interest in the *Regula Benedicti*,<sup>167</sup> it laid blame on her teachers (*magistrae*) who, Aelred claimed, had initially employed a mixture of both verbal chastisements (*corripere uerbis*) and beatings (*urgere uerberibus*), but who had eventually erred by giving up on correcting their young charge. It also laid blame on the grounds that by failing to encourage in her a sincere affection for religious norms the girl's teachers had effectively failed to instill expectations of religious behaviour, and had given licence to her behavioural autonomy as she approached adolescence.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Aelred of Rievaulx, *De Sanctimoniali de Wattun*, ed. Migne, PL 195, cols. 791-2: 'Nullus ei circa religionem amor, nulla circa ordinem sollicitudo circa Dei timorem nullus affectus'; trans. Boswell, *Kindness of Strangers*, p. 453: 'No love for religious life, no concern for the rule, no inclination to honor (sic) God'.

<sup>168</sup> Aelred of Rievaulx, *De Sanctimoniali de Wattun*, ed. Migne, PL 195, cols. 791-2: 'Corripitur uerbis sed non corrigitur; urgetur uerberibus, sed non emendator [...] disciplina ordinis premebatur, et ad exterioris hominis honestatem utcunque seruandam cogeatur inuita. Omnie ei ex timore constabant, ex amore nihil. Et iam nubilis facta, interioribus exterior, otiose quietis, seriis ludicra praeponerat'; trans. Boswell, *Kindness of Strangers*, p. 453: 'She was reproached by words but not corrected;

In addition to presenting us with this account of violence, however, Aelred's account raises questions about the nature of earlier Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman practices.<sup>169</sup> Up until now, we have seen that the lives of pre-Conquest saints tend not to describe structures of correction, and give rise to an impression of more individualised systems of behavioural instruction, of private correction, and of violence towards girls like the nun of Watton, who were of low social status, and a preference for verbal disciplinary actions with respect to royal saints. These differences seem so stark that we should ask whether they represent real differences in disciplinary conditions that were dependent on girls' social status between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, or whether instead the differences that they indicate are more an accident of genre and the chance survival of records.

We may partly resolve questions about the representativeness of our sources if we recall evidence seen earlier in this section for the use of corporal violence on girls in

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injured by beatings but not chastened [...] She was restrained by the discipline of the order, and forced against her will to maintain some external semblance of decency, but all such constraints worked on her through fear, none through love. By the time she was a teenager (i.e. of marriageable age) she preferred the superficial to the spiritual, play to reflection, and the silly to the serious'. See also Aelred of Rievaulx, *De Sanctimoniali de Wattun*, ed. Migne, PL 195, col. 791: 'Ubi, Pater, tunc tuus custodia disciplinae uigilantissimus sensus? Ubi tot tam exquisita ad excludendam uitiorum materiam machinamenta? Ubi tunc illa tam prudens, tam cauta, tam perspicax cura, et circa singula ostia, fenestras angulos tam fida custodia ut sinistris etiam spiritibus negari uideretur accessus? Elusit totam industriam, una puella, quia nisi Dominus custodierit ciuitatem, frustra uigilat qui custodit eam [...] Ubi timor? Ubi amor? Ubi illius sanctae congregationis reuerentia? Ubi beati pontificis qui te huic monasterio tradidit sauuis memoria? [...] Quid plura? Heu! Claudite aures, uirgines Christi, oculos operite'; trans. Boswell, *Kindness of Strangers*, pp. 453-4: 'Where, father, was your most diligent concern for the maintenance of discipline then? Where then were your many ingenious devices for eliminating occasions of sin? Where then was that care so prudent, so cautious, so perspicacious, and that supervision so strict in regard to every door, every window, every corner, that it seemed to deny access even to evil spirits? One girl made a mockery of all your efforts, father, because "except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain" [...] Where was the respect, where was love, where was reverence for that holy congregation? Where was the sweet memory of the blessed bishop who had given you to the convent? [...] What next? Alas! She goes out. Block your ears, virgins of Christ, and close your eyes'.

<sup>169</sup> For further discussion of the episode, see Giles Constable, 'Ailred of Rievaulx and the Nun of Wattun', in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1978), pp. 205-26.

the context of feminine word forms added to copies of the *Regula Benedicti* (pp. 108-109), and if we also recognise that several post-Conquest authors believed that violent punishments were important to girls before the Conquest. But post-Conquest records do suggest more than this, that girls of royal status were treated differently to those of lower status.<sup>170</sup> It is well known, for example, that certain lives of royal saints describe royal girls as being relatively independent of the normative strictures of their religious communities. We find evidence for this kind of exemption in Goscelin's late eleventh century account of the *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, where he described Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester's attempt to verbally chastise Eadgyth of Wilton for wearing a purple gown in the station of a royal princess instead of the habit of a religious.<sup>171</sup> But we also find evidence of difference in the treatment of royalty in Osbert of Westminster's (d.1158) mid twelfth century *Vita Sancte Ædburge Virginis* (the 'Life of the Blessed Virgin, Eadburh', d.960). Osbert provided an account of a royal girl's misbehaviour and detailed her subsequent subjection to corporal punishment at Nunnaminster. He described that the prioress, rather than any other dedicated guardian, had discovered the young girl at one time trying to read without supervision between offices and had assumed the role of disciplinarian, 'beating [Eadburh] severely with

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<sup>170</sup> Katherine, O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Leaving Wilton: Gunhild and the Phantoms of Agency', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 106 (2007), pp. 203-223.

<sup>171</sup> Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in 'La légende de ste Édith', ed. Wilmart, c. 12, p. 70 : 'Aliquando premoneret, "O filia, non his itur ad talamum Christi induiis, nec exteriori cultu delectatur sponsus celestis". Illa, interni conscia habitatoris [...] tali memoratur elogio respondisse, crede, "O pater reuerende, nequaquam deterior mens Deo aspirante sub hoc habitabat tegmine quam sub caprina melote. Habeo Dominum meum, qui non uestem sed mentem attendit" [...] Uir sensit Deo afflatus presentientis in uirgine gratie auctoritatem nec ausus contristrare supernam in illa'; trans. Hollis et al., *Writing the Wilton Women*, pp. 42-3: [Æthelwold] 'Once warned, O daughter, not in these garments does one approach the marriage chamber of Christ, nor is the heavenly bridegroom pleased with exterior elegance'; she, conscious of her indwelling guest [...] is reported to have replied in these words: "Believe, reverend father, a mind by no means poorer in aspiring to God will live beneath this covering than beneath a goatskin. I possess my Lord, who pays attention to my mind, not to the clothing" [...] The man inspired by God recognized (sic) the authority of grace excelling in the virgin, and not daring to distress the heavenly guardian within her'.

her hand' (*grandis alapis percussione coerchet*).<sup>172</sup> In doing so, Osbert's account suggests that under normal circumstances girls who were offered to houses of religious women could encounter reactive forms of corporal punishment.

After this, however, Osbert's *Vita* added a scene which appears to have entirely transformed the system of correction which the prioress had previously been able to uphold:

Commouerat enim illam zelus disciplin[a]e et domus Dei, ut nulla earum priuatis in oratio uacaret officiis [...] cum principis filiam esse cognosceret, toto in terram copore prostrato postulans indulgentiam, accusat delictum et confitetur culpam.<sup>173</sup>

Upon discovering the royal identity of Eadburh, Osbert imagined that the prioress of Nunnaminster would have needed to prostrate herself on the ground in order to beg Eadburh for forgiveness.<sup>174</sup> Osbert's *Vita* indicates therefore that, while religious girls of non-royal status might ordinarily have been subject to such experiences, a royal status, and Eadburh's position as daughter and sister to Anglo-Saxon kings, meant that some girls were not. Osbert assumed that a privileged royal status, similar to conditions of infancy seen above (pp. 105-107), would have disrupted the operation of disciplinary systems at houses of women religious, and that girls of royal birth could not or perhaps should not have been treated similarly to non-royal girls. In doing so, of course, his *Vita* raises the question of whether and how far privileged girls

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<sup>172</sup> Osbert of Clare, *Vita Sancte Ædburge Virginis*, in *Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults*, ed. Susan Ridyard (Cambridge, 1988), p. 267 (my translation).

<sup>173</sup> Osbert of Clare, *Vita Sancte Ædburge Virginis*, ed. Susan Ridyard, p. 267: 'For a zeal for discipline and the house of God had provoked her [the prioress] so that none of them might spend time in prayer in private [...] when she had recognised that she [Eadburh] was the daughter of the King, she prostrated herself to the ground with her entire body, petitioning for her [Eadburh's] forgiveness, admitting her offence and confessing her guilt' (my translation).

<sup>174</sup> Osbert of Clare, *Vita Sancte Ædburge Virginis*, ed. Susan Ridyard, pp. 98, 267.

participated in other conditions which we have seen outlined by a contemporary body of monastic prescriptions, and whether elements, like chapter 45 of the *Old English Rule*, which concerned the beating of *geonge men* in choir, played as tangible a part in the formation of their behaviours as they likely did boys.

## Chapter Two: Liturgical Formation

In this chapter I focus on the liturgical experiences of religious children and ask whether and how oblates might have become masters in the liturgical programmes of their houses. I explore what knowledge children were expected to acquire, and what role liturgical experiences might have played in facilitating children's emergence into senior communities. The organisational principle adopted here mirrors and intersects with that of the previous chapter. This, in part, is intended to recognise that many of the documentary texts and environmental structures which have been of interest to that chapter, such as the *Regula Benedicti*, the monastic choir, the daily round, and 'school', provide important bases for consideration here. But this also allows us to consider childhood development in a more realistic way, showing how experience in the liturgy supported and extended from conditions in monastic discipline too.

Although the *Regula Benedicti* has previously offered a point of entry for understanding structures of monastic discipline (pp. 56-61), it provides almost no ground for launching a study into children's liturgical development. Much of its liturgical framework ignored children and focussed on *fratres* or 'brethren' and the 'whole' community instead. The *Regula* is therefore only helpful in providing a view of the general structures of a liturgical life in a monastery, indicating that liturgical activity would centre on membership of the choir (*sociari choro*) and focus on a need to sing psalms (*psallere*) in a continual service of prayerful intercession with God.<sup>1</sup> The *Regula* suggests that the Psalter was to be recited each week in the course of eight daily meetings known as

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<sup>1</sup> RSB, c. 19, 43, pp. 90-1, 146-9

Divine Offices.<sup>2</sup> These offices were to be held at regular intervals or ‘hours’ (*horae*) and their timing adjusted over the course of the year, depending on the measure of daytime. It also tells us that routines were expected to begin in the middle of the night (Nocturns), continuing with a series of intervals in between for reading, prayer, eating, and manual labour, at day-break (Lauds, or Matins), at the first hour of the day (Prime), at third, sixth, and ninth hours (Tierce, Sext, Nones), at dusk (Vespers), and concluding in the late evening (Compline).<sup>3</sup>

### **Anglo-Saxon England: Infancy**

As we have seen in chapter one, just a single reference in chapter 45, relating to the beating of *infantes* who had made a mistake in recitation of a psalm, responsory, or antiphon in choir, provides a context where the *Regula* assumed that infant boys would participate in liturgical routines after oblation (pp. 56-61).<sup>4</sup> But we have also seen that the Anglo-Saxon corpus makes it difficult to understand whether infant oblates observed these expectations in a contemporary context. Æthelwold may have removed this reference to *infantes* from his own translation, and so allowed it to point to a wider or older demographic of *geonge men* instead. Another copy of the Latin *Regula* which attracted a vernacular response for the ‘child’ indicates that this reference to *infantes* may have been understood differently elsewhere, however, and might have included

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<sup>2</sup> RSB, c. 16, pp. 78-9: ‘As the prophet says, “I praised you seven times a day”. This sacred number will be completed by us if we fulfil our duties of service...and concerning the night-time vigils, the prophet also says “I rose in the middle of the night to confess your name”’.

<sup>3</sup> RSB, c. 16, pp. 78-9.

<sup>4</sup> RSB, c. 45, pp. 154-5: ‘Si quis dum pronuntiat psalmum, responsorium, antiphonam, uel lectionem fallitus fuerit, nisi satisfactione ibi coram omnibus humiliatus fuerit, maiori uindictae subiaceat, quippe qui noluit humilitatem corrigere quod negligentia deliquit. Infantes autem pro tali culpa bapulent/If anyone makes a mistake when he recites a psalm, responsory, antiphon, or reading, unless he is humbled by making satisfaction right there before all, he should be subject to more serious punishment, since he has refused to correct, in humility, an error made through carelessness. Children who make such mistakes should be whipped’.

infants in the liturgy by virtue of expecting (all) ‘children’ to enter the choir, but these do not provide particularly strong grounds for accepting the participation of infants either.<sup>5</sup>

As we have also seen in the context of discipline (pp. 60-61), the *Regularis Concordia* contains just one occasion where we might consider infants were introduced into choral structures and expected to undertake a minimal level of training in the performance of liturgical texts necessary for reciting a service called the *Trina Oratio*:<sup>6</sup>

Infantibus autem ecclesiam intransibus, aedituus primum sonet signum; peractis tribus a pueris oraminibus, uti prius a senioribus gestum fuerat, dispositi singuli in locis suis campana pulsata incipiant horam Tertiam.<sup>7</sup>

In the same way that we have asked about its disciplinary significance, this passage would also seem to encourage us to think about children’s earliest liturgical experiences. The passage appears to offer grounds from which we could speculate that young boys, potentially of infant age, entered liturgical communities, and observed and/or began to contribute to choral activities at Winchester’s Old Minster.<sup>8</sup> But its imprecision, particularly in relation to *infans* and *puer*, and what each of them were supposed to do during this service, also means that we can understand very little for certain.<sup>9</sup>

### **Boyhood**

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<sup>5</sup> OERB, c. 45, lines 9-10, p. 71; *Rule of St. Benet: Latin and Anglo-Saxon*, ed. Logeman, c. 45, p. 79.

<sup>6</sup> For a brief outline of the history of the *Trina Oratio*, see Christopher Jones EME, p. 153.

<sup>7</sup> Symons assumes these refer to the same group of children, see RC, p. 16: ‘As the children enter the church the sacrist shall ring the first bell; and when they have said the *Trina Oratio* in the same way as the seniors have done, all shall take their places and the bell shall be rung for them to begin Tierce’.

<sup>8</sup> RC, p. 16.

<sup>9</sup> RC, p. 16.

With no precise reference to *infantes* in the *Regularis Concordia*, we can hardly begin to suppose infants entered choirs, let alone consider that they might also have been expected to learn the threefold *Trina Oratio*. As we have suggested above (see pp. 61-62), it may be safer to assume that the *Regularis Concordia* only discloses what Æthelwold expected an older or broader category of *pueri* or ‘boys’ to do, and, if not by the time that they could be recognised as ‘boys’ then, perhaps more certainly, by the ends of their ‘boyhood’. We might begin therefore with the working notion that boys were at some point expected to have begun to memorise the *Trina Oratio*.<sup>10</sup> The *Regularis Concordia* described this duty in some detail, expecting boys to learn by heart the seven Penitential Psalms, for one. The *Trina Oratio* required boys to learn this group of psalms and divide them into three further groups in addition to learning several other texts. This meant learning a first group of psalms (i.e. Pss 6, 31, and 37) along with the *Pater Noster* and a collect, a Latin text which they were to learn to sing on behalf of the souls of monks. It also required them to master a second unit of the *oratio* (Pss. 50 and 101), which was to be recited with the *Pater Noster* again, and with a Latin collect sung on behalf of the king and queen. To this, the *Regularis Concordia* added a third *oratio* (Pss. 129 and 142), requiring boys to perform the *Pater Noster*, another Latin collect sung on behalf of those who have died, the *Kyrie eleison* and also the *Preces* (Pss. 1:11-14), and it expected boys to have prepared for two other performances of the *Trina Oratio* according to similar arrangements, in the afternoon at Tierce and in the evening after Compline.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> For the role of the Psalter in the monastic liturgy, see George Hardin-Brown, ‘The Psalms as the Foundation of Anglo-Saxon Learning’, in *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages*, ed. Nancy Van Deusen (New York, 1999), pp. 1-24.

<sup>11</sup> RC, pp. 13, 16, 23.

The presence of the term *pueri*, but a lack of precise terminology relating to *infantes* and *pueri*, allows us to consider that the *Trina Oratio* was important to fostering in boys a sense of communal identity, but it makes it almost impossible to consider how and when, and whether Æthelwold might have expected boys of different ages to learn the skills and texts necessary for the recitation of the *Trina Oratio* on these occasions every day. The *Regularis Concordia* does not show that boys were expected to express different levels of knowledge in the choir, nor does it suggest that boys would have been expected to contribute to units like the *Trina Oratio* at different stages. If it is unclear whether the uniformity of performance expressed in the *Regularis Concordia* actually represents Æthelwold's intentions for boys' liturgical performance, however, there are sources which would challenge such a view. Intersecting with the previous chapter on monastic discipline (pp. 72-81), contemporary school-texts are useful for understanding boys' participation in the liturgy, and allow us to consider that boys might have been trained in a piecemeal fashion. This alternative dynamic presents itself in pedagogic texts such as the *Colloquia* of Bata, for example, and in dialogues indicating that boys focussed in memorising and practising set units of liturgical texts in their own daily round, before and perhaps as a preparation for performance of those texts in choir. Dialogues no. 1 and 5 in particular, describe monastic boys memorising and practising performances of their own prayers around a monastic complex (*orationes nostras facere secundum nostram consuetudinem*),<sup>12</sup> and point directly to boys' preoccupation with practising the Seven Penitential Psalms in ways which may have contributed to a sense of shared identity, reciting together and in harmony while washing their hands on their own round (*manus nostras vii psalmos cantantes lauimus*).<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> ÆlfBColl, pp. 80-1: 'Make our prayers following our custom'

<sup>13</sup> ÆlfBColl, pp. 90-1: 'We washed our hands while we sang the seven [penitential psalms]'

This evidence for training in recitation in Bata's *Colloquia* also connects with an expectation of performance of the Penitential Psalms in the *Regularis Concordia*, first mentioned above (p. 126), where it formed a significant component of the *Trina Oratio*.<sup>14</sup> This is not likely to be a coincidence, but even if we cannot be certain this represents a precise connection, these two sources allow us to consider the significance of the daily round, and the way in which it may have reinforced boys' liturgical development from an early stage. This source reminds us that boys' activities may not have been as compartmentalised as sources of different genres often allow us to appreciate, and it suggests that the non-liturgical round may have had an important enabling function too, allowing boys to rehearse before they entered into public recitations in choir.

Aside from duties like the *Trina Oratio*, the *Regularis Concordia* does not allow us to explore fully how boys contributed to the eight regular Offices which took place each day. References to the Offices in this customary often followed and preceded prescriptions which mentioned boys, requiring them to perform duties like the *Trina Oratio*, occurring either before or after three Offices, but Æthelwold's text did not situate how boys observed the Offices themselves.<sup>15</sup> This silence of performance and performers in the *Regularis Concordia* might represent an inherited silence; it echoes

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<sup>14</sup> RC, p. 13: 'Donec quidem pueri introeunt ecclesiam unum continuatim pulsetur tintinnabulum; ipsi quoque pueri ingressi, ut Trinitatis reuerentia ab omnibus legitime teneatur, trina utantur oratione. Finitis uero tribus orationibus a pueris, sonetur secundum signum, residentibus cunctis in sedilibus suis ordinatim atque canentibus quindecim psalmos graduum singillatim, trina partitione uti superiores septem/The little bell shall be rung continuously until the children enter the church; and when they have all come in they too shall say the *Trina Oratio*, so that reverence to the Trinity shall be duly observed by all. When they have finished the *Trina Oratio* the second bell shall be rung and all, ranged in order in the stalls, shall recite the fifteen Gradual psalms, one by one, in threefold division as the Penitential psalms were said'.

<sup>15</sup> RC, p. 16.

the nature of the arrangements for Offices which were set out in the *Regula Benedicti* and which had only vaguely required brethren to recite at Offices. It could also have ensured that the *Regularis Concordia* avoided problems which may have resulted from setting down a more rigid framework. But even so, this leaves us in a position of being unable to tell whether, let alone how far, boys might have been expected to contribute.<sup>16</sup>

Just as we have proceeded in the chapter on discipline and in the section above (at p. 72), again, in order to ascertain some direction on boys' performances at monastic Offices, we can explore the evidence of contemporary school-texts. These documents are potentially useful to us not only because they were intended to help boys speak Latin – and in some cases, to paraphrase liturgical and biblical texts – but because they also appear to have been intended to enable boys to talk about their liturgical rounds. We find one such occasion in the *Colloquium* of Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham, for example:

[*Puer*]

Psallam omni die septem sinaxes cum fratribus et occupatus sum  
lectionibus et cantu.<sup>17</sup>

This sentence appears to have imposed upon a boy a voice in which he was able to assert that he could sing parts of the Psalter (*psallam*) and make at least one contribution to all monastic Offices.<sup>18</sup> Ælfric does not make clear how old this fictional boy might have been at the point that he might have uttered such words. Ælfric's language only indicates that he might have been able to do so by the end of boyhood. His sentence may also only represent an aspired picture of development, and may only have been intended to

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<sup>16</sup> For this and other offices, see RSB, c. 8, pp. 58-9 (Nocturns), chs. 17-8, pp. 80-5 (Prime), c. 18, pp. 84-5 (Tierce, Sext, Nones), c. 18, p. 87 (Vespers), c. 18, p. 87 (Compline).

<sup>17</sup> ÆlfColl, p. 19: 'I sing every day, at each of the seven offices, with the brothers, and I keep myself busy with reading and song' (my translation).

<sup>18</sup> While Ælfric only mentions seven offices, it is possible that he rolled Lauds and Prime into a near continuous morning office. ÆlfColl, pp. 44-8. RC, pp. 15-7.

serve to encourage boys to aim for that objective; to seek to acquire liturgical proficiency, and indeed to begin to measure their progress in the liturgy in this way, through a calculation of how often and in how many Offices they contributed to liturgical life. But it acquires greater credibility when compared with school-texts of a later generation, where we can see these same desires outlined in the *Colloquia* of his student Ælfric Bata:

[Puer]

Nos legimus, et cantauimus tota die, et scripsimus aliquid ante Primam et post Primam usque ad Tertiam et quando edituus pulsauit signum primum, tunc ilico sine mora surreximus et iuimus ad latrinam, et postea manus nostras vii psalmos cantantes lauimus [...] et postea induimus nos cum uestimentis ecclesiasticis ad missam, et cantauimus missam et sinaxes cum aliis fratribus.<sup>19</sup>

As we have noted previously (pp. 74-75), Bata's *Colloquia* were dependent upon Ælfric's *Colloquium* for part of their content, and Bata's dialogue here is strongly indicative of his similar aspirations for boys' learning of the Psalter, evident in his reference to their singing of psalms, as well as their contributions to Divine Offices. This dialogue allows us to identify Prime, the Morning Mass, and at least two of the later minor Offices, and the first ten dialogues of Bata's *Colloquia* reinforce this picture further still – supporting the idea that contemporaries across Anglo-Saxon England expected boys to participate in every monastic Office over the course of an entire day by the time they reached adulthood.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> ÆlfBColl, pp. 88-91: 'We read and sang all day, and we wrote something before Prime and after Prime till Tierce. When the sacristan beat the first signal, we got up right away and went to the toilet. Afterwards we washed our hands while we sang the seven [Penitential] Psalms [...] and afterwards we put on our church vestments for Mass. We sang Mass and the Holy Office with the other brothers'.

<sup>20</sup> For dialogues 1-10, see ÆlfBColl, pp. 80-109.

The *Regularis Concordia* gives us more space to ask whether and how far boys might have been expected to recite ‘together’, and as a distinct liturgical community, as opposed to performing in harmony with seniors. We might be able to explore this dynamic, for example, on the one occasion where the *Regularis Concordia* outlines preferences for the manner of boys’ performances on the daily round, with respect to their performance of the *Trina Oratio* at Compline, which, we are told, was to be said ‘first by the boys, and [only] then by the seniors’.<sup>21</sup> But this modality also appears to have been important to prescriptions relating to the annual round, and with respect to the celebration of the most solemn occasions, on feast days which were undertaken just once a year, where, as we shall see below, boys were expected to narrate and personate biblical agents in contemporary liturgical dramas.

In the past, scholars have forwarded the argument that boy oblates were an important enabling constituent in the development of religious theatre and catalysts in the emergence of a new class of ritual play which conferred mnemonic advantages.<sup>22</sup> The *Regularis Concordia* reveals this expectation, for example, in prescriptions which required boys to animate the voices of biblical figures and identify on an associative basis with the Hebraic Boys of Jerusalem on a short procession around the cloister at the Old Minster in Winchester on Palm Sunday. We can see this association particularly clearly, for example, in Æthelwold’s prescriptions where he required boys to lead their

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<sup>21</sup> RC, p. 23: ‘Agant primum pueri tres orationes, post pueros agant fratres’.

<sup>22</sup> This has been the case in particular in relation to the origin of a feast known as ‘Boy Bishop’ on Holy Innocents which scholars have inferred from a musical compendium commonly known as *The Winchester Troper*, see Edward Rimbault, ‘The Festival of the Boy Bishop in England’, *Camden Miscellany* 7 (1875), pp. 1-34. Arthur Leach, ‘The Schoolboys Feast’, *Fortnightly Review* 59 (1896), p. 128. Charles M. Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers: And Some of the Traditions Upon Which They Were Founded* (New York, 1968), p. 55. Edmund Chambers argues that this monastic context was vital in the development of theatrical traditions, see Edmund K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (rev. ed., New York, 1996), I, p. 339. *The Winchester Troper* is now contained in, CCCC, MS 473. Weston Library Macherras r. Pal 8 135 OS; Susan Rankin, *The Winchester Troper: Facsimile Edition and Introduction* (London, 2007).

seniors in performance by taking up the antiphon *Pueri hebraeorum portantes ramos oliuarum obviamerunt domino* ('The Hebraic boys, bearing olive branches, went out to meet the lord').<sup>23</sup> Boys' role in these biblical associations would appear to have gone even further still, however, and – if we can suppose boys understood the significance of church sacraments – would seem to have taken the form of recreating the antiphon by requiring boys to join a service of Mass, allowing them to 'meet' the Lord in the form of the Eucharistic offering.

References in the *Regularis Concordia* to the organisation of the choir during another office known as *Tenebrae* provide another basis in which boys appear to have been allowed a prominent role in a liturgical drama that separated them from their seniors.<sup>24</sup> According to the *Regularis Concordia*, at Nocturns on Maundy Thursday all the lights in the monastery were to be extinguished in order to encourage the boys into a state of mind which Æthelwold described emotively as, 'terror at the darkness' (*tenebrarum terror*):

Nihilque iam cereorum luminis remanente, sint duo ad hoc idem destinati pueri in dextera parte chori qui sonora psallant uoce: *Kyrie eleison*, duoque similiter in sinistra parte qui respondeant: *Christe eleison*, nec non et in occidentali parte duo qui dicant: *Domine miserere nobis*, quibus peractis respondeat simul omnis chorus: *Christus Dominus factus est oboediens usque ad mortem* [...] Quibus tertio finitis, agant tacitas genuflexo more solito preces.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> RC, p. 35: 'Post benedictionem aspergantur benedicta aqua et tus cremetur, dehinc pueris inchoantibus antiphonas, *Pueri Hebraeorum*, distribuuntur ipsae palmae et sic, maioribus antiphonis initiatis, egrediantur/After the blessing the palms shall be sprinkled with holy water and incensed. While the children begin the antiphons *Pueri Hebraeorum* the palms shall be distributed. Then the greater antiphons shall be intoned and the procession shall go forth'.

<sup>24</sup> RC, pp. 36-7.

<sup>25</sup> RC, pp. 36-7: 'When all the lights have been put out, two children should be appointed who shall stand on the right hand side of the choir and shall sing *Kyrie eleison* with a clear voice; two more on the left hand side who shall answer *Christe eleison*; and, to the west of the choir, another two who shall say *Domine miserere nobis*; after which the whole choir shall respond together *Christus Dominus factus est oboediens usque ad mortem* [...] When this has been sung for the third time the brethren shall say the *preces* on their knees and in silence as usual'.

Æthelwold explained that this rite was intended to educate and dramatically recreate the moment of Christ's death and entombment in the choir of the Old Minster.<sup>26</sup> What is significant about this passage for us, however, is that the *Regularis Concordia* appears to have required a process of preparation and selection. The text's requirement, that six boys should be 'designated' (*destinati*) to different roles and places, allows us to consider that boys were organised to undertake different components, and to either sing or say the *Kyrie eleison*, or other subsequent parts, in co-ordination with one another and with the rest of a mixed community of brethren who remained in the choir.<sup>27</sup> This evidence for boys' separation in performing parts of the liturgy, their physical separation from one another, and from their wider community, provides a view onto an often unrecognised dynamic in the monastic liturgy, for example, indicating that boys experienced the liturgy differently from one another, and in ways which may have also fostered idiosyncratic liturgical identities in addition to a communal one.

We find evidence for this type of selectivity of liturgical experience again in a passage shortly afterward, as part of an observance known as *Quem Queritis* (Whom do you seek?) which was to begin during Nocturns on Easter.<sup>28</sup> This rite required four professed brothers (*fratres*) to dramatise the discovery of Christ's empty tomb. One of these was

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<sup>26</sup> RC, pp. 36-7.

<sup>27</sup> The Latin text only provides references to saying (*dicere*) but a requirement for a sonorous voice would suggest that *dicere* might be understood better as a reference to a precise form of liturgical signing or chanting. Joyce Hill has shown that the Old English translator of the Latin text in CCC 201 was inclined to specify *singan* where the Latin offered *dicere*, see Hill 'Lexical choices for Holy Week: Studies in Old English Ecclesiastical Vocabulary', p. 120.

<sup>28</sup> RC, pp. 49-51: 'Dum tertia recitatur lectio, quattuor fratres induant se, quorum unus, alba indutus ac si ad aliud agendum, ingrediatur atque latenter sepulcri locum adeat ibique, manu tenens palmam, quietus sedeat [...] Aguntur enim haec ad imitationem angeli sedentis in monumento, atque mulierum cum aromatibus uenientium ut ungerent corpus Jhesu [...] incipiat mediocri uoce dulcisone cantare: *Quem quaeritis?*/While the third lesson is being read, four of the brethren shall vest, one of whom, wearing an alb as though for some different purpose, shall enter and go stealthily to the place of the 'sepulchre' and sit there quietly, holding a palm in his hand [...] Now these things are done in imitation of the angel seated on the tomb and of the women coming with perfumes to anoint the body of Jesus [...] he shall begin to sing softly and sweetly: "Whom do you seek?"

to play an angel, and three remaining brothers were to animate the biblical figures of the three women who searched for and found Christ's empty tomb. According to the *Regularis Concordia*, once the angel had found that Christ had gone and had arisen from death, the three brothers were to proclaim Christ's resurrection to the world by singing in the direction of boys and senior brethren who represented the microcosm of the world in choir. Shortly after this, and integrated into observances for the Office of Matins, the *Regularis Concordia* required a single 'boy' to complete the dramatic liturgy at the end of the Office at dawn by saying – alone – *Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro* ('The lord has risen from the tomb').<sup>29</sup>

It is in this moment that the *Regularis Concordia* offers us another opportunity to consider Æthelwold's assumed dynamics of performance and some of its implications for our understanding of the role of the liturgy in boys' liturgical development. That just one boy appears to have been required to take on this role, while a minimum of five other boys who were required for the service of *Tenebrae* remained silent in the choir, makes it possible to recognise that Æthelwold had expected a need to select a boy from his peers, allowing the liturgy to shape that single boy differently from any other.

These frameworks for Maundy Thursday and *Quem Queritis* also seem to allow us to recognise a developmental role for hierarchies of performance in the boys' choir. Individual boys at Winchester who could impress and obtain extraordinary experiences as soloists, distinguished their own particular childhoods, acquiring particular

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<sup>29</sup> RC, p. 51 : 'Quinque psalmis iure peractis cum antiphonis sibi rite pertinentibus, capitulo etiam a presbytero, uersuque: *Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro*, ut mos est a puero dicto, initietur antiphona in euangelio, qua peracta dicatur collecta/ When five psalms have been duly sung with their appropriate antiphons and when the chapter has been said by the priest and the verse: *Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro* by one of the children, as is the custom, the antiphon to the *Benedictus* shall be intoned and, after it, the collect shall be said'.

developmental experiences. Solo recitations may not only have provided boys with unique experiences therefore, but could have enabled the development of specific liturgical identities too. If it is possible to question whether the *Regularis Concordia* allows us to make these considerations, we are fortunate to possess in dialogues no. 13 and 25 of Bata's *Colloquia* sources which would suggest that the judgement of boys' qualities of performance was a normal expectation in the eleventh century:

[Puer]

Lectus et positus in tabula fui ad secundam lectionem et ad quintum responsorium et sic feci.

[Puer]

Quintam lectionem legit iste meus socius et secundum responsorium cantavit [...] pueri, sicut heri in tabula positi et inscripti et lecti fuerunt.<sup>30</sup>

Alongside this dialogue, which recognises the selection of boys for particular performances in Divine Offices, it is also useful to consider dialogue no. 25, which indicates that Bata had expected boys to evaluate themselves and their peers on a comparative basis of liturgical ability:

[Magister]

Non est tam uetus sicut tu es in annis, sed tamen melius et rectius et pulchrius legit et cantat et loquitur quam tu agis. Duodecim annos habet aetatis et non plus, et tamen non est tam fatuus sicut tu, qui quindecim annos aut se[x]decim modo portas in dorso tuo.<sup>31</sup>

It is here, for example, that we can see Bata in the attempt of encouraging boys to compete, and become aware of a performance-based hierarchy which governed boys'

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<sup>30</sup> ÆlfBColl, pp. 110-1: 'I was chosen and put on the slate for the second lection and the fifth response and so I performed them/This classmate of mine read the fifth lection and sang the second response [...] the boys both read and sang in the order they were chosen and written down on the slate yesterday'.

<sup>31</sup> ÆlfBColl, pp. 138-41: 'He is not as old in year as you, but still he reads, sings, and speaks better, more correctly and more beautifully than you do. He is twelve years old, no more, and still he is not a loudmouth like you who now carry fifteen or sixteen years on your back'.

liturgical contributions according to the ‘correctness’ (*rectius*) and ‘beauty’ (*pulchrius*) of their singing. These were qualities which were sought after more widely too, and indeed, we can see that Byrhtferth of Ramsey Abbey lauded such qualities in his narrative on the boyhood of Saint Oswald:

Tria in uno dono Dei habebat dona, ut autumnus: uocis  
pulchritudinem et pulchritudinis suauitatem et altitudinem  
cum uocis modulatione.<sup>32</sup>

But it is the case here that Bata’s dialogues point us in a direction indicating that Anglo-Saxon teachers had even encouraged the emergence of competitive dynamics between boys. It might be expected at this point to note that this consideration leans heavily on few sources. It might be expected to note too that Bata’s school-text indicates rather than demonstrates any educational actualities. But we can also recognise that these features occur in a school-text intended for student consumption, and it is this context of use which connects this school-text with boys as students of Latin and as performers of a monastic liturgy. It is with this context in mind that the liturgical content of Bata’s *Colloquia* acquires its significance, and, indeed, that the *Colloquia* can be seen to give ground to the idea that selectivity, judgement of performance capabilities, and dynamics of competition played a role in shaping boys’ liturgical development before adulthood.

If a dynamic of selectivity of the type considered above can be sustained in the documentary base, and if it can be located through the *Regularis Concordia* as having been important to boys at the Old Minster at Winchester, it is important to recognise that other contemporary consuetudinaries, such as Abbot Ælfric’s *Epistula ad*

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<sup>32</sup> Byrhtferth, *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, in *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, in *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: Lives of St Oswald and St Ecwine*, ed. and trans. Michael Lapidge, OMT (Oxford, 2009), pp. 50-1: ‘He had these three gifts in one bequest, as I suppose, namely beauty of voice and sweetness of beauty, and depth (or height) of voice, with an appropriate sense of modulation’.

*monachos*, do not allow us the exact same perspective. Instead, his customary indicates that smaller choirs could not replicate exactly the routines of larger houses like the Old Minster:

In Cena Domini, duos pueros psallere sonora uoce: *Kyrrieleison* (sic) in australi porticu duosque respondere: *Christeleison* (sic), in boreali porticu, et in occidentali parte duos fratres reboare: *Dominus miserere nobis*, et omnem chorum simul respondere *Christus Dominus factus est obediens usque ad mortem*.<sup>33</sup>

Ælfric's customary seems to reveal that boys' experiences of the liturgy were also informed by the sizes of their choirs and by differences in the capacities of their cantors to select boys from other boys and privilege particular individuals with extraordinary duties. For while Ælfric appears to have felt able to incorporate much of an observance we have seen above at the Old Minster (pp. 132-133), his customary exhibits a divergence from Æthelwold's prescribed model, reducing the number of boys required for the service of *Tenebrae* on Maundy Thursday, from six to just four, and allowing two seniors (*duo fratres*) to take the place of two *pueri* who recited *Domine miserere nobis*.<sup>34</sup>

Ælfric's changes suggest that, for the most elaborate services, boys participated in his choir on a different level. In doing so, Ælfric allows us to consider that boys might not have constituted a *schola* large enough to have been able to divide into three couplets for this service and, indeed, the *Epistula ad monachos* could express a context where

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<sup>33</sup> EME, pp. 126-7: '[On Maundy Thursday] two boys are to sing from the southern porch (sic) of the church: *Kyrie eleison*, in full voice, and two respond from the northern porch (sic): *Christe eleison*, and from the western side two brothers sing back: *Domine miserere nobis*, and the whole choir responds as one: *Christus Dominus factus est obediens usque ad mortem*'. N.b. for more on Jones' use of the term porch instead of the more correct *porticus* see fn. 33 below.

<sup>34</sup> It is worth mentioning that Joyce Hill also points out Ælfric's greater specificity in describing their location in the south and north porticus, not a porch, as Jones (mis)translates in this passage, see Hill, 'Lexical choices for Holy Week: Studies in Old English Ecclesiastical Vocabulary', pp. 122-3.

the availability of singers and an ability to select performers for their ‘better’ voices was more limited. This nexus of evidence, which anticipates reduced numbers and reveals reduced choices, and which either indicates that boys made up a smaller proportion of the choir, or that the choir as a whole was smaller, reminds us of the significance of difference in local conditions in shaping boys’ liturgical experiences across Benedictine England. This consuetudinary affords a view which suggests that, while boys’ liturgical experiences in reformed houses might have depended upon a single prescriptive framework, they were not ‘uniform’, but varied, evolved, and adjusted according to local circumstances.

### **Anglo-Norman England: Infancy**

The *Constitutiones* allow us to explore questions relating to boys’ liturgical conditions, experience, and development at the archiepiscopal seat of Christ Church in similar ways. In some respects, Lanfranc’s regulations are more useful to us than the *Regularis Concordia*, and reveal more about the particular characteristics of the liturgical lives of infants. This would seem to be the case, for example, where the *Constitutiones* offer a foundation for considering the earliest experiences of oblates, in a prescription which we have seen in chapter one (pp. 83-84), on the performance of *Benedicite* after the office of Sext:

Post Sextam nullus in claustro loquatur donec infantes de  
monasterio exeant, et minimus eorum alta voce *Benedicite*  
dicat.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 8-9: ‘After Sext no one shall talk in the cloister till the children come out of church and the youngest of them says aloud “Bless ye the Lord”’.

The significance of this passage for this particular chapter lies in its potential to reveal what infant boys might have been expected to know and do and how at a superlative stage of liturgical training. Lanfranc's advice on the performance of *Benedicite* serves as a useful entry point into questions relating to infant-boys' encounters with formal liturgical duties, offering a window onto a relatively unexplored context of boys' liturgical contributions outside the choir-space at that stage too. It also encourages us to recognise a dynamic of selection. Lanfranc's direction for just one *infans* appears to authorise the preparation of just a single individual, and so supports a view that routines of selection were important to boys at Lanfranc's community from a visibly much earlier stage of boyhood and monastic training than has been obvious in the *Regularis Concordia*, above (pp. 60-61).

### Boyhood

Since Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* do not offer the kind of vocabulary necessary for distinguishing between the liturgical duties of infants and boys, we can continue to examine references to *infantes* and *pueri* collectively, and in terms which understand that they represent the same 'boy' demographic. This provides a basis from which we can recognise that the *Constitutiones* provide a larger picture of boys' liturgical learning than the *Regularis Concordia*, suggesting, again, that Lanfranc had sought to regulate boys' experiences more precisely than his predecessors.<sup>36</sup> This document indicates, for example, that boys were expected to memorise and recite a wide variety of liturgically significant texts of different lengths. Chapters 1 to 6 of the

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<sup>36</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 4-9 ; c. 3, pp. 12-13 ; c. 19, pp. 28-9 ; c. 20-2, pp. 32-3 ; c. 25, pp. 38-41 ; c. 28-31, pp. 44-5 ; c. 33, pp. 52-3 ; c. 46-9, pp. 66-7 ; c. 55, pp. 74-5 ; c. 57, pp. 80-1.

*Constitutiones*, which concentrated on boys' activities in the ordinary Offices, appear to have required knowledge of now familiar elements, such as the *Trina Oratio*, and the Seven Penitential Psalms which were integral to it, but Lanfranc also required visibly different contributions from boys, including that they should have learnt about and performed a Litany of Saints every day after Prime and after Sext.<sup>37</sup>

To begin, it may be useful to cross-examine rules in the *Constitutiones* which upheld requirements present in the *Regularis Concordia*, that boys perform the *Trina Oratio*, for example. This duty, as we have described in more detail in the section immediately above (pp. 125-127), required a preceding degree of learning by heart of a number of Latin texts including the *Pater Noster*, *Kyrie eleison*, the *Preces*, and a number of Latin collects. The Penitential Psalms were still divided into these groups, but Lanfranc's prescriptions on its performance were different:

[Infantes] accedentes et ipsi ad aquam benedictam in chorum ueniant, et dismisso signo, omnes simul tres orationes faciant.<sup>38</sup>

The dynamics of this performance of the *Orationes* before Tierce are perhaps emblematic of all references to the *Orationes* visible in the *Constitutiones*.<sup>39</sup> Lanfranc only ever required boys to recite in harmony with their seniors. He nowhere repeated

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<sup>37</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 6-7: 'Infantes et iuuenes cum luminaribus suis ueniant in ecclesiam, et facta oratione cantent Primam, et psalmos familiares cum collectis suis et septem psalmos, et letaniam/The children and young monks with lanterns shall enter the church, and when a prayer has been said they shall sing Prime, and the psalms for relatives with their collects, and the seven penitential psalms, and the litany', pp. 8-9: 'Dicatur ab infante letania/One of the children shall say the litany'.

<sup>38</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 6-7: 'Then [the children] shall take holy water and enter the choir, and when the bell ceases all shall say the Three Prayers together'.

<sup>39</sup> For the *Trina Oratio* before Nocturns, Tierce, and after Compline, see *Constitutiones*, c. 92, pp. 132-3: 'Factis tribus orationibus, que fiunt ante nocturna/When the three prayers before Nocturns have been said' (Nocturns); c. 2, pp. 6-7 (Tierce); and c. 33-9, pp. 58-9: 'Post Completiorum tres orationes solito more faciant; prior tabulam percutiat tribus ictibus post orationes infantum/After Compline the three prayers shall be said as usual, and the prior shall strike the board thrice after the children's prayers', (Compline).

an expectation visible in the *Regularis Concordia* that boys perform the *Trina Oratio* as a liturgical group (seen above, pp. 60-62, 125-127), and he appears nowhere to have allowed boys to intone this service on a closely associative basis or in a way which would have effectively allowed boys to mark the opening of Nocturns and Compline, at the *termini* of the liturgical day. The *Constitutiones* appear instead to confine our view of their participation, suggesting that the *Trina Oratio* played a different role in boys' lives at Canterbury compared to Anglo-Saxon Winchester, and that it served to reinforce in boys' minds their place as part of a larger community, contributing to a corporate liturgical identity rather than one based on a school.

In a similar way, chapters 1 to 6, on the arrangement of ordinary days, allow us to ask what the *Constitutiones* expected of boys' participation in a monastic liturgy centred on the Divine Offices. Of all Offices, however, the *Constitutiones* are only clear in expecting boys' presence and engagement in choir at Prime. This section implies that boys were expected to adhere to a united mode of engagement in this Office, and we find this, for example, where the *Constitutiones* required 'brethren' and 'boys' and 'youths' to all enter church and 'sing' Prime together.<sup>40</sup> Boys are less visible when it comes to asking about their participation in other Divine Offices. To be clear, the *Constitutiones* are not entirely silent, and do at times seem to imply their presence. These occasions might even allow us to locate boys in choir during the periods in which each of the remaining Offices were observed. But this evidence is very limited.<sup>41</sup> It is therefore only to the extent that it is almost inconceivable that boys would have avoided

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<sup>40</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 4-7: 'Surgentes fratres in nocturnalibus suis, et infantes et iuuenes cum luminaribus suis, ueniant in ecclesiam, et facta oratione cantent Primam/Then the brethren, rising in their night shoes, and the children and young monks with lanterns shall enter the church, and when a prayer has been said they all sing Prime'.

<sup>41</sup> For an occasion where boys' presence at Nocturns is implied, see *Constitutiones*, c. 3, pp. 12-13.

the remaining monastic offices during boyhood, that it would seem safe to assume their participation at some point, even if the *Constitutiones* do not allow us to consider that engagement further.

The *Constitutiones* provide more evidence of Lanfranc's expectations for boys' performances elsewhere, however, and may even suggest how boys were expected to perform. They make it possible, for example, to consider Lanfranc's choice of verbs to describe *how* the youngest of the infants was 'to say' (*dicere*)<sup>42</sup> *Benedicite*, rather than 'sing', for example, and, indeed, how boys were 'to sing' (*cantare*)<sup>43</sup> on some occasions, and 'to make' (*facere*)<sup>44</sup> prayers on others, and on others still, 'to intone' (i.e. *inchoere*)<sup>45</sup> or, if we can infer a qualitative difference underlying his verbal forms, 'to begin' (*incipere*) the singing or the utterance of yet other verses.<sup>46</sup> Sadly, it says little more than this, and we cannot be sure whether or how Lanfranc's terms corresponded to actual variations in performance, but these provide a means to recognise that potential, and that boys might have been expected to learn several modes

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<sup>42</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 4-9: 'Facta oratione/When a prayer has been said', 'Minimus eorum alta uoce *Benedicite* dicat/The youngest sais aloud "Bless ye the Lord"'; 'Dicatur ab infante letania/One of the children shall say the litany'.

<sup>43</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 4-9: 'Infantes...cantent Primam/The children...shall sing Prime'; c. 25, pp. 38-9 'Incipient pueri, et qui cum eis sunt, antiphonam *Osanna filio David* [...] Deinde a pueris cantetur antiphona *Cum angelis*/ The children and those with them shall begin the antiphon *Hosanna filio David* [...] Then the children shall sing the antiphon *Cum angelis*'; c. 25, pp. 38-9 'Canant pueri de loco apto, et qui precepto cantoris cum eis erunt, *Gloria, laus* [...] pueri, *Israel es tu rex* [...] Item pueri, *Plebs ebrea tibi* [...] Item pueri, *Cetus in excelsis*/The children and others with them in a suitable place at the direction of the cantor shall sing *Gloria, laus* [...] the children singing *Israel tu es rex* [...] the children *Plebs Hebrea tibi* [...] The children *Cetus in excelsis*';

<sup>44</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 4-9 'Facta oratione/When a prayer has been said'.

<sup>45</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 19, pp. 28-9: 'Inchoante infante *Exurge Domine*/A child shall intone *Exurge Domine*'; c. 57, pp. 80-1: 'Inchoet infans *Exurge, Domine*/One of the children shall intone *Exurge, Domine*'.

<sup>46</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 33-9, pp. 52-3: 'Statim puer incipiat antiphonam *Calicem salutaris*/ One of the children shall at once begin the antiphon *Calicem salutaris*'; c. 55, pp. 74-5 'Qua facta incipiat infans antiphonam *Exurge, Domine*/ When this is done one of the children shall begin the antiphon *Exurge, Domine*'.

of chant, in addition to memorising the liturgical sequences needed for such performances.<sup>47</sup>

While the *Constitutiones* support the idea that the liturgy of Christ Church played a role in signalling difference between boys and seniors, this difference manifests itself in Lanfranc's customary in a more confined way than appears to have been the case in the *Regularis Concordia*. It rarely occurs in the context of prescriptions relating to the daily liturgical round, for example, and Lanfranc appears rather to have only allowed his consuetudinary to express separateness between boys and seniors on the daily round through a non-liturgical mechanism – through differences in their time of arrival into choir.<sup>48</sup> In fact, on the whole, we find occasions of difference are more characteristic of Lanfranc's prescriptions on festivals of heightened solemnity. The result of a distinction between his treatment of boys on a daily and annual round means that, on the surface at least, Lanfranc would seem to have expected that boys would experience a much sharper contrast between those two kinds of round, and, indeed, that boys' opportunities for experience as soloists, and as a distinctive liturgical group, might have centred on once-a-year feasts and on elaborate processional rituals:

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<sup>47</sup> It may be worth pointing out that pre-Conquest Latin and vernacular versions of the *Regularis Concordia* sometimes disagreed on their use of verb for performance, so it is not unlikely that the Latin terms present in the *Constitutiones* were also understood by contemporaries in ways which are no longer obvious to readers today. See for example, Hill, 'Lexical choices for Holy Week: Studies in Old English Ecclesiastical Vocabulary', p. 120: 'The translator of the text in CCC 201 is more inclined than the Latin text of the Tiberius gloss to specify the singing of the liturgy: compare *singen* with *cweþan* for Latin *dicant*; *bið gesungen* with *bean geendude* for Latin *fuerint finite*; *sy...gesungen* with *si gedon* for Latin *agatur*'.

<sup>48</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 25, pp. 40-1: 'Cum infantes loti fuerint, et ad tersoria ire ceperint, pulsante maius signum secretario, surgant omnes de sedilibus suis, et ingressis chorum infantibus faciant prius orationem, postea cantent Nonam/When the children have washed and begin to go towards the towels, the sacrist shall ring the big bell and all shall rise from their seats, and when the children have entered the choir they shall pray first and then sing None'; c. 28-31, pp. 44-5 'Ueniant in chorum curuantes se supra formas in ordine suo quousque infantes ueniant/Coming to the choir bow over their desks in order till the children come'; c. 86, pp. 122-3 'Incepto unoquoque uersu, cantor ante et retro faciat, et omnes infantes inclinent/When the verse is begun the cantor makes a double bow, and all the children bow'.

Finita antiphona: *Occurrunt turbe*,  
 Incipiant pueri, et qui cum eis sunt, antiphonam: *Osanna filio  
 David*  
 [...]

Quam antiphonam chorus repetat, et similiter genua flectat.  
 Deinde a pueris cantetur antiphona *Cum angelis*  
 [...]

Canant pueri de loco apto, et qui precepto cantoribus cum eis erunt:  
*Gloria laus*; et similiter chorus respondeat  
 Pueri: *Israel tu es rex*,  
 et chorus: *Cui puerile*,  
 Item pueri: *Plebs ebrea tibi*,  
 et chorus: *Cui puerile*.  
 Item pueri: *Cetus in excelsis*,  
 et chorus: *Gloria laus*.<sup>49</sup>

Appearances can be deceiving, and this contrast could easily be a product of Æthelwold's and Lanfranc's editorial decisions, but this section, taken from Lanfranc's directions on the greater procession on Palm Sunday, is, in many ways, emblematic of a visible divide in the nature of the written record for boys' liturgical activities. Although boys were no longer responsible for singing the part of the Hebraic boys, as they had in the *Regularis Concordia* (see p. 131-132), this task was given to trained cantors, the *Constitutiones* appear to have allowed boys to take a leading role in liturgical events and express themselves as a distinctive liturgical group, separate from the adult choir. This particular string of liturgical duties also appears to constitute the

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<sup>49</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 25, pp. 38-9:

‘When the antiphon: *Occurrunt turbe* is done,

the children and those with them shall begin the antiphon: *Hosanna filio David*

[...]

The choir shall repeat the antiphon and genuflect in like manner.

Then the children shall sing the antiphon: *Cum angelis*

[...]

The children and others with them in a suitable place at the direction of the cantor shall sing: *Gloria, laus*; and the choir shall answer in turn.

The children singing: *Israel tu es rex*,

and the choir: *Cui puerile*.

The children: *Plebs Hebrea tibi*,

and the choir: *Cui puerile*.

The children: *Cetus in excelsis*,

and the choir: *Gloria, laus*.

most demanding service required of boys in the liturgical calendar of any insular prescriptive source surviving from our period. It appears not only to have required the whole community of choir boys to be trained to carry out an extensive group of Psalter-based prayers, but required them to coordinate their prayers in public view in the city of Canterbury, on an alternating basis with their seniors.

Lanfranc's ordo for Palm Sunday also serves to represent a pivot in the *Constitutiones* towards the procession as a new centre of gravity in boys' lives.<sup>50</sup> Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* elaborated on a longer procession on Palm Sunday than had the *Regularis Concordia*, which was confined to the cloister (pp. 131-132). Instead, Lanfranc subjected boys to a walk up to the walls and gates of the city of Canterbury and back to the cathedral church, involving a series of ritual halts, and requiring boys to learn and memorise a large number of ritual gestures.<sup>51</sup> Lanfranc's arrangements for this procession offer an especially useful window too onto the ways in which processions might have informed boys about their status:

Precedant famuli cum uexillis,  
sequatur conuersus ferens situlam cum aqua benedicta;  
alii duo portantes duas cruces;  
item duo cum duobus candelabris, accensis desuper cereis;  
alii duo ferentes duo thuribula igne et thure referta.  
[...]  
Duo subdiaconi portantes duos textus euangeliorum;  
post quos laici monachi,  
deinde infantes cum magistris;

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<sup>50</sup> For all major references to processions associated with 'infantes' and 'pueri', see *Constitutiones*, c. 19, pp. 28-9; c. 20-2, pp. 32-3; c. 25, pp. 34-5; c. 46-9, pp. 66-7; c. 55, pp. 74-7; c. 62-5, pp. 86-7; c. 68, pp. 94-5; c. 72, pp. 96-7; c. 81, pp. 104-9.

<sup>51</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 25, pp. 34-41, esp. pp. 36-7: 'Cum autem peruentum fuerit ad ipsum locum fiat statio a toto conuentu/When they reach the starting-point of the procession all the community halts in position', pp. 36-7 'Interim cantore incipiente canatur antiphona *Pueri ebreorum*/Meanwhile the cantor shall begin and the two antiphons *Pueri Hebraeorum* shall be sung' and also 'Cantore autem incipiente antiphonam *Occurrunt turbe*/When the cantor begins the antiphon *Occurrunt turbe*', pp. 38-9: 'His dictis, inchoet cantor responsorium *Ingrediante Domino*/ When this is done the cantor shall intone the responsory *Ingrediante Domino*'.

post quos ceteri fratres precedentes abbatem, qui ultimus procedit, duo et duo, sicut sunt priores.<sup>52</sup>

Lanfranc's arrangements here for Palm Sunday communicate boys' place in a monastic and liturgical hierarchy. They show that he had located boys as part of the most elite group of the monastery and that boys took up a position above lay brethren – who were not professed members of the choir – but below senior professed brethren. His ordo shows that boys were confined to the lowest portion of the liturgical community, and had a position which was behind non choral members of the community, some eight units from the front, but his ordo also shows that boys were expected to lead the choir and were to stand just three units from the abbot, who represented the apex of authority in the community. Lanfranc's arrangements also indicate that processions signalled boys' lack of adult status, separating them from those who could carry objects of sacred significance, and emphasising the privileges of those who monopolised duties in bearing holy texts and vessels.

Lanfranc appears to have observed *Tenebrae* which, as we have seen in the *Regularis Concordia* above (pp. 132-133), and in the *Epistula ad monachos* (pp. 136-138), took place on Maundy Thursday at the beginning of the *Triduum* at the end of Holy Week:

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<sup>52</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 25, pp. 36-7:

'The servants go first with banners;  
a converse follows with a bucket of holy water;  
two others bear two crosses;  
yet another two bear two candlesticks with lighted candles;  
and two more carry thuribles filled with fire and incense.

[...]

Two sub-deacons carrying two gospel books;  
after them come the lay monks,  
then the children with their masters;  
after them the rest of the brethren two and two in conventual order before the abbot, who walks last'.

Tot candele accendantur ante altare, quot antiphonas, et quot responsoria cantari oportet [...] Per singulas antiphonas, et singula responsoria, extinguantur singule candele.<sup>53</sup>

The broad arrangements for this service are familiar. Like Æthelwold, Lanfranc had required the lights of the monastery to be put out in order to create a dramatic period of darkness in Canterbury's cathedral church, educating boys or reminding informed members of the community of the death and entombment of Christ. Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* reveal differences, however. The *Constitutiones* no longer conferred on boys a particular role in this liturgical performance, for example. Lanfranc required no separation of boys in the choir, or any parallel observance of singing from different parts of the choir or church space. Where the *Regularis Concordia* had required oblate-singers, Lanfranc insisted that trained cantors should begin *Traditor autem* and then the choir as a whole should say *Kyrie eleison* without modulation. Indeed, he appears to have included boys only as part of the whole choir, allowing them only to respond to the cantor as a single unit, without revealing distinctions in status or age.<sup>54</sup>

Lanfranc's arrangements for *Tenebrae* only particularise the presence of boy-oblates in an indirect way, by referring to the lanterns which Lanfranc had expected boys to carry after *Tenebrae* had been observed:

Candele extinguantur in toto monasterio, preter unam, que in choro ardeat; que et ipsa, cantore incipiente antiphonam *Traditor autem*, extinguatur. Finita antiphona curuentur super formas sub silentio dicentes *Kyrieleison* (sic); *Pater noster*; preces: *Ego dixi, Domine*; psalmum *Miserere mei, Deus*, solum

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<sup>53</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 28-31, pp. 42-5: 'Candles shall be lighted before the altar according to the number of antiphons and responsories to be sung [...] At every antiphon and every responsory a candle shall be put out'.

<sup>54</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 28-31, pp. 42-5: 'Cantore incipiente antiphonam *Traditor autem*, extinguatur. Finita antiphona curuentur super formas sub silentio dicentes *Kyrieleison* (sic)/When the cantor begins the antiphon *Traditor autem*, [the last remaining candle] shall be put out. When the antiphon is done they shall bow themselves over the desks, saying in silence *Kyrie eleison*'.

sine *Gloria Patri*; collectam: *Respice, quesumus, Domine* [...] Stet unusquisque in loco suo usquequo magister infantum lanternas accensas in chorum deferat, et ipsis infantibus tribuat.<sup>55</sup>

This section allows us to recognise that Lanfranc had allowed boys' carrying of lanterns to alter the effect of *Tenebrae* and to disrupt the darkness of the liturgical environment which had been created by putting out the candles of the monastery. The boys' lamps intersected with a disciplinary system of supervision encountered previously, in chapter one (pp. 88-89), but they appear here to have had a symbolic value in the context of a liturgical drama.<sup>56</sup> Lanfranc appears to have allowed boys' lanterns to end a dramatic ritual, providing the few sources of light which remained in the monastic complex on each of the night offices at the end of Holy Week. Whether or not we can assume that boys recognised this result, the routine would seem likely to have encouraged in boys a greater level of awareness of their collective identity, allowing them to become, and even if only temporarily, among the most prominent figures of their monastery, and, indeed, singular light-bearers around the precincts of Christ Church until the Office of Matins.

Lanfranc's prescriptions for once-a-year festivals also seem to indicate that a dynamic of selection and individual performance in choir, similar to that considered in relation to the *Benedicite* above (pp. 83-84), and in relation to the *Regularis Concordia* and school-texts in late Anglo-Saxon England (pp. 132-136), may have continued to play

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<sup>55</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 28-32, pp. 42-5: 'The candles shall be put out in the whole monastery save one, which burns in the choir; it too, when the cantor begins the antiphon *Traditor* autem, shall be put out. When the antiphon is done they shall bow themselves over the desks, saying in silence *Kyrie eleison* and *Pater noster*, together with the *preces Ego dixi, Domine*, the psalm *Miserere mei* without doxology and the collect *Respice, quesumus, Domine* [...] Everyone shall stand in his place until the master of the children brings lighted lanterns into choir and gives them to the children'. For each of the three days of the *Triduum*, see *Constitutiones*, c. 28-31, pp. 42-5 (Thursday); c. 40-5, pp. 58-9 (Friday); c. 46-9, pp. 66-7 (Saturday).

<sup>56</sup> For all references to lanterns or illuminations and association of the boys with lights, see *Constitutiones*, c. 2, pp. 8-9; c. 3, pp. 10-11; c. 28-31, 43-5; c. 46-9, pp. 66-7; c. 109, pp. 170-1.

a role as boys integrated further into liturgical routines. We can recognise this potential, for example, in requirements of selection for Ash Wednesday, when he required just two boys to begin the litany (*incipiant duo infantes letaniam*),<sup>57</sup> and also for the first Sunday of Lent, when he required a single boy to begin the antiphon *Exurge Domine* (*inchoet infans antiphonam*).<sup>58</sup> We also see it for Maundy Thursday, when a single boy was required to begin the hymn *Dei fide qua uiuimus* (*inchoet statim infans ymnum*),<sup>59</sup> we see it in prescriptions for Rogation days, where Lanfranc required a boy to begin the antiphon *Exurge Domine* (*incipiat infans antiphonam*),<sup>60</sup> on Whit Monday, when he expected another boy to perform *Exurge Domine* (*inchoet infans Exurge Domine*).<sup>61</sup> Indeed, we see it too in prescriptions for feasts of a third rank, when Lanfranc stipulated that two boys should sing a short responsory together and apart from their choir (*duo pueri decant breue responsorium [...] ad Laudes, duo pueri breue responsorium, siue sit propria hystoria siue non. Et ad uesperas similiter*).<sup>62</sup>

This picture of selectivity in the boy-choir across these festival days conforms with a picture set out in chapter no. 109 of the *Constitutiones*, where Lanfranc expected the cantor of Christ Church to prepare the school for the liturgy.<sup>63</sup> If we can permit ourselves to assume a degree of internal coherence in Lanfranc's *Constitutiones*, we can link this expectation with sections of the *Constitutiones* describing how the cantor

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<sup>57</sup> *Constitutiones*, (Ash Wednesday) c. 19, pp. 28-9: 'Two of the children shall begin the Litany'.

<sup>58</sup> *Constitutiones*, (First Sunday of Lent) c. 20-2, pp. 32-3: 'A child shall begin the antiphon'.

<sup>59</sup> *Constitutiones*, (Maundy Thursday) c. 28-31, pp. 44-5: 'One of the children straightaway intone the hymn'.

<sup>60</sup> *Constitutiones*, (Rogation days) c. 55, pp. 74-5: 'One of the children shall begin the antiphon'.

<sup>61</sup> *Constitutiones*, (After Sext on Whit Monday) c. 57, pp. 80-1: 'One of the children shall intone *Exurge Domine*'.

<sup>62</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 73, pp. 98-9: 'Two children shall say the short responsory [...] At Lauds two children shall sing the short responsory, whether it be a proper one or no, and similarly at Vespers'.

<sup>63</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 109, pp. 172-3: 'Cantor quoque, cum in scolis eorum est, potest librum in quo cantari aut legi debet dare eis et accipere ab eis/The cantor likewise, when he is in their school, may give or receive from them the book from which they are to read or sing'.

assigned choir services, showing how the cantor decided who and how many were to sing the solo chants.<sup>64</sup>

Ipsius est omnes fratres in tabula ad omnia officia annotare, non considerato conuersationis ordine, aut uoluntate eorum, sed secundum quod ei uisum fuerit, honestatem et edificationem in hoc uigilanter consideranti.<sup>65</sup>

Lanfranc's references here allow us to reconstruct the operation of the liturgical environment of Christ Church and confirm the place of boys within it. These sections suggest that Lanfranc expected boys to have been subject to the cantor in training, and, to some extent or another, subject to assessments of ability. The *Constitutiones* do not tell us how a good performance might have been measured, and so we can only suppose that Lanfranc's requirements encouraged cantors to select boys for reasons of edification, but they show that Lanfranc had expected particularisation of boys' liturgical experiences at Canterbury, and suggest that he, like Æthelwold, had encouraged boys to emerge into individualised liturgical identities in addition to a more corporate one, shared with seniors, and expressed on the daily round.<sup>66</sup>

### **Communities of Religious Women: Infancy**

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<sup>64</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 62-5, pp. 88-9: 'Cantor prouideat quot et qui, que singulariter cantanda sunt, cantent/The cantor shall arrange who, and how many, are to sing the solo chants'; c. 66-7, pp. 92-3: 'Cantor quot et quos uoluerit ad se uocet/The cantor shall choose as many as he wishes, and whom he wishes, to stand with him'.

<sup>65</sup> For all references to the cantor, see *Constitutiones*, c. 11-3, pp. 22-3; c. 62-5, pp. 88-9; c. 66-7, pp. 90-3; c. 86, pp. 118-9, 120-1; c. 109, pp. 172-3. See in particular *Constitutiones*, c. 86, pp. 118-23, esp. pp. 120-1: 'It is his task to put down the brethren for all duties on the tabula, paying no attention to their seniority or their personal wishes, but according to his best judgement having careful regard only to good performance and edification'.

<sup>66</sup> For the assignation of duties, see *Constitutiones*, c. 11-3, pp. 22-3; c. 62-5, pp. 88-9; c.66-7, pp. 90-3; c. 86, pp. 118-9, 120-1.

We can reasonably assume that girls were expected to engage in the *Opus Dei*, learn how to participate in eight liturgical Offices, and eventually learn and sing the entire Psalter by heart over the course of each week as part of a constant round of intercessory prayer. But there are areas of the monastic liturgy where we can immediately assume that girls and women would have had a different role. At the heart of differences in the liturgical formations of girls and women lies the fact that a contemporary state of canon law prevented them from celebrating Mass and performing auxiliary functions proper to deacons.<sup>67</sup> This means that we approach surviving prescriptions here with an understanding that girls and women could not have replicated rules directed at ordained clergy, and that only areas of monastic regulation centred on the choir, areas which might have been less problematic to female readers, allow us to build an idea of their parallel experiences.

As we have already seen, the Anglo-Saxon corpus makes it difficult to understand the process by which infant oblates first encountered liturgical structures underpinned by the *Regula Benedicti* and *Regularis Concordia* (pp. 56-61). In his *Old English Rule*, Bishop Æthelwold appears to have adjusted the single reference to *infantes*, which might have required the presence of infant oblates in a monastic choir to the vernacular form *geonge men* instead. At the same time, we have also encountered a copy of the Latin *Regula* which may have seen use at a male community at Christ Church,

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<sup>67</sup> For canonical prohibitions against women entering the sanctuary, see *Capitula Neustrica*, in MGH Capit. Episc. I, pp. 64, 107, 212-3, 215, 240, and III, p. 60. Mary Frances Smith, Robin Fleming, and Patricia Halpin, 'Court and Piety in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Catholic Historical Review* 87 (2001), p. 601. This point is also made in Hill, 'Rending the Garment', p. 60.

Canterbury, and which appears to indicate that its Latin references to *infantes* had been understood differently, and related to ‘children’ instead.<sup>68</sup>

We have also seen that the Latin *Regularis Concordia* provides an equally inconclusive basis for exploring ‘infant’ participation in monastic liturgy (pp. 60-61) – and while this occasion raises the possibility of the participation of very young infant girls too, and in the same way that it has allowed us to ask whether infant boys might have been expected to engage in choral structures and in a formal liturgical round, the Latin *Regularis Concordia* cannot be relied upon to establish that parallel.<sup>69</sup> In fact, in so far as we possess fragmentary copies of a vernacular version of the *Regularis Concordia* we know had been adapted for a female audience, and in so far as one of these also happens to cover this section of the *Regularis Concordia*, it would seem clearer that the late tenth or eleventh century scribes responsible for producing this vernacular version followed the line taken by the vernacular glossator of the Latin *Regularis Concordia*, and considered that this prescription should be interpreted broadly, to include all children:

Witodlice, hringe ane bellan andfealdlice, oðþæt þa cildru in to  
cyrcean cuman. Eac swylce notigean þa sylfan cild þrymfealdum  
oratio.<sup>70</sup>

The vernacular fragment ignored and smoothed over differences between *infantes* and *pueri* in the section of the Latin *Regularis Concordia* we have seen above (pp. 60-61, 125).<sup>71</sup> It did not recognise the presence of especially young children, and it does not

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<sup>68</sup> OERB, c. 45, lines 9-10, p. 71; *Rule of St. Benet: Latin and Anglo-Saxon*, ed. Logeman, c. 45, p. 79.

<sup>69</sup> RC, p. 16.

<sup>70</sup> Schröder, ‘De consuetudine monachorum’, p. 295: ‘Let a bell ring continuously until the children have arrived into church. Then let the children begin the *Trina Oratio*’ (my translation).

<sup>71</sup> Compare, RC, p. 16: ‘Infantibus autem ecclesiam intransibus, aedituus primum sonet signum; peractis tribus a pueris oraminibus/As the children enter the church the sacrist shall ring the first bell; and when they have said the *Trina Oratio*’.

allow us to consider that the *Trina Oratio* informed the liturgical experiences of the youngest oblates. At most, mention of *cild* instead of *pueri* in relation to the performance of the *Trina Oratio* before Tierce offers us an opportunity for thinking about how older ‘girls’ participated in this duty. We have no reasons to assume that girls could not perform the *Trina Oratio* in close parallel to contemporary boys. This liturgical service would seem, after all, to represent an important context of liturgical learning, and its importance allows us to suppose that it might have played a role in girls’ learning of Latin liturgical texts too.

### **Girlhood**

As we have seen above (pp. 128-129), the *Regularis Concordia* gives few indications about how far boys were expected to be present at and also contribute to the eight Divine Offices themselves and so we can only suppose how girls would have learnt that round too. In the same way that I have proceeded above, we are perhaps only placed to answer narrower questions of these prescriptive materials. We can turn, for example, to examine the likelihood of girls’ parallel associations with biblical figures, and explore evidence which might point to girls’ own place in dramatic monastic liturgies celebrated on the annual round in festival periods and encountered in the section above (pp. 131-135). That girls may have been allowed to participate in similar associations with the Hebraic Boys and that their learning and performance of liturgical sequences might have also allowed them to identify with biblical figures can perhaps be situated on a similar basis in the *Regularis Concordia*. We might do so, for example, through the evidence of prescriptions for Palm Sunday, and through those copies of a vernacular version of Æthelwold’s consuetudinary which had attracted adaptations for a female audience:

Æfter þysum þam cildon þisne antifen beginnendum: *Pueri Hebreorum*, syn þa palmtwiga todælede and swa þa lengran antifenas singende gan to þære heafodcyrican and ætforan þære dura geanbidigen oþ þæt þa cild, þe þider forð eoden singan: *Gloria, laus*.<sup>72</sup>

In this section, references to ‘children’ allow us to read its prescriptions in a way which understands that they could have been intended to include ‘girls’. These vernacular prescriptions could therefore have expected girls to participate in a similar index of biblical associations, and could have allowed them to animate biblical figures, like the Hebraic boys who welcomed Jesus into Jerusalem. The section of the vernacular *Regularis Concordia* which covers Palm Sunday, and which expected ‘children’ to sing *Gloria laus* alone, apart from the rest of the seniors in the ‘choir’ and from within the church, could also allow us to imagine that girls might have been informed by school-based dynamics of performance, and could act as and identify with their own liturgical community too.<sup>73</sup>

One of our two surviving fragmentary copies which contains prescriptions for more dramatic liturgical events such as *Tenebrae*, on Maundy Thursday, may even be capable of telling us about a parallel of selectivity in the liturgy of women’s houses. In the same way that the Latin text had designated (*destinati*) six *pueri* to perform different parts in couplets – the *Kyrieleison* (sic), *Christeleison* (sic), *Domine miserere nobis* – from different locations, to the south, north, and west of the choir or church (pp. 132-133), so also the vernacular fragment appears to have required the same

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<sup>72</sup> Zupitza, ‘Ein weiteres Bruchstück’, pp. 3-4: ‘After these things, and once the children have begun the antiphon: *Pueri Hebreorum*, the palm-twigs may be dealt out, and then, while singing the longer antiphons, [all should] go up to the main church and wait there in front of the doors until the children, who are to have gone in ahead of them, sing: *Gloria, laus*’ (my translation).

<sup>73</sup> Zupitza, ‘Ein weiteres Bruchstück’, pp. 3-4.

number of six ‘children’ to perform the same liturgical parts, once the lights had been put out:

Acwuncenum eallum leohtum gan twa cild welgestemned and to þam foresceawode to þan suðportice mid gedremum swege singan hludre stefne: *Kyrieleison*, and gelice þa oðre twa on þam norðportice singan þus andswariende: *Christeleison*, and on þæm westheowage syn twegen on maran ylde, þe þis singen: *Domine, miserere nobis*. þisum geendedum andswarige eal chor: *Christus Dominus factus est*.<sup>74</sup>

The fragment attests to the survival of observances which had first been articulated by Æthelwold in the *Regularis Concordia* of c.966x70, but this section reveals two changes which may have been important to the religious children who encountered it in a late tenth or eleventh century context. The first of these occurs in relation to the positions in which the ‘children’ were expected to stand. Unlike the Latin *Regularis Concordia*, which focussed on dividing boys between the left and right-hand ‘parts’ of the choir or church (pp. 132-133), the vernacular *Regularis Concordia* does not confirm the arrangement of these two groupings. The author(s) of the vernacular copy appear(s) instead to have allowed an arrangement similar to Abbot Ælfric in his *Epistula ad monachos*, which – as we have seen previously (pp. 136-138) – had referred to the use of church portici (*porticus*) instead.

Another difference visible here is perhaps more significant, however, and takes the form of an addition which expected that the last two individuals who were to stand to

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<sup>74</sup> Zupitza, ‘Ein weiteres Bruchstück’, p. 6: ‘Once all the lights have been put out, two children with clear voices should go to the places previously shown them, that is, to the south-porticus, and with a melodious tune and a loud voice sing: *Kyrie eleison*, and likewise another two should sing at the north-porticus, thus responding: *Christe eleison*, and to the west of them there should be two of older age, who sing this: *Domine, miserere nobis*. Once all this has been completed, the whole choir will respond: *Christus dominus factus est*’ (my translation).

the west of the choir or church and sing *Domine miserere nobis*, should also be ‘older’ (*syn on maran ylde*). This detail is unique. It does not appear in any other copy of either the Latin or vernacular *Regularis Concordia*, or, indeed, we might add, in Ælfric of Eynsham’s *Epistula ad monachos*. This makes it difficult to understand quite what the author might have intended, but two possibilities would seem likely. One, for example, could understand that the observances of the *Regularis Concordia* had moved closer to Ælfric’s Latin customary, the *Epistula ad monachos*, requiring adult brethren or *fratres* to take up the final *Domine miserere nobis*. But the passage also differs from Ælfric’s consuetudinary. Instead of requiring two *fratres* to contribute, this copy would also seem likely to have required six ‘children’ like the original Latin *Regularis Concordia*, expecting that two of those children would need to be recognisably older or ‘of greater age’ than the others, and suggesting that Maundy Thursday might have even given visibility to individuals of different ages in the child-choir.

For all these signs of adjustment, however, and as much as we might consider that girls’ practices are represented here, it is also the case that we simply cannot know if and how far this evidence intersects with their liturgical practices in distinction to boys. This means that we can only attempt to check some of these ideas by turning to alternative sources which describe liturgical activity in communities of Benedictine women. The *Liber Confortatorius* and hagiographic lives of Goscelin of Saint Bertin, for example, portray choirs as important frameworks for the development of a communal identity in women’s houses. Indeed, Goscelin’s writings on the community of Barking Abbey describe the layout of its choir space, and point to its confined but divided structure, indicating the presence of ‘seats’ (*sedes*), and noting that the tombs

of former abbesses were kept ‘in the middle of the choir’ (*in medio choro*) so that they could be ‘embraced’ by the liturgical community (*Beata Wulfhilda...cum beata Æthelburga amplectantur choream*).<sup>75</sup> These works suggest that girls’ liturgical communities at Barking, like its school, were physically arranged in ways which approximated structures we have seen described in the *Regularis Concordia* (pp. 61-62) – that is, that girls could be arranged into two manageable groups, and these sources suggest that the choir space was likely an important environment for girls’ development of the idea of religious sisterhood too, forcing them into a space which ensured physical proximity with both their current and also their past sisters in religion.

Goscelin’s *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, or ‘Life of the Holy Virgin Eadgyth’ may also allow us to account for areas of girls’ extra-liturgical activities in ways that are not obvious in the prescriptive record, such as cloth-working. We find evidence of girls’ and women’s engagement in liturgical craft, for example, in a section where he recorded the survival of an alb, a ritual vestment which could be worn by those in clerical orders, and which he claimed had been crafted by Saint Eadgyth of Wilton herself:

Sunt et aliae benignae caritatis eius reliquiae. Inter quae fecerat ibi ex bisso candidissimo albam, exemplar innocentie suae, praestantissimam auro, gemmis, margaritis ac perulis Angligenis a summo contextam, secundum fidem suam auream et sinceritatem gemmeam, circa pedes aureas apostolorum

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<sup>75</sup> Goscelin, *Translatio Sancte Wulfhilde*, in ‘Texts of Jocelyn of Canterbury’, ed. Colker, p. 433: ‘Beata Wulfhilda ad dextrum latus altaris...cum beata Æthelburga in medio choro suam amplectantur choream et tota aeclesia’; trans. Vera Morton and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, *Guidance for Women in Twelfth-Century Convents* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 150: ‘The blessed Wulfhild was placed at the right side of the altar, with the blessed Æthelburh in the middle of the chancel embraced by her choir and the church’; see also Goscelin, *Uisio Abbatisse Ælfgive*, in ‘Texts of Jocelyn of Canterbury’, ed. Colker, p. 454: ‘Chorus circa eam [tumbam] psallentium grauabatur artiori loco. Nam uix poterat transiri inter sedes canentium te uirginis mausoleum’; trans. Morton and Wogan-Browne, *Guidance for Women*, p. 154: ‘The choir singing around the tomb was oppressed by the narrowness of the space. For it was scarcely possible to pass between the seats of the singers and the tomb of the virgin’.

ymagines Dominum circumstantes, Dominum medium  
assidentem se uice suplicis Mariae affusam, dominica uestigia  
exosculantem.<sup>76</sup>

Whether or not it was actually a product of Eadgyth is something of a moot question. For us, it is sufficient that Goscelin – who was at least in a more convenient place to judge – accepted her skill-set in the crafting of an alb. Insofar as Goscelin saw Eadgyth’s alb as a product of her life-long religious formation at Wilton from the age of two, and an ‘example of her innocence’ (*exemplar innocentie suae*) by the time of her death at around age thirty, we can also see that he had assumed that the alb represented her “Agency” and her acquisition and expression of skills which other young women like Eadgyth might have acquired over the course of their religious upbringing at Wilton.

Aside from the clear religious content of the embroidery which he found, Goscelin’s record of this alb suggests that religious women like Eadgyth had the capacity to engage in their liturgical environments in a very individualised way.<sup>77</sup> In fact, Goscelin’s reference to an alb allows us to consider that girls used their craft skills to shape the liturgy. Indeed, it allows us to recognise that religious girls might have altered spaces of the sacred environment otherwise prohibited to them, confirming that religious girls and women participated in sacramental areas of liturgical activity more directly than is sometimes appreciated.

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<sup>76</sup> Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in ‘La légende de ste Èdith’, ed. Wilmart, p. 79; trans. Hollis et al., *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 48: ‘There are also other relics of her kindly love. Among these there is an alb which she made out of the whitest cotton, a symbol of her innocence, very striking with its gold, gems, pearls, and little English pearls, woven around the yoke in keeping with her golden faith and gem-like sincerity; around the feet, the golden images of the Apostles surrounding the Lord, the Lord sitting in the midst, and Edith herself prostrated in the place of Mary the supplicant, kissing the Lord’s footprints’.

<sup>77</sup> This emphasis, and the idea of women’s control and influence over religious objects has only recently been explored by Maureen Miller in her *Clothing the Clergy*, p. 172. There is clear evidence of the place of craft in a community of religious vowesses and young girls in the *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake, bk. ii, pp. 157-8.

If Goscelin's *Vita Sancte Edithe* is not sufficient in itself to confirm the significance of this dimension of engagement in a liturgical context, we may be able to return to the vernacular fragment of the *Regularis Concordia* as a potential supporting base of evidence for the place of fabric-working in liturgical dramas. One study, by Joyce Hill, has in fact already drawn attention to the place of craft in the context of this source in Anglo-Saxon liturgical practice, through a close examination of a fragmentary copy which prescribed for a dramatic routine intended to animate a biblical episode – the Rending of Christ's Garment – on Good Friday, after Nones.<sup>78</sup>

This section contains a little explained feminine modification which may be important to understanding how religious women related to this liturgical drama, however. This modification occurs in the form of an incipit of John 19:24, but the biblical incipit is not 'correct' in the context of this copy. Instead of requiring a deacon to read out the lesson as it appears in the Latin Vulgate: *Partiti sunt uestimenta mea*, or 'They [the men] have parted my garbs', the vernacular copy provided readers with a feminine form *Partit[a]e*. It appears therefore to have encouraged a lesson which replaced the male agency of the Latin Vulgate with an interpolated feminine agency, giving the reading *Partite sunt uestimenta mea*, or 'they [the women] have parted my garbs' instead.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Hill, 'Rending the Garment', pp. 53-64.

<sup>79</sup> Julius Zupitza recognised this feminine form, though he did not explain it, Zupitza, 'Ein weiteres Bruchstück', p. 16: 'Æt þære þrowunge anginne ne secge se diacon *Dominus uobiscum*, ac forðrihte, *Passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi*, secundum Iohannem and nan ne andswarige, *Gloria tibi, Domine*. Ponne mon ræde, *Partite sunt uestimenta mea*, þa twegen diaconas, þe standað on twa healfe þæs altares, toteon þæt getreagode hrægl, þe up on þam altare ligð under þære Cristes bec, on þæt gemet, þe þæs hælendes reaf todæled wæs, se abbod æfter þysum cweðe þa gewunelican *orationes*, þe æfter fyligeað.../At the beginning of the Passion, the deacon does not say *Dominus uobiscum*, but [says] forthrightly *Passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi*, according to John, and no one is to answer, *Gloria tibi, Domine*. When he reads, *Partite sunt uestimenta mea*, two deacons, who are to stand on the two halves of the altar, will divide up the sewn-together cloth which lay upon the altar under the Gospel book in the manner in which the Saviour's garb was divided, after these things, the abbot says the customary prayers, which follow after...' (my translation).

It is not entirely clear what this instance of a feminine adjustment expresses about the use and users of this text, and whether its significance should be confined to an unintentional scribal error, or whether it might represent something more deliberate. Since this adjustment appears never to have been corrected, we could explore the idea that the reading was acceptable or useful to its audience. On the surface, and without clearer access to its context, this reading allows us to ask whether religious girls and women were allowed to locate themselves in this drama. Indeed, it permits us to explore the possibility that it conveys how religious girls and women might have interacted with their liturgical services in similar ways to boys and men, and participated in dramatic services by imagining themselves as agents of biblical narratives.<sup>80</sup>

Joyce Hill's study has also drawn attention to another addition present in this copy, however, requiring that a cloth should be constituted of at least two pieces 'sewn-up together' (*þæt getreagod hrægl*) so that they could be torn apart more dramatically once a deacon had recited *Partite sunt* (etc.).<sup>81</sup> It should be noted that this addition does not reveal any evidence of feminine word forms, and Joyce Hill's study does not recognise any feminine form or make any specific judgements about the connection this ritual may have had to a female audience.<sup>82</sup> Indeed, it may not relate to them, and could owe its origins as part of a seamless vernacular translation which she has suggested had been

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<sup>80</sup> Zupitza, 'Ein weiteres Bruchstück', p. 16; John 19:24.

<sup>81</sup> Hill, 'Rending the Garment', 57-60; for this section, see Zupitza, 'Ein weiteres Bruchstück', 16.

<sup>82</sup> Hill, 'Rending the Garment', 59-60: 'The meaning of gestures was usually poly valent, associative, variable from one observer to another, it is possible that other allusions instead or in addition were perceived by those watching [...] the actors who rend the garment are deacons who are within the sanctuary [...] no women could emulate this, and indeed their opportunities for dramatising the liturgy were more limited than those of men because there was so much of the liturgy which they could not perform'.

carefully produced by a grammatically competent scribe.<sup>83</sup> Be that as it may, however, the addition here allows us, even if only on a notional level, to think about its place in a framework of modifications which include *Partite* and which we might connect to a female audience. There are good reasons for why we might gain from an attempt to establish a connection between the evidence for a sewn-up cloth and a female audience of course. We have already seen above that Goscelin associated the working of textiles with communities of religious girls and/or women (pp. 157-158). This section could also allow us to connect a feminine reading of Gospel scripture (i.e. *Partitae*) with a context of sewing, and so could provide an opportunity to consider how religious might have contributed to their liturgical activities in corresponding ways. To be clear, we cannot be certain of these connections, not by any means. But these sources, both this fragmentary copy of the *Regularis Concordia* and Goscelin's *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, provide grounds for thinking about the role of sewing and craft in girls' liturgical development, and they allow us to consider that young girls might have been expected to contribute crafts to liturgical dramas along a similar scale of proficiency, extending from tacking pieces of cloth to designing and completing richly embroidered albs.

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<sup>83</sup> Hill, 'Rending the Garment', 55-6: 'In its origins then, this translation gives us an insight into life in a reformed monastery probably in the 980s or 990s [...] a copy of the translation was acquired by a reformed house of female religious who adapted it – not entirely systematically – for their own use by occasional interlineations and by marginalia which were then incorporated into the body of the text, whether by the scribe of CCCC 201 or by a predecessor [...] The incorporations are often awkward in terms of grammar and syntax – which is why I am sure they are additions later than the translation itself...the translator was far too careful to have allowed such disturbances of the Old English text'.

### Chapter Three: Education and Literacy

Scholarship on monastic education is vast, but in many ways, it remains concerned with fundamental questions about the nature of experience in religious instruction. It continues to question whether it is appropriate to think of monastic education in terms which are perhaps most familiar to us today, as ‘curricular’ and ‘programmatic’. It explores the importance of educational environments, like ‘classrooms’, and asks how far experiences of monastic instruction were aural-, or reading-based, dependent on books, or on memory, dependent on teachers and formal instruction, and it asks whether it was teleological in nature, or was more variable.<sup>1</sup> Michael Lapidge is perhaps one of the most significant contributors to this subject, and his extensive assessments of the nature of monastic education necessarily provide directions to consider here. Lapidge’s studies have judged that boys’ educations in Anglo-Saxon England constituted of two *foci* with mutually reinforcing objectives.<sup>2</sup> The first of these centred on an illiterate stage of elementary instruction, focussing on preparing boys for the choir. His studies consider that boys could experience a secondary type, centring on learning to read Latin and on acquiring knowledge useful to engaging on a deeper level with the Latin liturgy and to understanding Latin texts in general. Lapidge has argued that when a monastic boy completed a certain enabling measure of grammatical instruction, he reached a cross-roads, and at this stage, and depending on ability and on the availability of books and

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<sup>1</sup> For some authorities on pre-Conquest monastic curricula, see Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600-899: I* (London, 1996), pp. 2-4; David Porter, ‘The Latin Syllabus in Anglo-Saxon Monastic Schools’, *Neophilologus*, 78 (1991), pp. 463-82; Patrizia Lendinara, ‘Instructional Manuscripts in England: The Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Codices and the Early Norman Ones’, in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence: Papers Presented at the International Conference, Udine, 6-8 April 2006*, ed. Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari, and Maria A. D’Aronco (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 59-113.

<sup>2</sup> See the entry on ‘Schools’, in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Lapidge, Michael, John Blair, Simon Keynes, and Donald Scragg (rev. ed., Chichester, 2014), pp. 421-3, esp. pp. 421-2: ‘It can be deduced that the young oblate was set first to memorising the Psalter, [...] As progress in Latin continued, the somewhat more difficult poetic texts of the late antique curriculum [...] would be studied, perhaps in a graded sequence of difficulty’.

teachers, could either have been expected to advance into the study of metrical and poetic texts, or would have been allowed to turn to settle into a less ambitious pattern of study of scripture and patristic authorities instead.

Past studies have left significant gaps in our understanding, however. For one, scholarship has shown remarkably little interest to connect a picture of formal Latin learning with boys' education in systems of religious thought. For another, greater attention by scholars on education in pre-Conquest houses has often meant that there is a lack of historiographical coverage on the same areas of monastic education in Benedictine houses after the Norman Conquest. Indeed, it is also often because studies have focussed on setting down a picture of Anglo-Saxon literacy, and because academics have been concerned with studying the most intellectually impressive individuals, that researchers have not given as much attention to the formative role of elementary areas of education or drawn attention to the significance of evidence for illiteracy.

Sadly, the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* offers little ground for building a view of monastic instruction. It provided next to no guidance for any dedicated environment of education, no formal programme of instruction, and no need for dedicated instructors. In fact, it contained only references to reading which appear to concern senior brethren; when they could be allowed to study in private, and how books should be distributed to the senior monastic community at the beginning of Lent.<sup>3</sup> Only chapter 45 of the *Regula*, which

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<sup>3</sup> RSB, c. 48, pp. 160-3: The *Regula* appears to allow three periods in the day for reading from Easter to October (after Tierce and until Sext: 'Ab hora autem quarta usque hora quasi sexta agent lectioni uacent/From the fourth hour until almost the sixth they should be free', after the main meal: 'Qui uoluerit legere sibi sic legat/Those who want to read to themselves should do so', and before Vespers: 'Agatur nona [...] iterum quod faciendum est operentur usque ad uesperam/None should be done [...] and again they should work at whatever is needed until Vespers'), two periods from October to Lent

we have encountered in relation to both discipline (pp. 56-61, 108-109) and the liturgy (pp. 124-125), and which assigned corporal punishment to *infantes* who made a mistake in the recitation of ‘a psalm, responsory, or antiphon’ in a choir, intersects with education and provides for an expectation that religious children were to acquire a functional degree of Latin literacy by memorising texts which were proper to the performance of those duties.<sup>4</sup>

### **Anglo-Saxon England: Boyhood**

As we have seen in chapters one and two (pp. 56-61, 124-125), Anglo-Saxon copies of the *Old English Rule* and glosses added to one copy of the Latin *Regula* obscure the presence of ‘infants’ and appear even to reveal some discordance. These differences reveal themselves in contemporary responses made to chapter 45 of the *Regula*, and in changes made to rules which suggest that learning of Latin chants was important either to ‘young persons’ or to ‘children’ (or both, if this terminology was interchangeable).<sup>5</sup> As we have seen too (pp. 60-61, 125), Æthelwold’s *Regularis Concordia* provided just one reference to *infantes* who were expected to enter the church before Tierce and perform the Latin texts which were integral to the *Trina Oratio*. Nonetheless, we have

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(between Prime and Tierce: ‘Usque in hora secunda plena lectioni uacent/They should be free for reading until the end of the second hour’, and after the main meal: ‘Post refectiorem autem uacent lectionibus suis aut psalmis/After the meal, they should be free for their reading or psalms’), and one period between Prime and Tierce which was allowed during Lent in addition to a general requirement that brethren read an entire book during any spare time (Accipiant omnes singulos codices de bibliotheca, quo ex integro legant/ Let each brother receive his own book from the library and read it through, in its entirety’).

<sup>4</sup> RSB, c. 45, pp. 154-5. For more on ‘scales of literacy’ and a discussion of what ‘literacy’ should and could be understood to mean in medieval contexts, see David. N. Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (Kalamazoo Mich, 1995), esp. p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> OERB, c. 45, lines 9-10, p. 71; *Rule of St. Benet: Latin and Anglo-Saxon*, ed. Logeman, c. 45, p. 79.

considered that the imprecision of its vocabulary here prevents us from making facts of infant participation and educational experience at this stage.<sup>6</sup>

There is more evidence in prescriptive and pedagogic sources, however, to suggest that ‘school’ communities played a role in shaping the lives of boys in Benedictine houses. Intersecting with evidence already seen in chapter one (pp. 68-71), we have noted that the *Regularis Concordia* and Ælfric’s *Epistula ad monachos* referred to boys (*pueri*) as the youngest group of individuals who were expected to participate in a *schola* structure, and they seem to refer too to groups of *magistri* and, in the case of Eynsham, to a single dedicated *magister*, who may have acted as cantor as well as a disciplinarian (*magistri/magister scholae uel cantor*).<sup>7</sup> We have also seen, however, that neither consuetudinary provides the kinds of information which would have been useful to understanding the *schola*, and to understanding what, how, and when ‘boys’ might have been expected to study (pp. 70-71). The *Regularis Concordia* seems to allow up to three periods for private reading each day in its summer and winter cycles, after Nocturns, after Prime, and after the main meal of the day, but these occasions were directed at ‘brethren’ (*fratres*) rather than boys, and so it is only to the extent that these occasions reveal an educational routine of sorts that they allow us to imagine that boys’ conditions corresponded to them in some way.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> RC, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> For all references to the *schola*, see RC, pp. 8, 14, 16, 18. EME, pp. 110-1, 126-7, 134-5.

<sup>8</sup> RC, pp. 15: ‘Quibus finitis uacent fratres lectioni usque ad horam secundam/When these are finished the brethren shall give themselves to reading until the second hour’, 21-2 ‘Surgentes a mensa uacent lectioni aut psalmis/Rising up from the meal, they shall give themselves to reading or to the psalms’, 26 ‘Nocturnali peracto officio [...] fratribus psalmodiae deditis uel lectioni/When that Office (Nocturns) is over [...] the brethren being intent on psalms or, as they require it, reading’, 27 ‘Post haec egrediantur ecclesiam atque in lectione sacra animae profectum meditentur/They shall then leave the church and meditate on holy reading for the profit of their souls’.

If the *Regularis Concordia* did not provide overt guidance on the instruction of boys, we can perhaps work from an assumption, informed by the *Regularis Concordia* and evidence seen in chapter two, that boys' earliest experiences of Latin instruction were connected with memorising the liturgical Latin texts which that document directly associated with boys' performances in choir. Contemporary saints' lives provide evidence of a similar emphasis of study, and imply that religious boys were routinely expected to engage in a process of memorising sequences based on the contents of sacred texts, like the Latin Psalter.<sup>9</sup> The author 'B', writing his tenth-century *Vita Sancti Dunstani* pointed to this liturgical focus in his near contemporary portrait of Dunstan's boyhood at Glastonbury Abbey (c.910x25).<sup>10</sup> Indeed, some hagiographic writings, and particularly those which describe contemporary educational conditions with a more idiosyncratic and reflective detail, such as Wulfstan Cantor of Winchester's (c.960-1000) *Narratio de Sancto Swithuno*, suggest that boys' experiences of sacred text involved encounters with a wide variety of Latin liturgical text useful to church services, and so much so that Wulfstan characterised his own boyhood at Winchester in terms of preparing for saints' festivals and spending entire days praising God with sacred hymns.<sup>11</sup>

As we have also seen in chapter one (pp. 72-75), in relation to the emergence of a corpus of dialogue-based Latin school-texts in late Anglo-Saxon England, the contemporary

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<sup>9</sup> Hardin-Brown, 'The Psalms as the Foundation', pp. 1-24. For an edition of ink-based Old English glosses to the first fifty psalms, see Phillip Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters: Psalms 1-50* (Toronto, 2001).

<sup>10</sup> 'B', *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, in *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 14-5: 'Pueri dunstani parentes sacris eum litterarum otis curiose contulerunt /His devout parents took care to give the boy Dunstan the leisure to devote to Sacred Letters'.

<sup>11</sup> Wulfstan Cantor, *Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno*, in *Frithegod's Monachi Breuiloquium Vitae Beati Wilfredi et Wulfstani Cantoris Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno*, ed. Alistair Campbell (Zurich, 1950) II, pp. 256-65: Wulfstan describes what he and his peers recited on the day of the translation of St. Swithun, 15<sup>th</sup> July 971 and recalled that 'Diem totum sacris expendimus ymnis laudentes dominum/we spent the entire day praising God with sacred hymns'.

record strongly implies that boys were also eventually expected to advance beyond a functional degree of Latin literacy by learning Latin grammar and becoming independent users of Latin. Byrhtferth, a well-known schoolteacher of Ramsey Abbey (fl.986-1016), tells us this much in his early eleventh century school-text on lunar calculation, the *Enchiridion*. His description of a monastic education at Ramsey in c.1010 illustrates that the source base for boys' experience of grammatical learning was determined at some houses by a variety of sources. We see this in the *Enchiridion*, for example, where Byrhtferth remarked that at least some of his students had acquired their understanding of Latin grammar on the bases of two grammatical primers, one, which he disclosed as having been composed by 'Sergius', and which we might speculate was his commentary on Ælius Donatus's *Ars minor de octo partibus orationis* (henceforth, *Ars Minor*; lit. 'A minor work on the eight parts of speech') (fl.450), and another, which he described simply as 'by Priscian' (fl.500), and which perhaps referred to his *Institutio de nomine et uerbo* – a digest of rules on Latin nouns and verbs.<sup>12</sup>

We also know that Ælfric of Eynsham composed a new school-text on Latin grammar at the end of the tenth century, the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice*.<sup>13</sup> This text was informed by educational practices at the Old Minster of Winchester, and it provides us with a much more useful source of evidence for boys' courses of learning of elementary grammar in a pre-Conquest context.<sup>14</sup> The *Excerptiones de arte grammatica*

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<sup>12</sup> Byrhtferth, *Enchiridion*, ed. Peter Baker and Michael Lapidge, EETS s.s. 15 (Oxford, 1995), pp. 120-1. Helmut Gneuss argues that Worcester Cathedral Library MS Q.5 which contains a copy of the *Institutio de nomine* was an educational compendium, Gneuss, *Handlist*, nos. 765, p. 114. There are only two other known copies of this work which survive from Anglo-Saxon libraries, see Gneuss, *Handlist*, nos. 326 (p. 63), 809.9 (p. 122).

<sup>13</sup> For a date of composition in the last decade of the tenth century, see Clemoes, Peter, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of Their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickens*, ed. Peter Clemoes (London, 1959), pp. 212-47.

<sup>14</sup> For the critical edition which I use here, see Julius Zupitza, *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar: I Text und Varianten* (Berlin, 1880), or EGA.

*anglice* is most useful to us in this chapter, however, and is perhaps more significant to our understanding of Anglo-Saxon monastic educational practice because it would appear, on the basis of some fourteen complete or fragmentary manuscript copies which survive from before c.1150, to have attracted a wider transmission than any other known contemporary school-text.<sup>15</sup> Its contents would also appear to be highly representative of contemporary pedagogic intentions beyond the confines of teaching grammar. As we have noted briefly in chapter one on discipline (p. 77), Ælfric had addressed and designed the text for an audience of ‘uneducated boys’, ‘tender young boys’ and ‘young children’ (*inscientes pueruli/ pueruli tenelli/geong cild*) and so its contents would appear to offer an opportunity to explore courses of Latin learning that shaped boys from an early age.<sup>16</sup>

Like most pedagogic texts of this period, the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* was not what we could call an ‘original’ work. Scholars such as Vivien Law have shown that Ælfric had depended for his structure and much of his Latin content on a small body of pre-existing Latin grammars, including Donatus’ *Ars Minor*, and, most notably, a grammar known to us as the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, a text which was probably of continental and Carolingian origin, and which represented an earlier attempt to digest a handful of advanced Late Antique school-texts on Latin grammar by Priscian, chiefly his *Institutio de nomine, pronomine et uerbo* and his *Institutiones Grammaticae*.<sup>17</sup> Vivien Law has previously illustrated that Ælfric’s *Excerptiones de arte grammatica*

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<sup>15</sup> Ælfric notes his use of the *Excerptiones de Prisciano* in his preface EGA, pp. 1-3. For extant copies, see Gneuss, *Handlist*, nos. 13, 115, 182, 244, 331, 336, 414, 435, 441, 480, 494, 541, 868, 876.

<sup>16</sup> EGA, pp. 1-2 (my translations).

<sup>17</sup> For more on the place of Priscian’s *Institutiones Grammaticae* in this grammar, see Vivien Law, ‘Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric’s *Excerptiones de Arte Grammatica Anglice*’, *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* 9 (1987), pp. 51-5. For a critical edition of the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, see David. W. Porter, *Excerptiones de Prisciano: The Source for Ælfrics Latin-Old English Grammar* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 31-3.

*anglice* departed from the *Excerptiones de Prisciano* and that Ælfric adjusted his exemplar thoroughly, introducing a large number of original elements.<sup>18</sup> But no one has previously undertaken a complete examination of these divergences, and for anyone who undertakes a line by line comparison of the *Excerptiones de Prisciano* and Ælfric's *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice*, it will quickly become clear why – Ælfric's changes are so great in number that they deserve a study of their own.<sup>19</sup>

Many of the adjustments are perhaps not entirely worthwhile exploring in our present context even; most are subtle, and involve everything from Ælfric's quiet decisions to reorder sentences and paragraphs to his introduction of new material.<sup>20</sup> Many of Ælfric's choices in crafting his *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* reveal an intention to ensure that his school-text was more consistent than his exemplar(s). They show that he felt it necessary to abbreviate overly lengthy areas of the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, removing much (though certainly not all) of its Greek-derived Latin nouns and verbs. They also reveal a concern to balance his material. Ælfric added significantly to areas which had either attracted little or no coverage in the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, such as the morphology of all verb conjugations and each of their active, passive, and

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<sup>18</sup> Law, 'Ælfric's "Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice"', pp. 56-8.

<sup>19</sup> Law, 'Ælfric's "Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice"', pp. 47-71. Vivien Law noted that such a comparison would be necessary: 'any attempt to assess the extent of Aelfric's (sic) Christianising activities must begin by comparing his text with that of the Excerptiones', see her 'Ælfric's "Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice"', p. 58.

<sup>20</sup> For an example of a doctoral study which has perhaps come closest to achieving a comparison between Ælfric's school-text and the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, see Jeannine M. Bender-Davis, 'Ælfric's Techniques of Translation and Adaptation as Seen in the Composition of his Old English Latin Grammar', *Ph.D. Dissertation, Pennsylvania State University* (1985), pp. 233-41: '[Ælfric] transformed the original [source-text] from a text intended primarily for use by readers completely familiar with the Latin language, to a text equally accessible to those not familiar with that language...he rearranges material...providing illustrations...and completely reorganizes the material [on conjugation], conveying the same general concepts but presenting them in a way less confusing for those not familiar with the language. [...] He deletes material of a more technical nature than he thinks will benefit students...he consistently adds examples...[and] Ælfric seems to have taken the greatest liberties...to supply an explanation of a concept or grammatical term or form which the student simply could not do without'.

deponent forms, and he expanded on areas which might have presented particular difficulty to young speakers of Old English, such as a Latin grammatical meta-language.<sup>21</sup>

Ælfric's choices can also be explained in terms of an intention to ensure that the school-text was relatable, and would function in an Anglo-Saxon religious context. We can see this in very specific areas which have previously attracted scholars' attention, and where Ælfric introduced into his Latin school-text references to historical Anglo-Saxon figures such as King Penda and the monk Bede, and more contemporary figures, such as King Edgar, Archbishop Dunstan, and Bishop Æthelwold.<sup>22</sup> But we can see these intentions underlying the text as a whole, and, indeed, we can connect references to Edgar, Dunstan, and Æthelwold with a body of references to the offices which those figures held. References to *rex* and to *episcopus* and *praesul* (which Ælfric equated with *bisceop*/bishop) reveal an intention to ensure that the school-text enabled discussion about those offices, for example, and may even have served to reinforce an awareness in boys of the significance of the monastic reform with which those three figures were associated.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Ælfric used Donatus' verbal paradigms, *amo doceo, lego* for the active and passive instead of those provided by the *Excerptiones*, On the Verb, Ælfric disagreed with Priscian and agreed with Donatus instead, Ælfric referred back to Donatus at several locations, including in his chapter *de Figura* (i.e. 'Donatus telð gyt ma to ðisum, *ni, nisi, sed*/Donatus says yet more on these matters in relation to *ni, nisi and sed*'), see EGA, pp. 87, pp. 119, 147-52, 190, 262; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 7, p. 180, c. 84, p. 224, c. 20, p. 286.

<sup>22</sup> Vivien Law has also argued that the grammatical school-text offers the scholar a 'rich quarry of material' and can and should be approached 'as an unconscious' source of historical information, see Law, 'Ælfric's "Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice"', pp. 56-9. Vivien Law, *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1997), pp. 15-6; see also Vivien Law, 'The Study of Grammar', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 88-110.

<sup>23</sup> EGA, p. 15 'Penda, Pending, Pendingas'; EGA, p. 15 'Hic Beda'; EGA, pp. 8-9 'Eadgarus, Adelwoldus...rex cyning, episcopus bisceop...hwa lærde þe?...þonne cweðe ic Dunstan...Hwa hadode de?...he me hadode/Edgar, Æthelwold, King, bishop...who taught you?...then I say Dunstan...who ordained you?...he ordained me' (my translation). For examples of Ælfric's introduction of words related to *rex* and *episcopus*, see and compare these passages of the *Grammar* with the relevant section of the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*: EGA, p. 21 'Huius episcopi'; *Excerptiones*,

While I draw on the very significant researches of Jeanine Bender-Davis and David Porter, both of which have drawn attention to and discussed the nature of some of Ælfric's additions, my own direct comparison of the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica* with the *Excerptiones de Prisciano* has allowed me to extend on those studies, exploring how Ælfric updated the terms and names present in the *Excerptiones* in view of teaching boys.<sup>24</sup> It is on this basis that I argue that Ælfric updated terms elsewhere in his school-text for similar reasons. These less explored areas include, for example, occasions where he replaced references to *Titheius*, *Orpheus*, *Odysseus*, and *Oleus* in two sections on proper nouns ending in –us and on vocative nouns ending in –ius, giving boys the examples of *Martinus*, *Benedictus*, *Augustinus* and *Laurentius*, *Dionisius*, and *Mauricius* instead.

Indeed, my comparison has revealed that Ælfric crafted his school-text in order to introduce vocabulary which he appears to have thought would have been particularly useful to boys in a Benedictine environment, playing a role in shaping boys' understanding of community and of religious behaviour and status as well as improving their knowledge of important religious objects and concepts.<sup>25</sup> These include the

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p. 102; EGA, p. 39 'Praesul, bisceop, praesulis, bisceopes'; *Excerptiones*, c. 206, p. 114; EGA, p. 48 'Rex, regina'; *Excerptiones*, c. 219, p. 118; EGA, p. 116 'rex'; *Excerptiones*, c. 48, p. 180; EGA, p. 117 'Qualis est rex? Nescio quails est rex'; *Excerptiones*, c. 48, p. 180; EGA, p. 127 'Rex equitat, episcopus docet'; *Excerptiones*, c. 52, p. 206; EGA, p. 173 'Rex cyning þe rihtlice wissað his folce'; *Excerptiones*, c. 104, p. 236; EGA, p. 231 'Adest episcopa...ecce uenit rex'; *Excerptiones*, c. 56, p. 264; EGA: p. 258 'David rex'; *Excerptiones*, c. 1, p. 280; EGA: p. 272 'De rege loquitur episcopus'; *Excerptiones*, c. 44, p. 302.

<sup>24</sup> Jeannine M. Bender-Davis, 'Ælfric's Techniques of Translation and Adaptation as Seen in the Composition of his Old English Latin Grammar', *Ph.D. Dissertation, Pennsylvania State University* (1985); David W. Porter, *Excerptiones de Prisciano: The Source for Ælfrics Latin-Old English Grammar* (Cambridge, 2002).

<sup>25</sup> Compare EGA, pp. 29 and 32; *Excerptiones*, c. 185, p. 106 and p. 108; EGA, p. 111; *Excerptiones*, c. 37, p. 174. For new references to *magister* see EGA, pp. 23-4 (several), 241, 280

addition of community-focussed terms such as *socius*, *frater*, *aternitas*,<sup>26</sup> and they include too interrogative sentences cast in a style similar to Latin school-texts that took the form of dialogues, such as *quotus es in ordine monachorum?* which seem likely to have nudged students into developing an awareness of their own status as monks.<sup>27</sup> They also include references, such as we find in a list on *temporalia*, which introduced church-specific jargon of Greek origin, such as *ebdomada* (i.e. *εβδομάδα*),<sup>28</sup> *ydropicus* (water-bearer) and *ydria* (water-vessel) (from *ὕδωρ*, ‘water’),<sup>29</sup> and terms which seem likely to have been included in order to enable boys to describe holy-water and which, along with Ælfric’s introduction of *haec turibula, pas storcyllan*, (i.e. ‘thurible’ or ‘censer’), equipped students with an apparatus of words important to paraphernalia used in liturgical processions and ritual services.<sup>30</sup>

Ælfric also appears to have deliberately introduced exemplifying sentences relating to corporal punishment. We have seen some of these before of course, in relation to chapter one (pp. 77-80), but these references belong to a much larger body, and include references to areas of experience which recognise, remind, and also serve to threaten Latin students about corporal punishment, such as *hos pueros flagello* and *percutere te uolo uirga*.<sup>31</sup> We see references of a much wider variety of forms too and these included terms which also intersect with and reinforce the significance of monastic prescriptions on discipline. We find this in a section on prepositions, for example, where Ælfric had introduced the phrase *secundum regulam uiuo, æfter regole ic lybbe* (‘I live according

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<sup>26</sup> EGA, p. 17; *Excerptiones*, p. 84.

<sup>27</sup> EGA, p. 117: ‘How high are you within the order of monks?’; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 48, p. 180.

<sup>28</sup> EGA, p. 14; *Excerptiones*, pp. 66-7.

<sup>29</sup> EGA, p. 68; *Excerptiones*, c. 259, p. 128.

<sup>30</sup> EGA, p. 90; *Excerptiones*, c. 356, p. 156; and also EGA, p. 90; *Excerptiones*, c. 356, p. 156.

<sup>31</sup> See EGA, pp. 23-4: ‘I [shall] beat these boys’; EGA, p. 169: ‘I want to beat you with the rod’; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 101, p. 234.

to a rule'), in order to nudge boys into accepting a similar view of documents like the *Regula Benedicti* and *Regularis Concordia* as sources of personal and collective regulation.<sup>32</sup> On a section on adverbs, we can see that Ælfric introduced material reinforcing the significance of boys' conditions and experiences of the liturgy. These include a paradigmatic sentence, *humiliter precatur, eadmodlice he bit* (lit. 'he prayed humbly') which drew upon the role of prayer and an index of ritual gestures.<sup>33</sup> These moments include Ælfric's introduction of paradigmatic sentences, such as *O pueri cantate bene* (Oh boys, sing well!), and his introduction of *sallio vel psallo, ic singe mine sealmas* (lit. 'I sing my psalms') in a section on verbs ending on -io.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, they include his introduction of paradigmatic sentences exemplifying uses of the preposition in-, such as *introibo in domum tuam, domine, ic gange in to ðinum huse, drihten*.<sup>35</sup> In each of these occasions, and on many others, Ælfric's additions reveal an intention to transform the contents of his Carolingian exemplar, and ensure that his own school-text intersected with boys' own disciplinary, liturgical, and educational experiences.<sup>36</sup>

Research into this school-text undertaken by Jeanine Bender-Davis and Leslie Lockett has also recognised that the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglie* provides evidence of areas of doctrinal instruction which Ælfric anticipated that boys would need to interiorise.<sup>37</sup> Leslie Lockett's ground-breaking study on *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies* has drawn particular attention to the fact that Ælfric's works contained theologically significant material and introduced readers to ideas on the substance of souls, heavenly

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<sup>32</sup> EGA, p. 270; *Excerptiones*, c. 40, p. 300.

<sup>33</sup> EGA, p. 223; *Excerptiones*, c. 2, p. 248.

<sup>34</sup> EGA, p. 192: 'I [shall] sing my psalms'; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 122, p. 242.

<sup>35</sup> See EGA, p. 273; *Excerptiones* c. 54, p. 306; Ps. 5:8 'I will come into thy house, [O Lord]'.  
<sup>36</sup> EGA, p. 273; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 53, p. 306.

<sup>37</sup> For recognition of similar content which instructs readers on the concept of penitence, sin, church doctrine and desirable religious behaviours and her consideration of these in terms of Ælfric's teaching intentions, see Jeannine W. Bender-Davis, 'Ælfric's Techniques of Translation and Adaptation', pp. 233-248, esp. pp. 241-46.

bodies and beings, and on the substantiality of the Eucharistic sacrifice.<sup>38</sup> Lockett has located part of this intention, for example, through a study of Ælfric's handling of grammatical material on 'substance' present in the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, and has shown that Ælfric had not only deliberately simplified what he found, but presented information on the nature of substance in a way that conformed to his own theological position.<sup>39</sup>

My own examination of the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica* reveals that Ælfric had intended his school-text to enable a far wider number of encounters with forms of conceptual learning, however. It reveals that that school-text had a capacity to shape student responses to areas of conceptual knowledge which were also more foundational, and related to boys' understanding of Christian faith. It is possible to recognise that Ælfric's work was intended to inform students about concepts of 'heaven' and 'hell' and even of sexual status, for example. We can recognise this potential in the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* where Ælfric introduced into his own school-text terms not present in the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, such *caelum*, *caelistis*, and terms which would seem to have had nudged boys into acquiring an understanding of Christian concepts such as 'heaven'.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, we can find this same context of conceptual learning in another location, where Ælfric introduced complementary terms such as *herebus*, *hell*. These seem likely to have been intended to play a supporting role,

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<sup>38</sup> See Leslie Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* (Toronto: University Press, 2011), p. 374: 'Ælfric of Eynsham pioneer[ed] the concept of the strictly incorporeal, unitary soul to a broad audience' and devoted himself (p. 402) 'to persuading his listeners that spiritual and imperceptible entities can also be real, and that the presence of Christ in the Eucharist is one such incorporeal reality'.

<sup>39</sup> Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, pp. 434-8, esp. pp. 437-8.

<sup>40</sup> EGA, p. 17; compare *Excerptiones*, c.118 p. 92; see also EGA, p. 31; *Excerptiones*, p. 108.

encouraging boys to interiorise ideas about the implications of two spheres of salvation and damnation.<sup>41</sup>

In a similar way, a comparison of the *Excerptiones de Prisciano* with Ælfric's own school-text allows us to see that Ælfric had introduced terms into his *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* which exemplified the 'chaste', the 'clean man' (*castus/clæne*) and 'chastity' (*castitas/clænnys*). These are terms for concepts which were likely valued by senior religious figures like Ælfric, and they are concepts which Ælfric might have considered important for an audience of pre-adolescent monastic boys too.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, Ælfric's introduction into his *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* of Latin nouns which were closely attached to ideals of bodily and ritual purity, and to a chaste and/or virginal status, appears only to have been reinforced further by Ælfric's use of an innovative bilingual apparatus. His use of the vernacular allowed him to expand further on a complex of Latin terms on chastity and, indeed, to explain in more detail the significance of nouns relating to chastity. We find this in his introduction of *hic, haec, et hoc cælebs, clæne oððe heofonlice*, for example, where Ælfric not only encouraged teachers and boys to assign to 'chastity' a positive value, but to associate chaste individuals on an etymological level with that which was 'heavenly' as well.<sup>43</sup>

As a road map of boys' learning, the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* also suggests that Latin instruction under Ælfric was intended to shape boys' literary identities and their understanding of and relationship with biblical scripture. I have

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<sup>41</sup> DOE: n. *hell*: 'hell'. EGA, p. 30; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 184, p. 106, where the *Excerptiones de Prisciano* only listed *abbisus* and *sinodus*. DOE: n. *hell*: 'hell'.

<sup>42</sup> EGA, p. 17; compare *Excerptiones*, n. 164, p. 100. DOE: adj. *clæne*: 'clean, free from defilement' with secondary meanings including 'pure, ceremonially or ritually cleansed, free from sin, chaste, celibate, virgin', n. *clænnys*: 'moral purity, freedom from sin' or more specifically 'chastity'.

<sup>43</sup> EGA, pp. 17, 37, 66; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 252, p. 128.

already noted above that Ælfric appears to have introduced into his school-text a number of references to singing, but it would seem equally important to recognise that Ælfric introduced material from the Psalter and Bible. Ælfric appears to have gone to considerable lengths to remove examples of classical Latin poetry which occurred in the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, and he replaced them with quotations and vernacular translations of quotations taken from the Psalter and from books of the Old and New Testament, including, most notably, the Gospels of Matthew and John. We can see this, for example, where Ælfric had introduced into his own school-text elements of the Psalter in a section on second conjugation verbs and the use of the preposition ‘in’ and ‘ad’ with the gerund in particular, citing psalm 125:1 (*in conuertendo dominus captiuitatem Sion, ad legendum*).<sup>44</sup> He also used psalm 40:11 (*tu autem, domine, miserere mei et resuscita me*) to demonstrate verbs which took the genitive as an object and, indeed, he further translated the psalm into Old English (i.e. ‘*þu soðlice, drihten, miltsa me and arær me*’).<sup>45</sup> We can see this where he also cited psalm 126:1 among his examples on the uses of *nisi* (*nisi dominus cusodierit ciuitatem/Buton drihten gehealde þa burh*).<sup>46</sup> We can see this too where Ælfric appears to have added a reference to psalm 12:4 ([*ne quando*] *obdormiam in morte/Pæt ic neafre on deaðe ne slape*).<sup>47</sup> We also find this in a section ‘On defective Verbs’, and specifically concerning the preterit of the verb *odire* (to hate), where Ælfric even seems to have departed from the position on the grammatical uses of *odium* (hate) forwarded by the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, encouraging boys to view the Psalter (or ps. 118:113 in particular), not just classical Latin literature, as an authority on the correct use of Latin (*Ac we cweðað hwilon ic*

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<sup>44</sup> EGA, p. 152; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 84-6, pp. 224-226: Ps. 125:1 ‘When the Lord brought back the captivity of Sion’.

<sup>45</sup> EGA, p. 261; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 19, p. 284: Ps. 40:11 ‘But thou, O Lord, have mercy on me, and raise me up again’.

<sup>46</sup> EGA, p. 262; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 20, p. 286: Ps. 126:1 ‘Unless the Lord build the house’.

<sup>47</sup> EGA, p. 166; *Excerptiones*, c. 19-21, p. 286: Ps. 12:4 ‘That I never sleep in death’.

*hæbbe on hatnunge, swa swa stent on ðam sealme, iniquos odio habui, þa unrihtwisan ic hæfde on hatunge*).<sup>48</sup>

If these additions confirm how Latin learning intersected with the liturgy and demonstrate that the Psalter was important to Ælfric's teaching method and to boys' experiences of grammatical instruction in the late tenth century, Ælfric's introduction into his *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* of references which connected boys to other biblical texts also demonstrates that the experience of learning grammar was intended to enable each generation of religious boys to handle Christian scripture. These additions include a reference to Genesis 45:6 for example, which Ælfric used to illustrate grammatical points on the use of numbers (*and Ioseph cwæð: adhuc restant anni quinque*).<sup>49</sup> We also find that he cited Job 10:1 on the use of *taedet* with the accusative case (*taedet animam meam uitae meae, cwæð Iob*).<sup>50</sup> We can see that he used the Gospel of Matthew 16:24 in order to exemplify *tunc* or 'then' in the phrase *tunc dixit Iesus/þa sæde se hælend*.<sup>51</sup> In addition to these, Ælfric added and translated into Old English a large number of biblical references (which I include here by order of appearance) from 2 Corinthians 12:16 (*etsi uoluerō gloriari non ero insipiens/gif þe ic wylle wuldrian, ne beo ic na unsnoter*),<sup>52</sup> as well as to John 11:25 (*etiam si mortuus fuerit, uiuet*),<sup>53</sup> Genesis 2:15 (*tulit ergo dominus hominem/eornostlice, drihten genam þone mann*),<sup>54</sup> Genesis 2:1 (*igitur perfecti sunt caeli et terra et omnis ornatus eorum*),<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> EGA, p. 205: 'But as we say sometimes "ic hæbbe on hatnunge", so also it stands in the psalm *Iniquos odio habui*, I have hated the unjust' (my translation); compare *Excerptiones*, c. 246, p. 130

<sup>49</sup> EGA, p. 206; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 1, pp. 310-12. Gen. 45:6 'And five years more remain'.

<sup>50</sup> EGA, p. 207; *Excerptiones*, c. 13, p. 246. Job 10:1 'My soul is weary of my life'.

<sup>51</sup> EGA, p. 237; *Excerptiones*, c. 14, p. 246: 'Then said Jesus' (my translation).

<sup>52</sup> EGA, p. 262; *Excerptiones*, c. 15, p. 282. 2 Cor. 12:6 'For though I should have a mind to glory, I shall not be foolish'.

<sup>53</sup> EGA, p. 262; *Excerptiones*, c. 13, p. 282. John 11:25 'Although he be dead, [he] shall live'.

<sup>54</sup> EGA, p. 263; *Excerptiones*, c. 17, p. 284. Gen. 2:15 'And the Lord took man'.

<sup>55</sup> EGA, p. 263; *Excerptiones*, c. 17, p. 284. Gen. 2:1 'So the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the furniture of them'.

Job 1:21 (*sicut domino placuit ita factum est/swaswa hit drihtne gelicode, swa hit is gedon*),<sup>56</sup> Mark 6:23 (*[licet] petieris dimidium regni mei/ðeah ðe ðu bidde healfne dæl mines rices*),<sup>57</sup> Genesis 22:16 (*quia fecisti rem hanc/forðan ðe þu dydest þys þing*),<sup>58</sup> Matthew 16:18 (*quia tu es Petrus/þæt þu eart Petrus*),<sup>59</sup> Matthew 23:37 (*gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas*),<sup>60</sup> and Isaiah 40:9 (*super montem excelsum ascende tu/ofer healice dune astih ðu*).<sup>61</sup> Ælfric also appears to have introduced an allusion to what appears to be Ephesians 4:10 (*qui descendit super caelos/se astah ofer heafonas*),<sup>62</sup> and, indeed, he appears to have introduced a number of references which referred to what ‘Christ said’, (e.g. *Crist cwæð be Judan, uae illi, wa him. He cwæð be þam ungeleaffullum Judeiscum, uae*), and which could have been taken from a number of places such as, but not necessarily limited to, the Gospels of Matthew (18:7, 23:14, 23:15, 23:23, *inter alia*), Luke (17:1) and/or Mark (14:21).<sup>63</sup>

In addition to this content, it is useful to recognise that Ælfric inserted into the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* his own paradigmatic sentences. These occasions are perhaps even more useful in demonstrating his expectation that boys would need to accept a system of religious belief. This can be seen, for example, in Ælfric’s addition of nouns relating to ‘faith’, such as his introduction into a list of feminine nouns ending in –as of *credulitas*, *geleaffulnys* (lit. ‘belief-

<sup>56</sup> EGA, p. 263; *Excerptiones*, c. 17, p. 284. Job 1:21 ‘As it hath pleased the Lord so is it done’.

<sup>57</sup> EGA, p. 264; *Excerptiones*, c. 15, p. 285. Mark 6:23 ‘Quidquid petieris dabo tibi, licet dimidium regni mei/Whatsoever thou shalt ask I will give thee, though it be half of my kingdom’.

<sup>58</sup> EGA, p. 262; *Excerptiones*, c. 20, p. 286. Gen. 22:16 ‘Because though hast done this thing’.

<sup>59</sup> EGA, p. 262; *Excerptiones*, c. 20, p. 286. Mat. 16:18 ‘That thou are Peter’.

<sup>60</sup> EGA, p. 273; *Excerptiones*, c. 55, p. 305. Mat. 23:37 ‘The hen doth gather her chickens under her wings’.

<sup>61</sup> EGA, p. 274; *Excerptiones*, c. 56, p. 306. Isaiah 40:9 ‘Get thee up upon a high mountain’.

<sup>62</sup> EGA, p. 274; *Excerptiones*, c. 56, p. 306. Eph. 4:10 ‘Qui descendit, ipse est et qui ascendit super omnes caelos/He that descended is the same also that ascended above all the heavens’.

<sup>63</sup> EGA, p. 278; *Excerptiones*, c. 56, p. 306: ‘Christ says concerning the Jews, woe to them, woe to them. He says of the unbelieving Jewish, woe’ (my translation).

fullness/faithfulness’).<sup>64</sup> We also find evidence for this in Ælfric’s additions on pronouns, where he introduced references to Christ, and the idea of ‘Christ’s sacrifice’, e.g. *Christus se dedit pro nobis, a se expulit malos* (‘Christ gave himself for us, he repelled evil doers from himself’).<sup>65</sup> We also see this learning objective in Ælfric’s introduction of *Deus*/God into exemplifying sentences for the verbs *timere* and *metui* such as, *timeo Deum, metuor a pueris nostris* (‘I fear God [and, correspondingly] I am feared by our boys’).<sup>66</sup> We see it too in additions exemplifying the uses of *utinam*, such as *utinam amarem Deum, eala gif ic lufode God* (‘Oh, if I loved God!’),<sup>67</sup> and we also see it in his addition on juratives, through his addition of *Iuro per Deum, ic swerige ðurh God* (lit ‘I swear by God’).<sup>68</sup> We see similar examples in his additions to a section on semi-deponents, passive verbs, and participles including *amare* such as *amans Deum* (lit. ‘loving God’),<sup>69</sup> and those derived from *precari*, such as *precans, precatus Deum* (lit. ‘praying, I have/he has prayed to God’),<sup>70</sup> and we see it slightly later still in the example of *amans Deum, amator Dei* (lit. ‘loving God, a lover of God’),<sup>71</sup> and in Ælfric’s addition of a paradigm on feast days, *itaque epulemur in Domino* (lit. ‘Let us feast in the Lord’s name’)].<sup>72</sup>

We find yet more examples in fact in Ælfric’s chapter on prepositions, and on ‘ad’ for example, where he introduced the examples *ad patrem* and *ad Deum* (to the father, to God).<sup>73</sup> We find them in his addition of the paradigmatic sentence *extra legem Dei facit*,

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<sup>64</sup> EGA, p. 50; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 224, p. 120. BT: n. *geleaffulnes*: ‘faithfulness, belief, trust’.

<sup>65</sup> EGA, p. 95; *Excerptiones*, c. 13, p. 164 (my translation).

<sup>66</sup> EGA, p. 123; *Excerptiones*, c. 5, p. 182 (my translation).

<sup>67</sup> EGA, 125; *Excerptiones*, c. 25, p. 192 (my translation).

<sup>68</sup> EGA, 227; *Excerptiones*, c. 40, p. 262 (my translation).

<sup>69</sup> EGA, pp. 249; *Excerptiones*, c. 12, p. 270 (my translation).

<sup>70</sup> EGA, p. 250; *Excerptiones*, c. 15-16, pp. 274-5 (my translation).

<sup>71</sup> EGA, p. 256; *Excerptiones*, c. 14, p. 272 and c. 27, p. 278 (my translation).

<sup>72</sup> EGA, p. 273; *Excerptiones*, c. 17, p. 284 (my translation).

<sup>73</sup> EGA, p. 269; *Excerptiones*, c. 19, pp. 292-4 (my translation).

*ofer Godes æ he deð* (lit. ‘he acted outside the law of God’).<sup>74</sup> We see them in his addition of *de domo Dei* to describe a church as a ‘house of God’,<sup>75</sup> and in his addition of a sentence explaining Christ’s Passion as a demonstration of faith, *propter fidem passus est, for geleafan he ðrowode* (‘He suffered for [his/the] faith’).<sup>76</sup> Indeed, we find it in another sentence, which drew on, if it did not also introduce to boys, the idea that prayer was a means of interceding with God on behalf of society, *pro hominibus oro, for mannum ic gebidde* (‘I pray on behalf of humankind’).<sup>77</sup> In a connected way, we find it in Ælfric’s addition of the phrase *prope est dies Domini, gehende is Godes dæg* (lit. ‘The day of the Lord is near/God’s day is at hand’).<sup>78</sup> This phrase, which describes a concept of a ‘Final Day of Judgement’, otherwise known as the ‘Eschaton’ (i.e. from ἔσχατον, meaning ‘the last [thing]’), is an idea that we know had troubled senior religious figures like Ælfric in a brief generational period in the years running up to and just after he composed the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice*. It would seem likely, therefore, that Ælfric’s decision to introduce it into an elementary grammar reflects those contemporary fears, and reveals how Ælfric passed onto a succeeding generation a similar awareness and concern.<sup>79</sup>

These additions to the grammatical apparatus of the *Excerptiones* are indicative of Ælfric’s intention to shape boys’ religious beliefs as well as their knowledge of Latin

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<sup>74</sup> EGA, p. 269; *Excerptiones*, c. 34, p. 298 (my translation).

<sup>75</sup> EGA, p. 272; *Excerptiones*, c. 33, p. 298 (my translation).

<sup>76</sup> EGA, p. 270; *Excerptiones*, c. 40, p. 300 (my translation).

<sup>77</sup> EGA, p. 272; *Excerptiones*, c. 45, p. 302 (my translation).

<sup>78</sup> EGA, p. 270; *Excerptiones*, c. 30, p. 300 (my translation).

<sup>79</sup> For more on the Anglo-Saxon view of the millennium as the time of Judgement, see Edwin Duncan, ‘Fears of the Apocalypse: the Anglo-Saxons and the Coming of the Millennium’, *Religion & Literature* 31.1 (1999), pp. 15-23. For more specific studies on Ælfric of Eynsham, and his introduction of apocalyptic themes into his vernacular homilies, see Malcom Godden, ‘Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England’, in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. Malcom Godden, Douglas Gray, and Terry Hoad (Oxford, 1994), pp. 130-62.

grammar and vocabulary. These additions are indicative of a broader intention to ensure that boys viewed the bible as an axiomatic Latin text, and as an ultimate authority on the correct use of Latin as well as a source of doctrinal validation. Not all scholars would concede that learning outcomes can be understood from these teaching intentions of course. But Ælfric's school-text does seem to be capable of sustaining these arguments, and it would seem to give us useful insight into dynamics that might have tied boys' experiences of instruction in grammar with their acquisition of religious learning at an elementary level too.

We can also connect the contents of Ælfric's school-text with evidence from contemporary copies of the Psalter which attracted layers of educational glosses, and which show how learning in grammar intersected with boys' memorisation and performance of liturgical texts and how study of the Psalter might have formed a useful bridge to reading more complex Latin texts. Scholars have in fact already begun to approach surviving copies of Anglo-Saxon Psalters in this way, and increasingly take the view that Psalters reinforced lessons about the monastic context as their comprehension of Latin increased.<sup>80</sup> In some ways, this potential is not difficult to recognise – the Psalter was central to the daily liturgy, boys were tasked with memorising it from early childhood and they were expected to recite it daily. As we have already seen, Ælfric of Eynsham's school-texts, both his *Excerptiones de arte grammatica* and his *Colloquium* and also Ælfric Bata's *Colloquia* demonstrate that the Psalter was important to boys' Latin learning (pp. 129-130). It is easy to recognise therefore that the Psalter, as a text rich in models of obedience, with many verses

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<sup>80</sup> Alice Jorgensen, 'Learning about Emotion from Old English Prose Psalms of the Paris Psalter', in *Anglo-Saxon Emotions: Reading the Heart in Old English Language, Literature and Culture*, ed. Alice Jorgensen, Frances McCormack, and Jonathan Wilcox (Farnham, 2015), p. 136.

beginning with very emotive requests for forgiveness and guidance, would have provided student-readers with potentially influential models on how to construct, express, and vocalise personal and religious feelings.<sup>81</sup>

Antonina Harbus and Tahlia Burnbaum’s studies of Old English glosses added to the *Lambeth Psalter*, a copy of the Gallican Psalter identified by Patrick O’Neill as having served as a school-text, have argued that contemporaries encouraged readers to project a monastic interpretation onto many of the emotionally and behaviourally indicative Latin verbs and nouns which that Psalter contained.<sup>82</sup> Their interest in this copy has drawn particular attention, for example, to glosses which were added to psalms provided below, and which glossed verbs such as *erubescere* (to redden) and *confundere* (to confound), in such a way that encouraged students to associate expressions of ‘redness’ and ‘confusion’ with ideals of behaviour:<sup>83</sup>

[Ps. 6:11]

*ablysian hi uel gesceamige heom* (i.e. ‘let them blush or be ashamed’)

*Erubescant* et conturbentur uehementer omnes inimici mei

*aswarnian hi uel gesceamige heom*

Et *erubescant* ualde uelociter.<sup>84</sup>

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[Ps. 24:2]

*sy aswæmed uel þæt me ne sceamige*

Deus meus, in te confido non *erubescam*.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> See Antonina Harbus, ‘Affective Poetics: The Cognitive Basis of Emotion in Old English Poetry’, in *Anglo-Saxon Emotions*, ed. Jorgensen, McCormack and Wilcox, p. 24.

<sup>82</sup> Patrick O’Neill, ‘Latin Learning at Winchester in the Early-Eleventh Century: The Evidence of the Lambeth Psalter’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 20 (1991), pp. 143-66; Phillip Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters: Psalms 1-50* (Toronto, 2001).

<sup>83</sup> Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 517, p. 87; Tahlia Burnbaum, ‘Naming Shame: Translating Emotion in the Old English Psalter Glosses’, in *Anglo-Saxon Emotions*, ed. Jorgensen, McCormack, and Wilcox, pp. 109-126; Stephen J. Harris, ‘Happiness and the Psalms’, in *Old English Literature and the Old Testament*, ed. Michael Fox and Manish Sharma (Toronto, 2012), pp. 292-314.

<sup>84</sup> Ps. 6:11: ‘Let all my enemies be ashamed, and be very much troubled: let them be turned back and be ashamed very speedily’. For the Old English Gloss, see Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters*, (*siglum* I) p. 50. DOE: v. *ablysian*: ‘to blush, be ashamed’, *a-swarnian*: ‘to be confounded, be ashamed’. BT: v. *ge-sceamian*: ‘to blush, be ashamed’.

<sup>85</sup> Ps. 24:2: ‘In thee, Oh my God, I put my trust, let me not be ashamed’. Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters*, (*siglum* I) p. 300. DOE: v. *a-swæmnan*: ‘(1) to be troubled, to suffer grief, to languish, (2) to be confounded, put to shame, (3) to blush with shame, feel shame’.

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[Ps. 30:18]

*Ic ne beo gescynd*

*sceamian uel syn gescend*

Domine non *confundar* quoniam inuocaui te. *Erubescant* impii et deducantur in infernum.<sup>86</sup>

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[Ps. 34:26]

*Syn gescynde uel ablysian uel scamian* (i.e. 'let them be put to shame, or blush, or be ashamed')

*Erubescant* et reuereantur simul qui gratulantur malis, induantur

*mid sceame uel mid gescændnysse*

*confusione* et reuerentia qui magna loquuntur super me.<sup>87</sup>

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[Ps. 39:16]

*Sceame uel gescendnesse*

Ferant confestim *confusionem* suam qui dicunt mihi, euge, euge.<sup>88</sup>

Studies of Old English glosses added to the *Lambeth Psalter* suggest that this emotional terminology prompted teachers to explain that the Latin noun *rubor* could mean both 'redness' and 'shame', and, indeed, we find that Ælfric of Eynsham did so in his own school-text on grammar, encouraging boys to consider Latin nouns for blushing as interchangeable with nouns for shame and so representative of interior guilt or sin.<sup>89</sup> This type of evidence does not seem to have been confined to Latin verbs and nouns for shame, however. My own study of glosses added to this copy reveals that our view can be extended further to include evidence suggesting that teachers encouraged boys to engage in a basic level of biblical exegesis. We can find evidence for this sort of engagement in a number of Old English glosses for Latin terms which I provide again

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<sup>86</sup> Ps. 30:18: 'Let me not be confounded, O Lord for I have called upon thee'. Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters*, (*siglum* I) p. 395. BT: v. *ge-scendan*: 'to shame, put to shame, confound'.

<sup>87</sup> Ps. 34:26: 'Let them blush and be ashamed together who rejoice at my evils. Let them be clothed with confusion and shame who speak things against me'. Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters*, (*siglum* I) p. 478. See *ge-scendan*, and also BT: n. *ge-sceandnysse*, 'shame, confusion'.

<sup>88</sup> Ps. 39:16: 'Let them immediately bear their confusion that say to me, 'tis well, 'tis well'. Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters*, (*siglum* I) p. 582.

<sup>89</sup> EGA, p. 47: '*rubor*, readnys oððe sceamu'; compare *Excerptiones*, n. 219, p. 118; Jonathan Wilcox, 'An Embarrassment of Clues: Interpreting Anglo-Saxon Blushes', in *Anglo-Saxon Emotions*, ed. Jorgensen, McCormack, and Wilcox, p. 95.

below for example, and which relate to ‘land’ and ‘nobles/ princes’ in psalms 32:10, 36:9 and 36:11:

[Ps. 32:10]

Dominus dissipat consilia gentium, reprobat autem cogitationes  
*ealdra* (i.e. ‘of the elders/seniors’)  
populorum, et reprobat consilia *principium*.<sup>90</sup>

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[Ps. 36:9]

Quoniam qui malignantur exterminabuntur, sustinentes autem  
*ece lif* (i.e. ‘eternal life’)  
Dominum, ipsi haereditabunt *terram*.<sup>91</sup>

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[Ps. 36:11]

*heofonrice* (i.e. ‘heavenly kingdom’)  
Mansueti autem haereditabunt *terram*, et delectabuntur in  
multitudine pacis.<sup>92</sup>

These glosses framed the Latin of the Psalter in ways which departed from their literal meaning and projected monastic values onto them instead. They suggest that contemporaries encouraged readers to turn away from a literal frame of reading in areas which described ‘inheriting land’, and towards a way of thinking which encouraged boys to take a more symbolic view, and understand ‘inheriting eternal salvation’ or ‘the heavenly kingdom’ instead. These glosses may also demonstrate that contemporaries sought to frame student encounters with references to ‘nobles or princes’ in the Psalter by orientating them towards an understanding of monastic seniors and religious elders, as part of a practice of reading the Psalter reflectively. Such arguments are highly

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<sup>90</sup> Ps. 32:10 ‘The Lord bringeth to naught the counsels of nations and he rejecteth the devices of people and casteth away the counsels of princes’. Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters*, (*siglum* I) p. 424. DOE: n. *ealdor* ‘someone in authority, superior, -over others, a ruler, king, lord, prince, paterfamilias, apostles, parent, Christ, authority in a monastery, an abbot, abbess, dean’; note the use of *ealdor* for monastic seniors in OERB, c. 64, p. 123.

<sup>91</sup> Ps. 36:9 ‘For the evildoers shall be cut off, but they that wait upon the lord shall inherit the land’. Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters*, (*siglum* I) p. 499. See DOEWC for extensive use in Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies*, see also OERB, c. 7 and 73, pp. 24, 133.

<sup>92</sup> Ps. 36:11 ‘But the meek shall inherit the land, and shall delight in abundance of peace’. Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters*, (*siglum* I) p. 501. DOE: n. *heofonrice*: ‘kingdom of heaven’.

contingent, but these glosses show how the Psalter allowed for this instruction in a similar way to Ælfric's *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice*, and these suggest that the experience of instruction in Latin likely played a fundamental role in shaping boys' developing religious identities, providing boys with an increasingly influential filter for understanding and policing monastic values and behaviours in the world around them.<sup>93</sup>

In focussing upon evidence suggesting that boys encountered a relatively fixed progress of learning, from memorising Latin sequences to reading Latin through the medium of sacred texts like the Psalter, we risk reinforcing an impression that all monastic students moved smoothly through their education, never encountering difficulty or exhibiting any resistance to their studies. This picture, of a kind of uncomplicated inertia in educational experience, is not particularly credible, however, and should not only be questioned but revised in a way which draws attention to how the documentary base of this period also expresses a more nuanced reality. As much as Ælfric of Eynsham or teacher-users of his school-text might have hoped that boys would work through the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice*, internalising all its grammatical content and acquiring a body of conceptual knowledge and religious world-views, the *Colloquia* of Ælfric Bata present us with an account of one boy's literary development which draws our attention to a messier reality of student outcomes:

[Magister]

Scis tu loqui in Latina lingua?

[Puer]

Non utique nisi paulipser perpauca uerba et non tantum sapio quantum legi et didici, quia multa oblitus sum propter ebitudinem ignorantie mee

[...]

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<sup>93</sup> Birnbaum, 'Naming Shame', p. 109.

Quamquam sim paruus ingenio, longa tamen meditatione pauca uerba recognosco, sed hec regulariter secundum grammaticam respondere uel loqui non possum.<sup>94</sup>

Bata's words were not intended for an audience of illiterate students, and so this dialogue from his *Colloquia* should be read in a way that understands it was intended for an audience of learned Latin students. This means that Bata's school-text only accounts precisely for the experiences of those boys who did advance in their Latin instruction, who encountered his *Colloquia*, and who may have been expected to encounter in their studies the many other Latin texts which Bata's own *Colloquia* cited, including the Psalter, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Wisdom, as well as Ephesians, Timothy, II Thessalonians, II Corinthians, Deuteronomy, Genesis, Romans, and the Gospels of Luke and Matthew, among others.<sup>95</sup> But dialogue no. 16 also illustrates a dynamic of ignorance and illiteracy. For one, it would seem to have been intended to give literate students licence to pass comment on boys who may not have advanced far in their Latin education. In doing so, the *Colloquia* therefore point us in a direction which suggests that the experience of learning Latin grammar sharpened divisions in monastic schools. Bata's use of terms such as *pauca uerba, propter ebitudinem ignorantie* and *secundum grammaticam* (see p. 185) offer us a view onto how teachers

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<sup>94</sup> ÆlfBColl, pp. 116-9: 'Can you speak Latin?/ Actually no, just a little, very few words. I do not understand as much as I read and learned, since I forgot a lot because of the dullness of my ignorance [...] Though I have little intelligence, I do recognize (sic) a few of those words when I concentrate on them, but I cannot answer or speak properly according to grammatical rules'.

<sup>95</sup> Gwara and Porter identify a reference to ps. 110(10) in dialogue no. 4 for example, see ÆlfBColl, pp. 86-7 (fn. 29). Dialogue no. 25 constitutes an amalgamation of more than 126 references to individual verses taken from the book of Proverbs, see ÆlfBColl, pp. 116-7, 140-55. For references to Ecclesiastes, Sapientia, as well as Ephesians, I Timothy, II Thessalonians, II Corinthians, Deuteronomy, Genesis, Romans, the gospels of Luke and Matthew, and Aldhelm of Sherborne's *Prosa et Carmen de Virginitate*, see ÆlfBColl, nos. 4, pp. 86-7 (Ecclesiastes 1:1; Ephesians 6:1; I Timothy 5:1; II Timothy 4:2; Sapientia 1:1); 196-7 (Romans 8:15); 14, 112-3 (II Thessalonians 3:10); 15, 116-7 (Deuteronomy 32:7); 24, 132-3 (II Corinthians 6:7); 25, 136-7 (Luke 10:6); 28, 164-5 (Genesis 49:27); 29, 176-7 (Matthew 5:6 and 25:34); and for Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* see *Difficiliora Colloquia* in ÆlfBColl, nos. 4 (pp. 180-3), 5 (pp. 184-5), 7 (pp. 186-7), 9 (pp. 188-91).

also responded to student failures in Latin learning. They indicate that the process of learning grammar allowed teachers like Bata to identify boys who had not made progress in Latin, and who remained dependent for their learning on the exposition of their teachers and on a corpus of English translations of Latin texts.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, Bata's dialogue indicates that teachers may even have set out to encourage boys who did not progress in their Latin learning to internalise a literary and monastic identity based on inability and illiteracy, and to convince students into describing themselves as 'slower' (*hebetudo*), less able or 'unable' to understand, and either slower to memorise or quicker to forget, and to think of themselves as being among the ignorant in their particular generation or community (*ignorantia, ignorare*).<sup>97</sup>

### **Anglo-Norman England: Boyhood**

As we have seen in chapter one (pp. 81-84, 89-96), Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* illustrate far more clearly an intention to regulate boys' conditions than the *Regularis Concordia*. For one, they suggest that boys were expected to join a complex of educational structures at Christ Church, Canterbury. These included a *schola*, which could be understood as physical spaces of learning and as a time in the daily round set aside for boys' study, overseen by a community of teachers or *magistri*. Lanfranc's consuetudinary is particularly useful, however, in that it gives us a clearer view of when and how often Lanfranc expected boys to attend this educational structure. The

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<sup>96</sup> Gwara and Porter isolate adjustments made by Bata to his *Colloquia* at *ÆlfBColl*, pp. 116-9 (fn. 107), they include additions of 'Docte' 'in Latina lingua', 'Puerosque instruentes', and the end of the dialogue 'Sermo diuinus litteris litteratorum (id est grammaticorum) minime seruit, et tamen nullus liber scriptus uel positus recte erit, nisi prius grammaticam artem didicerit, qui illum disponit/Divine speech hardly serves the letters of the teachers or grammarians. Still, no book is properly written or arranged unless the one who composes it first studies the grammatical art'.

<sup>97</sup> *ÆlfBColl*, pp. 116-9: 'Ignoro autem litteras grammaticorum et exempla poetarum/I do not know the letters of the grammarians or the exempla of the poets'; although Bata took this line verbatim from the earlier *Colloquia de raris fabulis Rectractata*, see *ÆlfBColl*, pp. 116-9 (fn. 107).

*Constitutiones* appear, for example, to have required boys to enter their school at two fixed periods in their daily round. The first of these periods occurred after Prime and continued until a *signum* was rung for Tierce, and a second period of study appears to have occurred after Nones and may have continued until a *signum* alerted boys and their *magistri* to attend Vespers at dusk.<sup>98</sup>

It also confirms that boys' experiences of Latin education centred to a significant extent on the liturgy, and that experiences of Latin learning continued to be intended to enable boys' engagement with the choir. Post-Conquest hagiographies continue to support this view too, and describe an ideal in monastic education of an early occupation with the 'study' of 'sacred letters'. The *Vita Sancti Aldhelmi*, composed by the Italian émigré Faricius of Arezzo, who was cellarer at Malmesbury in c.1100 and later Abbot of Abingdon (c.1100-1117), supplies one such account, for example, locating the place of 'letters' in an elementary stage of boys' learning, preceding a potentially much longer course of instruction:

Post hec annis succedentibus puer ablactatur et sacris litterarum studiis a genitore Christianissimo traditur [...] tantum aperuit ingenium ut doctoris animus in se ipso saepe miraretur nimium, quod tam facile caperet, tam memoriter retineret que sibi ostendebat per singulos dies [...] Trium quippe proprietate linguarum, non solum uulgaritate, ceterum etiam litterarum dogmate, sanctissimus iste peritus extitit. Miro denique modo Graie facundie omnia idiomata sciebat, et quasi Grecus natione scriptis et uerbis pronuntiabat [...] Latine quoque scientie ualde potatus, etiam aliquis eo melius nequaquam usus est post Virgilium [...] Prophetarum exemplaria, Davidis psalmos, Salomonis tria uolumina, Hebraicis litteris bene nouit et legem Moysaicam.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> *Constitutiones*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

<sup>99</sup> Faricius of Arezzo, 'Vita S. Aldhelmi', ed. Michael Winterbottom, *Journal of Medieval Latin* 15 (2005), p. 100: 'In the years after the boy was weaned he was given...to the study of sacred letters [...] and he understood as easily as he retained in his memory whatever was revealed to him in instruction each day [...] this most holy man was masterful in the rules of three tongues, not only in his own English but indeed [...] In a miraculous way of fertile grace he knew all the idioms of Greece,

We should perhaps question the representativeness of this content. Faricius' arrangement of a well-resourced monastery, able to provide an extensive education stretching from elementary rudiments in letters to advanced areas of the quadrivium, including – oddly – learning in Hebraic letters, may not entirely reflect either his own experience of teaching and/or learning in England or records of Aldhelm's seventh century upbringing. But its salient educational features, and its recognition in particular of the place of biblical text in boys' earliest encounters with Latin letters, are familiar to us from pre-Conquest progressions. Faricius supplies us with an ideal which still anticipated that boys who entered monasteries without much learning could expect a total formation in letters, and he seems to expect too that that instruction would not only provide boys with a functional literacy useful to memorising liturgical texts, but allowed some boys to study grammar and read at a more advanced level.

For the period 1050 to around 1120, however, our best evidence for the shape and content of grammatical education continues to lie in the group of school-texts on grammar composed in England between 992 and 1010.<sup>100</sup> The most widely attested of the grammatical primers of the period remains Ælfric of Eynsham's *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglie*. Aside from the fact that this text had been widely available in pre-Conquest libraries and that it was still present within them after the Conquest, the

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as if a Greek by nation in his writing and pronunciation...He absorbed knowledge of Latin too, and in this, indeed, after Virgil, there was no one who could be thought better [...] He knew well the exemplars of the prophets, the psalms of David, the three volumes of Solomon, Hebraic letters and Mosaic law' (my translation).

<sup>100</sup> Rodney Thomson observed that Anglo-Saxon libraries were 'eccentric', see Rodney Thomson, 'The Norman Conquest and English Libraries', in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, ed. Peter Ganz (Turnhout, 1986), p. 29.

school-text continued to attract new copies, and appears to have been transmitted to new foundations after the Conquest, including the community of regular canons at Exeter c.1070 and the Norman Benedictine foundation of William St. Calais at Durham sometime after c.1083.<sup>101</sup> Studies have also shown that almost half of all extant copies of the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglie* contain signs suggesting that they continued to see a purpose in instruction up until the mid-twelfth-century.<sup>102</sup> Tony Hunt has done important work to this effect, and while he has recognised that glosses added to copies of an educational text do not necessarily reflect the activities of a school, he has shown that many of the additions support a view of continued use in monastic contexts.<sup>103</sup>

At the same time, copies of the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglie* which attracted annotations, and which were produced after the Conquest, also indicate that there were changes in the educational and social environments of the houses where they remained useful. Tony Hunt, for one, has argued that change in boys' experience of Latin instruction through these copies is visibly marked by the appearance of a thoroughly revised version of the school-text which was composed by a single scribe at the turn of the twelfth century (c.1100x10) surviving in a single unprinted manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.9.17.<sup>104</sup> Although we cannot identify the house to

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<sup>101</sup> i.e. MSS Exeter H.h.1.10, and Durham Cathedral Library B.III.32, see Gneuss, *Handlist*, nos. 13 (p. 28), 244 (p. 52).

<sup>102</sup> Tony Hunt analyses two copies (MSS London BL, Cotton Faustina A.x, and Cambridge University Library Hh.1.10) which reveal evidence of scribal activity after the Conquest, see Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning in Thirteenth Century England I: Texts* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 8-9 and esp. pp. 101-11, and 111-8.

<sup>103</sup> Melinder Menzer, 'Ælfric's English Grammar', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 103 (2004), 106. Patrizia Lendinara, 'The World of Anglo-Saxon Learning', in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. Malcom Godden, and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge, 1991), 264-81; for French annotations see, EGA, pp. 29/17, 30/1, 33/12, 34/3&6, 35/7, 80/10, 81/1.

<sup>104</sup> Tony Hunt has printed all Anglo-Norman glosses, see Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin I*, p. 26; see Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 182, p. 45: (s. xi/xii).

which it belonged, since a majority of copies which do have a known place of origin or provenance can be identified with a monastic community, it would seem more likely than not to be the product of a monastic scribe.<sup>105</sup> This copy is of particular interest, however, not just because it represents a significant editorial adjustment but because it reveals something about the changing needs of the community where it was made and used.<sup>106</sup> The scribe would appear to have still valued the vernacular as a medium of instruction. This much seems clear from the fact that s/he chose to retain many of Ælfric's Old English synonyms for Latin nouns and verbs. But the copy also provides a window onto a new scribal context, and onto a series of editorial decisions indicating that contemporaries had come to centre their interests in the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglie* on its Latin content. The composer had recognised its concise and comprehensive scope and had sought to ensure that the school-text provided an even more concise basis for supporting Latin instruction. But the removal of much of Ælfric's vernacular or 'bi-lingual' apparatus, and evidence for the excision of all of its Old English meta-language, its commentary on Latin grammatical concepts, and its vernacular translations of exemplary Latin sentences, show that Ælfric's authorised method for teaching Latin had also become less useful to its post-Conquest audience.

In fact, the disappearance of much of the Old English content in this copy coincides with evidence for the contemporary appearance in this, and in three other copies of the

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<sup>105</sup> For all the copies which can be identified with a monastic community, see Cambridge, University Library, Hh.1.10 (orig. Canterbury, see Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin*, p. 100); Durham Cathedral Library MS B.III.32 (see Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 244, p. 52: orig. Canterbury), BL Harley 107 (Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 414, no. 74: orig. South-East England), Oxford, St. John's College 154 (Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 686, no. 107: prov. Durham). By contrast, only one can be identified as having belonged to a non-monastic house at some point in its life, but even this has been associated with a monastic house (i.e. Cambridge, University Library, Hh.1.10, see Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 13, p. 28).

<sup>106</sup> Tony Hunt thought that it was 'probably written at the very beginning of the twelfth century', but argued, seemingly unaware of the slight contradiction, that 'Ælfric's Old English Grammar obviously did not outlive the Conquest', see Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin I*, pp. 26, 100.

*Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* of a complementary apparatus of glosses in Norman French.<sup>107</sup> Although one of these MSS has been associated with a house of regular canons at Exeter, the addition of a French apparatus appears to have been quite widespread, and would seem likely to offer a view onto a dynamic of change in the context of monastic education in the late eleventh century, when French speakers – as boys and/or teachers – might have begun to enter monastic schools in sufficient numbers and on a consistent enough basis that they began to have a visible impact on the established material culture of Latin instruction.<sup>108</sup> As we have noted, we find evidence for this emerging dynamic in several copies, but we can consider them emblematic of those added to a copy of the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* now contained in Cambridge, University Library MS Hh.1.10, thought to have been copied at Christ Church, Canterbury, before travelling to Exeter.<sup>109</sup> Like three other surviving copies this text acquired a complete system of Norman French forms alongside Ælfric’s framework of Old English paradigms for Latin forms, and, ultimately, it provided readers with a similar comparison of active and passive Latin verbs for *amare*, beginning with the first conjugation and the French verb *aimer* for example (i.e. *iu aim, tu aimes, zil aimet*), and complementing an inherited apparatus on the English verb *lufian* (i.e. *ic lufie, þu lufast, he lufiað*/I love, you love, he loves).<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> These are Cambridge, University Library, Hh.1.10 (Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 13, p. 28), Cambridge, Trinity College R.9.17 (Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 182, p. 45), BL, Cotton Faustina A.x fols. 3-101 (Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 331, p. 63), BL Julius A.ii fols.10-135 (Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 336, p. 64).

<sup>108</sup> For more on Anglo-Norman glosses, see Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin I*, pp. 11-2, 16, at 16: ‘This is the first study devoted to the role of Anglo-Norman and Middle English glossing in the teaching and learning of Latin. It provides a conspectus of materials...host texts and reproduces as accurately as possible the glosses themselves’. See also Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin I*, p. 26.

<sup>109</sup> Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 13, p. 28. Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin I*, p. 100: ‘This interesting adaptation of the grammar to the new cultural language of French has not been sufficiently appreciated... MS CUL Hh.1.10...has additions in three languages in the twelfth century and...may have come from Christ Church, Canterbury’.

<sup>110</sup> Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin I*, pp. 111-8, esp. 111-3.

While these changes to the Anglo-Saxon apparatus of the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* suggest that boys' experiences of Latin instruction continued to be defined by a pre-Conquest material base for some time after the Norman Conquest, the emergence of new languages into monastic schools and the slow transformation of the basis of instruction indicates that a series of social changes were playing a role in changing the educational architecture of Benedictine England, undermining the viability of an apparatus which had emerged during a period of monastic reform. A collapse in evidence for new copies of the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* after c.1110 and a decline in evidence for new annotations from the second half of the twelfth century suggests that the school-text ultimately stopped shaping boys' experience of Latin instruction over the course of the twelfth century. With no clear evidence for any other single replacement of that school-text in Anglo-Norman monastic libraries and with no evidence for the emergence of a new grammatical school-text tailored to meet the needs of monastic boys in the twelfth century, change in the elementary curriculum appears to have been marked by a fragmentation. We can understand this fragmentation in terms of a turn to practices of instruction which depended on an assortment of grammatical primers of Late Antiquity not crafted in a monastic context or tailored for the instruction of oblates. Many of these primers, like the *Ars Minor* and *Ars Maior* of Donatus and the *Institutio de nomine* and *Institutiones Grammaticae* of Priscian, characterised instructional practices in the cathedral schools of the European continent, and may have helped to connect England to a process of classicisation in Europe's intellectual landscape which has since become known as the twelfth century 'renaissance'.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> For more on this fragmentation see Lucia Kornexl, 'From Ælfric to John of Cornwall: Evidence for Vernacular Grammar Teaching in Pre- and Post-Conquest England', in *Bookmarks from the Past: Studies in Early English Language and Literature in Honour of Helmut Gneuss*, ed. Lucia Kornexl and Ursula Lenker (Oxford, 2003), 245-8. Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin I*, pp. 166-7. Nine

There may be other reasons for why the material base of elementary Latin instruction might have fallen into disuse in England, however. If we return to the autobiographical writings of Orderic Vitalis, first seen in the introduction to this thesis (pp. 11-12), and consider in particular a part of his childhood recollection which describes that he had spent five years in the instruction of a parish priest at Shrewsbury, we could consider that changes in instruction in Benedictine monasteries were also connected to changes in the role of the monastery:

Deinde cum quinque essem annorum apud urbem Scrobesburiam scolae traditus sum, et prima tibi seruitia clericatus obtuli in basilica sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum. Illic Siguardus insignis presbiter per quinque annos Carmentis Nichostratae litteris docuit me, ac psalmis et hymnis aliisque necessariis instructionibus mancipavit me.<sup>112</sup>

This passage allows us to consider that Benedictine houses were more likely to receive into their houses oblates who had already received a rudimentary degree of instruction in Latin letters, and were no longer dominant providers of elementary instruction. If this trend continued, and if it coincided at all with contemporary evidence for increases in the recruitment of adult novices into Benedictine houses in a similar period, visible in surviving lists of monastic professions at New Minster in Winchester c.1100x1320, it would not be difficult to make a connection with a corresponding decline in evidence

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surviving copies of Priscian's *Institutio Grammaticae* provide material evidence for continued grammatical instruction: Gameson, *Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, nos. 30, 35, 109, 165, 327, 771, 791, 804, 939, pp. 58, 67, 73, 92, 142, 144, 146, 158. For more on the western Latin curriculum during the twelfth century 'renaissance', see Jaakko Tahkokallio, 'The Classicization of the Latin Curriculum and "The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century": A Quantitative Study of the Codicological Evidence', *Viator* 46 (2015), pp. 129-53.

<sup>112</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. Chibnall, VI, bk. 13, pp. 552-3: 'Afterwards when I was five years old I was put to school in the town of Shrewsbury, and performed my first clerical duties for thee in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul the apostles. There, Siward, an illustrious priest, taught me my letters for five years, and instructed me in psalms and hymns and other necessary knowledge'.

for the use of elementary Latin school-texts, explaining a decline in the pre-Conquest apparatus of instruction.<sup>113</sup>

Still, this broader perspective does not throw much light onto what education the boys who continued to enter religious houses received in a post-Conquest context. If we can infer that an assortment of established grammatical primers played a part in supporting instruction in grammar, we can perhaps also imagine that the Psalter continued to provide teachers and boys with a basis for improving comprehension of biblical text.<sup>114</sup>

William of Malmesbury (c.1080-1143), in his early-twelfth century version of the *Vita Wulfstani* described the boy reading deeply through the contents of the Psalter at Peterborough Abbey, for example, and he appears to have imagined too that Wulfstan (1002-1095) had instituted a similar emphasis after he had been elevated to the office of *custos puerorum* and subsequently to the episcopal see.<sup>115</sup>

More useful perhaps to understanding changes in the contents, course, and expectations of a literary education in a Benedictine house after the Norman Conquest, is the small collection of *Epistolae* or ‘Letters’ which survive from the circle of Bishop Herbert of Norwich (c.1096-1119), and which describe the educational experiences of boys who were growing up at Norwich cathedral from c.1096. These letters are significant because they provide us with accounts of the actual experience of boys who grew up at Norwich

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<sup>113</sup> Increases in the recruitment of adults are visible in the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster, Winchester, which lists all new entrants between c.1030 and 1230, see *Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester: British Library Stowe 944: together with leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A. VIII and British Library Cotton Titus D. XXVII*, ed. Simon Keynes, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 26 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996). For more on the emergence of the local parish and episcopal school, see Lahaue-Geusen, *Das Opfer der Kinder*, p. 10.

<sup>114</sup> Richard Gameson dated ten Psalter manuscripts to c.1066-1130, of which three retained Old English glosses, Gameson, *Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, nos. 47, 86, 325, 356, 358, 406, 748, 819, 906, 912, at no. 47.

<sup>115</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Vita Sancti Wulfstani*, in *Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, p. 21.

cathedral in the very late eleventh and early twelfth century.<sup>116</sup> Although no letters from any students have survived in this collection, Herbert's responses to them reveal his procedures as *magister*, and point towards and occasionally appear to provide quotations or paraphrases of the contents of students' letters too. The *Epistolae* suggest, for example, that Bishop Herbert required boys to engage in a grammatical 'trivium' and had expected them to encounter a form of learning in Latin grammar which had indeed come to depend on an assortment of grammatical primers popular on the continent, including works by Donatus and Sergius.<sup>117</sup>

These *Epistolae* do not confirm that boys were expected to study the contents of the Psalter as a school-text. We can therefore only assume that boys were still required to memorise the Psalter for the purposes of the liturgy, but the *Epistolae* point us to very different horizons in Herbert's expectations of boys' Latin study and direct us towards the influence of a corpus of Latin texts, like Aesop's fables and, at a more advanced stage, Ovid's poetry, which offered examples of a classical Latin style.<sup>118</sup> The *Epistolae*

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<sup>116</sup> For all the letters Bishop Herbert addressed to students of Norwich, see Herbert de Losinga, *Epistolae Herberti*, in *Epistolae Herberti de Losinga Primi Episcopi Norwiciensis, Osberti de Clara et Elmeri, Prioris Cantuariensis*, ed. Robert Anstruther (Brussels, 1846), nos. 9, 22, 24, 28, 30, 32, 39, 41, 42, 47, 49.

<sup>117</sup> Herbert de Losinga, *Epistolae Herberti*, ed. Anstruther, no. 9, p. 44: 'Reddituri mihi estis corde prius Donatum, declinationes, coniugationes, uoces, Seruiolam, pedes et omnes grammaticae regulas [...] ut praeparatis responsiones uestrae futurae ratiocinationi uestri examinis'; trans. Henry Symonds and Edward M. Goulburn, *The Life, Letters and Sermons of Bishop Herbert de Losinga* (Oxford, 1878), I, no. 9, pp. 19-20: 'You are first to repeat to me your Donatus by heart with all the declensions, conjugations, and voices, and also your compendium of Servius with the feet and all the rules of grammar [...] get up your answers in readiness for your examination'.

<sup>118</sup> Herbert de Losinga, *Epistolae Herberti*, ed. Anstruther, no. 30, p. 62: 'Lege poetas, dicta ex poetis, quoniam et in sterquilinio ille Aesopi gallus inuenit margaritam'; trans. Symonds and Goulburn, *Letters of Bishop Herbert*, I, p. 28: 'Read your poets, make your centos out of the poets, since even in a dunghill that cockerel of Aesop's picked up a pearl'. For Ovid see, *Epistolae Herberti*, ed. Anstruther, no. 39, p. 75: 'Quales infantes tales pueri quales pueri tales adolescentes eisdem uestris sinalimphis et barbarissimis infantiliter inhaeretis non est multum loqui de Ouidio si non discatis loqui ex Ouidio [...] ex Ouidio deinceps meo iudicio loquimini quoniam uestris non applaudo pedibus'; trans. Symonds and Goulburn, *Letters of Bishop Herbert*, I, pp. 22-3: 'What ye were when babies that ye were as boys; what ye were as boys, ye are as youths; most childishly ye stick still to your ellisions and barbarisms. To talk about Ovid is of very little value, unless you learn from Ovid how to talk [...] If henceforth, then, you mean to be guided by my judgement, adopt the style of Ovid, since I do not approve of your verses'.

also indicate that Herbert had instructed two students in particular, Otto (fl. 1096x1119) and William Turbe (c.1096-1174). If we can assume that Herbert's correspondences with these students are representative of boys' access to instruction under the bishop at Norwich in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, the collection would suggest that access to the most advanced areas of literary education was highly selective at the Cathedral see. Since we know that William Turbe also later became cantor, prior, and then later still, Bishop of Norwich (1147-74), Herbert's *Epistolae* could even reveal that he instructed those boys to achieve just that.<sup>119</sup> This would suggest that boys' experiences of Latin instruction were also affected by the nature of the communities they entered, and that boys who entered episcopal sees enjoyed privileges not available to those who grew up in smaller priories or abbeys, and were also shaped by very local interests to produce a succeeding generation of bishops from within the confines of the oblate school.

### **Communities of Religious Women: Infancy**

In his *Vita Sancte Wihtburge*, Goscelin imagined that Whitburh's (d.743) nurses and tutors might have instructed the girl from infancy in order to 'charm her mind with the name of Christ' (*animos ad Christi nomen permulcere*).<sup>120</sup> In describing her exposure to the name of Christ (and we are left to imagine whether through the monosyllabic and vernacular *Crist* or the disyllabic and Latin *Christus*), Goscelin disclosed his subscription to the idea that the exposure of infant girls to words of a Christian nature

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<sup>119</sup> For more on William's education and career see, Christopher Harper-Bill, 'Bishop William Turbe and the diocese of Norwich, 1146-1174', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 7 (1985), pp. 142-160.

<sup>120</sup> Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Wihtburge Virginis*, in *The Hagiography of the Female Saints of Ely*, ed. and trans. Love, pp. 54-5.

would have an influence on a girl's development. Indeed, Goscelin's *Vita Wihtburge* appears to reveal a contemporary strategy of religious socialisation in infancy which we do not find in relation to boys of a similar age, and an assumption that religious language had potential to shape a girl's emergent vocabulary, her developing patterns of speech, and even her religious inclinations.

Saints' lives also suggest that infant girls were expected to experience some kind of instruction in Latin 'letters', and in a way which intersects with evidence we have seen in chapter one of the sometimes much younger ages of girls who entered religious houses (pp. 104-107). According to the author of the *Vita Regis Edwardi* (c.1065x1070), for example, Queen Eadgyth of England, (d.1075), who had commissioned the *Vita*, had begun her 'study of letters from her infancy' upon entering Wilton Abbey as a secular pupil in the late 1020s or early 1030s.<sup>121</sup> We find this picture of infant 'literacy' again in the twelfth century, in fact, and in the *Gesta Regum*, where William of Malmesbury appears to have thought it credible that Saint Eadburh, daughter of King Edward the Elder of Wessex and Mercia (899-924), would have acquired some knowledge in Latin letters by the time of her infancy too, and, indeed by the time she had entered Nunnaminster as an oblate, at the age of three.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> *Vita Edwardi Regis*, in *The Life of King Edward who rests at Westminster*, ed. and trans. Frank Barlow, OMT (rev. ed., Oxford, 1992), p. 22: 'A tempore infancie [in] studiis litterarum in monasterio'.

<sup>122</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum/History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. Roger A. B. Mynors, Michael Winterbottom, and Rodney M. Thomson, OMT (Oxford, 1998-9), II, c. 126, p. 201; Osbert of Clare, *Vita Sancte Ædburge Virginis*, in *Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Ridyard, pp. 264-5: 'Subtractis uero in modico nutricis uberibus, devote Deo femine Edeldrithe committitur, cuius instantia sacris litterarum informatur/A short while after she was weaned, and was committed to Æðelthryth, a woman devoted to God, she was quickly formed in sacred letters' my translation).

## Girlhood

The *Regula Benedicti*, the *Old English Rule* and the vernacular version of the *Regularis Concordia*, do not appear to expect this dynamic in infancy, but allow us to imagine that girls encountered Latin in their houses shortly after oblation, acquiring a functional degree of knowledge useful to making prayers and engaging in a liturgical round. These prescriptive documents also indicate that girls might have been expected to enter into formal educational structures. While they provide no certainty about girls' own conditions, we have seen in chapter one that saints' lives and letters to religious women suggest that girls' lives were informed by one of two systems (pp. 111-114). One of these, and based largely upon contemporary writings on Barking Abbey, suggests religious girls experienced a collective system of formal education which conformed closely to organisational forms anticipated by the *Regularis Concordia*. It suggests a context which included dedicated pedagogic offices for women teachers (*magistrae*), and described a 'school' environment (*schola*) of 'little girls' (*puellulae coetanae*).<sup>123</sup> Another, however, and based largely on Goscelin's writings relating to the Abbey of Wilton, affords a view of an educational system which centred on the individual girl, on the private cell or chamber, and on the instruction of internal religious teachers, identified sometimes as abbesses and otherwise as dedicated *magistrae*, and on the instruction of external tutors, identified sometimes as hired scholars and chaplains and otherwise as passing bishops.

Goscelin's *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, which offers us a longitudinal view of the education of Saint Eadgyth, beginning with the moment of her imagined entry into

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<sup>123</sup> Goscelin, *De Translatione vel Elevatione Sanctarum Virginum Ethelburgae, Hildelithae et Wlfhildae*, in 'Texts of Jocelyn of Canterbury', ed. Colker, 453.

Wilton Abbey as an oblate at the age of two and ending with her death at around the age of thirty, offers a principal source for this second model. This life is useful to us here because Goscelin's narrative also raises useful questions about the conditionality of educational experience on age and social status, and in ways which may correspond to evidence seen in chapter one of how disciplinary conditions might have been affected by infancy and by royal status (pp. 105-107, 118-122). Eadgyth was a daughter of a king, and so we can consider that Goscelin might also have sought to represent a set of experiences which were elevated, and described conditions which girls of high status may have encountered in particular:

Auctoritate quoque sancta flagrantie Edgari, inter sacerdotes Wiltonie qui precedebant arcam federis Domini, ministri dominici tabernaculi, pollebant duo, tam morum quam scientie philosophia uenerandi, quorum alter Radbodo Remensis de Sancto Remegio alter memoratur Benna Treuerensis canonicus de Sancti Paulini Patrocinio [...] Hi condigna reuerentia uicissim erudiebant alumnam spiritus sancti; hi portabant pedibus eius lucernam uerbi Domini, ut, accensis lampadibus scripturarum, lectis gradibus uirtutum, niteretur ad etherei regis solium [...] eruditor pudicus a foris per fenestram docebat et audiri magis quam uideri assueuerat, ut sancti pudoris uernulam decebat. Ornabant aures eius margaritis celestibus mater interius, magister exterius.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in 'La légende de ste Èdith', ed. Wilmart, pp. 50-1; trans. Hollis et al., *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 32: 'Among the priests of Wilton who went in procession before the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, ministers of the Lord's tabernacle, there were twin instructors who were of special weight by Edgar's authority, venerable for their wisdom both in life and in scholarship, of whom one is remembered as Radbodo of Rheims, from St. Remegius, the other as Benno, canon of Trier under the patronage of St. Paulinus [...] These men took turns to teach, with worthy reverence, this pupil of the Holy Spirit; these men brought to her feet the light of the word of God, so that by the light of the lamps of the scriptures and by choosing the steps of the virtues, she might advance towards the throne of the eternal king [...] The chaste teacher instructed her from outside through a window and accustomed himself to being heard rather than being seen, as was appropriate for the young pupil with her holy modesty. Her mother within and her teacher from outside adorned her ears with heavenly pearls'.

Goscelin accounts for the provision here of several teachers, with an internal teacher in the form of her mother, Abbess Wulfthryth, and at least two external teachers, in the form of two chaplains who had been hired by her father King Edgar – Radbod, a monk of Rheims, and Benno, a canon of Trier. Goscelin’s account of Eadgyth’s education gives an impression that her Latin learning at Wilton might not necessarily have been a collective experience. By using the imperfect past tense form of the verb *docere*, Goscelin indicates that her experience of isolated instruction could even have been a normal practice. Goscelin also indicates that much of Eadgyth’s education by external male chaplains, its reliance on oral dictation, choreographed behind screens or through windows, might have been determined by her gender and by her emergence into, if not rather by a growing anxiety about her emergence into a marriageable age. We might detect this, for example, in descriptions which suggest that her learning conditions and access to male tutors in particular became far more restricted as and perhaps because she approached a sexually mature stage of adulthood. If this was the case, and learning conditions depended on the anxieties of contemporaries about girls’ encounters with religious men, it remains unclear whether and how this sort of anticipated enclosure might have also shaped her Latin literacy. Goscelin’s account raises the question of whether and how far it might have disincentivised her learning or made for a more difficult context of learning in some respects, but his reference to specialist tutors also suggest that she might have benefitted in other ways, by having privileged access to some of the most learned scholars available.

Unlike evidence for the differentiation of use of violence on girls of different social status seen in chapter one (pp. 118-122), there are some reasons for supposing that these conditions might have been rather more widely shared by girls of different status at

royal foundations like Wilton. Goscelin described very similar conditions in a personal letter to Eafe, for example, a girl of perhaps noble but not royal stock and who had entered Wilton a decade or so before the Norman Conquest.<sup>125</sup> The *Liber Confortatorius* shows that Goscelin had acted as personal tutor to her at that house in a similar fashion to Radbod and Benno, and his account of his own teaching practices there in the 1050s and 1060s confirms that divided structures of education, split up between internal and external teachers and between female and male tutors, were important at Wilton in the late eleventh century:

Continuata quoque silentia tua, sollicita continentia, frequens  
psalmodia, pia magistre testimonia, magis accenderunt uota  
mea.<sup>126</sup>

Goscelin's *Liber Confortatorius* does not account for the possibility that he had taught other girls simultaneously, and so it would seem reasonable to consider that he had also been asked to instruct Eafe in a fashion similar to Saint Eadgyth, in person and in relative isolation. Goscelin's *Liber Confortatorius* provides us with a series of recollections of their early encounters in rough chronological sequence, beginning with her 'infancy' (*infantia*) in c.1058 and continuing until her confirmation as a 'virgin' (*uirgo*) in c.1065.<sup>127</sup> Unfortunately, Goscelin's account side-steps much of her childhood, and only begins to flesh out a portrait of Eafe as a young woman in 1065, when she already appears to have been able to participate in Latin conversation. His portrait of her capabilities by adulthood can be obtained from Goscelin's description of

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<sup>125</sup> Goscelin, *Liber Confortatorius*, ed. Talbot, p. 41: 'Hodie Normanni in angliam Britanniam in qua te quoque cum anglica gente constat fuisse aduenam; sed et patre Dano et matre Lotaringa a claris natalibus filiam emessiste anglicam'; trans. Otter, p. 42: 'Nowadays the Normans [who have come] to England or Britain, where the entire English people were once newcomers - including yourself who, the well-born daughter of a Danish father and a Loatharingian mother, turned out English'.

<sup>126</sup> Goscelin, *Liber Confortatorius*, ed. Talbot, p. 28; trans. Otter, *Liber Confortatorius*, p. 23: 'And as I continued to witness (sic) your silence, your careful continence, your singing of the psalms and the praises of your teacher, my desire was inflamed even more'.

<sup>127</sup> Goscelin, *Liber Confortatorius*, ed. Talbot, p. 28.

an occasion when they joined a feast to celebrate the dedication of Wilton's church to St. Mary. On this occasion, Goscelin recalled that he had 'passed [to Eafe] a plate of fish', and had enjoined upon her a spiritual lesson on the mortification of the flesh and the death of Christ with a cleverly arranged Latin pun, *piscis assus Christus passus* (our fish has been roasted, so Christ suffered).<sup>128</sup> In doing so, Goscelin appears to confirm that he had played at least some role in supporting Eafe's acquisition of fluency in Latin speaking. Indeed, it may confirm even more than this, and could suggest that Eafe had not only acquired the experience in Latin conversation necessary for understanding Goscelin's ad hoc witticisms, but may have been tutored in the structure of Latin verse, and had learnt to appreciate in this case Goscelin's proficiency in a popular rhetorical device known as 'homeoteleuton', playing on the repetition of inflectional endings.

The *Liber Confortatorius* also suggests that Goscelin had played a role in instructing Eafe on Latin composition. We find evidence of this, for example, in Goscelin's recollection 'my parchments and letters brought Christ to you'.<sup>129</sup> The passage is clearly poetic, and since parchments could not have undertaken any such action by themselves, it would seem wiser to re-impose Goscelin as the agent of instruction. This would allow us to establish more accurately that it was Goscelin, who 'very frequently brought his own parchments and letters [to Eafe], in order to instruct [her] on matters relating to Christ'. It would also allow us to confirm that external male tutors played a role at Wilton in encouraging girls' closer studies of Latin school-texts. Sadly, Goscelin did

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<sup>128</sup> Goscelin, *Liber Confortatorius*, ed. Talbot, p. 28: 'Cumque ex affectu patris interesset epulis cum matre mittens piscem tibi, tali elogio carnis mortificationem mandavi, *Piscis assus Christus passus*'; trans. Otter, *Liber Confortatorius*, p. 25: 'And when, through the generosity of your father, you and your mother attended the banquet, I passed you a platter of fish and enjoined upon you the mortification of the flesh with these words "*Piscis assus, Christus passus*".'

<sup>129</sup> Goscelin, *Liber Confortatorius*, ed. Talbot, p. 29: 'Afferebant tibi Christum frequentes membrane et schedule nostre, nec tue uocabant castissime littere'; trans. Otter, *Liber Confortatorius*, p. 25: 'My parchments and tablets brought Christ to you, and your very chaste letters were not slow in coming'.

not record quite what he meant by ‘letters’ (*litter[a]e*) – and whether, indeed, he had been responsible for instructing Eafe on grammar, on ‘sacred letters’, and on the Psalter and other Latin texts of a biblical and liturgical nature, or indeed school-texts of a more classical type.<sup>130</sup> By adding immediately afterwards, that Eafe had composed ‘[her] own very chaste letters’ to him in response (*tue castissimae littere*), Goscelin’s *Liber Confortatorius* could perhaps point us in the direction of his role in advancing her literary independence, and it could suggest that Goscelin had even played a role at Wilton analogous to Bishop Herbert at Norwich Cathedral seen above (pp. 195-197) – providing girls with a similarly intensive form of instruction in Latin, carried out through the mutual exchange of correspondences.

Sadly, this means that we possess little evidence, either in the works of Goscelin or elsewhere, to show how girls like Eafe might have first acquired their understanding of Latin. In asking whether any school-text might have supported girls’ literary instruction in a pre- or post-Conquest context, it would seem useful to ask whether the manuscript base allows for the transmission to women’s houses of school grammars which we know had been tailored for the instruction of Benedictine oblates. In doing so, we could centre our considerations on Ælfric’s well-attested *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* for example, and although the text has not often been seriously considered in this light, there are reasons to commend it.

It may be useful to recognise that a large portion of the extant fourteen complete or partial copies of Ælfric’s school-text on grammar have never been assigned a

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<sup>130</sup> Just one copy of a Latin Psalter with a continuous Old English Gloss has been connected to a community of women, at Shaftesbury, *The Salisbury Psalter*, ed. Celia Sisam and Kenneth Sisam, EETS o.s. 242 (Oxford, 1959), p. v.

provenance to a Benedictine community, male or female.<sup>131</sup> It will be useful to recognise too that the contents and structure of the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* allow for a wide audience, and fall in line with a contemporary practice visible in prescriptions which gave communities access to glossed or bi-lingual texts, and which possessed an inclusive and gender neutral vocabulary. We can note, for example, that the preface to the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* was addressed to an audience of students in twinned Latin and Old English versions, and while the Latin described ‘little boys’ (*pueruli*), the vernacular preface used the neutral *cild* (child).

Scholars have often considered that the contents of the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice*, and its many internal references to ‘boys’, indicate that it may have seen use in male houses. But it would also seem reasonable to consider that its internal references sustain an argument for a female audience, and allow us to situate the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* in view of the instruction of Benedictine girls. This potential acquires some credibility, for example, if we recognise that for each *fraterculus* and *lytel brodor*, Ælfric chose to offer a paradigm for a ‘little sister’, *sororcula* and *lytel swustor*.<sup>132</sup> For ‘boy’ and ‘boyish’, or *puer* and *puerulis*, Ælfric provided a corresponding *puella* (girl), *mægden* (maiden), *puellaris* (girlish), and *mædenlic* (virginal).<sup>133</sup> In his section on the morphology of feminine pronouns of the third declension, Ælfric demonstrated all forms through a complete declination of *soror* (sister).<sup>134</sup> If Ælfric’s inclusion of *uirgo* (virgin) also prompted a measure of instruction and learning about the concept of chastity, Ælfric’s framework of Latin terms and Old

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<sup>131</sup> Copies of the EGA have only been confidently located at Exeter, Canterbury, a house in the south-east, and Durham (Gneuss, *Handlist*, nos. 13, 244, and 686), for the rest, see Gneuss, *Handlist*, nos. 115, 182, 331, 336, 435, 441, 480, 494, 541, 876.

<sup>132</sup> EGA, p. 16.

<sup>133</sup> BT: n. *mægden*: ‘a maiden, girl, virgin’.

<sup>134</sup> EGA, pp. 24-6, at p. 111.

English equivalents appears to have associated girls in particular with *uirgo*, using the same vernacular term of reference, *mægden*, to provide a translation for both *uirgo* (virgin) and *puella* (girl).<sup>135</sup>

As we have seen above, Ælfric added into his *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* features which were not present in his exemplar, the *Excerptiones de Prisciano* (pp. 167-182). What has less often been appreciated, however, is that some of these additions relate to religious girls and women. These occasions include an example where Ælfric provided his audience with the relatively new-coined Old English term for a monastic woman, *mynecenu*, a term which had gained currency as a direct equivalent for the male *munuc*, and which might have been as useful in the education of religious boys and men as for religious girls and women.<sup>136</sup> More significant than this, however, are occasions where Ælfric introduced into a list of examples of nouns of the third declension a series of terms which recognised female holders of monastic offices, including *doctrix* (i.e. female teacher) *lectrix* (i.e. female reader) and *cantrix* (i.e. female choir-master/cantor).<sup>137</sup> In fact, Ælfric appears to have deliberately introduced into his school-text an apparatus which connected with the occupations of contemporary religious women. We may find two such examples in a section on pronouns, where he introduced into his *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* Latin and Old English terms for ‘seamstress’ or for women who embroidered or fashioned cloth (*sartix*, *seamystre*) and where he introduced a paradigmatic phrase describing ‘those who spin wool’ in order to weave cloth (*illae nent lanam, illarum uestis est/hi spinnad wulle, heora hrægl is*).<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> EGA, pp. 16-17, 37, at 17.

<sup>136</sup> EGA, p. 151; for more on this vocabulary, see Foot, *Veiled Women I*, p. 100.

<sup>137</sup> EGA, p. 48 and again at p. 71; compare with the solitary example of a masculine *doctor doctoris* in the *Excerptiones*, c. 219, p. 118 and compare also c. 272, p. 132.

<sup>138</sup> For *sartor*, *sartix*, *seamystre*, see EGA, p. 190; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 119, p. 240. For those who spin wool see also EGA, p. 97 (my translation).

Indeed, we also find examples where Ælfric described women who gave sermons (*ab istis mulieribus audiimus sermonem*),<sup>139</sup> and where he appears to have introduced into a section on adverbs a paradigmatic sentence relating to Christ as a spiritual ‘bridegroom’ (*uti sponsus, swaswa brydguma*).<sup>140</sup>

If these examples provide tentative grounds for establishing a connection to religious girls and women, there is much less room to doubt that Ælfric had intended to refer to girl religious in a paradigmatic sentence describing how the ‘religious woman watches over her girls when teaching’ (*ipsa monialis uigilat docendo puellas, seo mynecene wacað tæcende ðam mædencildum*).<sup>141</sup> Added to this, however, and perhaps more than any other single addition which could give visibility to communities of religious girls and women in the school-text, we should recognise Ælfric’s decision to introduce into a section concerning *gentilia*, or adjectives signifying communities or groups, the example of *wilteniensis uel wiltunisc*, Latin and Old English equivalent adjectives which described those who belonged to the town of Wilton.<sup>142</sup>

Ælfric’s mention of Wilton is striking, but its significance has perhaps not enjoyed the recognition which it has deserved. It is original to the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice*, and it would be very unlikely to have come from any continental exemplar. It would also seem to have been included with a particular interest to involve religious girls and women, and its presence here is surprising for a school-text which scholars have otherwise tended to associate closely, if not exclusively, with the instruction of

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<sup>139</sup> EGA, p. 98.

<sup>140</sup> EGA, pp. 97-8; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 13, p. 164. For ‘as a bridegroom’ see EGA, p. 229; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 47-8, p. 264. DOE: n. *brydguma*: ‘husband, bridegroom, suitor, mystically, epithet for Christ, in relation to a holy woman as bride, in relation to the Church as bride’.

<sup>141</sup> EGA, p. 151 (my translation); compare with *Excerptiones*, pp. 124-5.

<sup>142</sup> EGA, p. 13; compare *Excerptiones*, c. 12, p. 64.

religious boys. While it could be explained away with a view to that male audience, and understood as part of a desire on Ælfric's part to ensure that boys could identify houses of religious women, its presence in the context of the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* would also make it one of the most visible examples of recognition of a community of religious girls and women in any school-text on Latin grammar known to have been composed in this period. The connection of this work with religious girls and women who occupied Wilton Abbey is clear, and indeed, as clear as we could expect to find in a contemporary context. By referring to it, Ælfric would seem to have considered that that community would have been of interest to his audience and this point, taken together with references which add to the visibility of girls and women, contributes to the idea that it served in their houses. These indications only point us tentatively in this direction of course, but these elements do at least allow us to consider that the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* played a more significant role. Indeed, they allow us to consider that it may even have helped to foster something approaching an elementary grammatical 'curriculum' in England, contributing significantly to meeting the declared ideals of uniformity which, as we have seen in the introduction to this thesis (pp. 41-44), Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester had articulated in the prologue of his *Regularis Concordia*.

## Chapter Four: Adolescence and Adulthood

This chapter focusses on the formative influences of monastic adolescents and asks how oblates became adults. It assesses the role of rites of profession which allowed children to confirm their oblation, and it explores how children might have become adults in the absence of or in addition to the experience of any single ritual event. In doing so, it leans on the researches of Shannon Lewis-Simpson by considering that adulthood in the early medieval period can be treated as a status which needed to be ‘acquired’ through multiple factors with various social, chronological, cognitive, emotional, motor, and sexual aspects. It is with this in mind, that this chapter therefore also assesses the significance of experiences in adolescence which depended on disciplinary, liturgical, and literary spheres encountered in previous chapters.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter also gives attention to questions relating to monastic and church careers, and asks whether the prospect of a ‘future’ development might also have had a role in signposting the emergence of religious children into religious adulthood. This multi-focus approach lends itself to producing somewhat unsatisfying conclusions perhaps, and allows us only to gauge the different ways in which contemporary religious children may have entered into adulthood between the tenth and twelfth centuries. But this approach is appropriate to a thesis which is concerned with understanding an incomplete human life-cycle. It recognises the multi-directional nature of evidence for children’s lives and it represents the uncertainty of future experience. It is partly for these reasons, however, that I provide another anchor to arguments entertained in this chapter, and

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<sup>1</sup> Shannon Lewis-Simpson, ‘The Challenges of Quantifying Youth and Age in the Medieval North’, in *Northern World: Youth and Age in the Medieval North*, ed. Shannon Lewis-Simpson (Leiden, 2008), p. 4.

indeed throughout thesis as a whole, by reserving space at the very end of this chapter to consider surviving evidence of children’s “Voice”.

**Anglo-Saxon England:  
The end(s) of boyhood**

We can first ask whether religious boys emerged into adulthood by virtue of experiencing a single ritual event which conferred that status. There are problems with assuming that Anglo-Saxon boys would have *needed* to acquire a full monastic status equivalent to a senior monk of course. As we have seen in the introduction (pp. 39-41), Æthelwold’s *Old English Rule* insisted on the use of oaths in order to secure the religious entry of children into late Anglo-Saxon monasteries, and this evidence could be taken to suggest that he had considered child monks to be permanent members of contemporary communities. We have seen other glimpses of this position too in fact, in Ælfric’s elementary school-text on grammar, where he asked boys what order of monk they were (pp. 171-172). But the opening lines of Ælfric of Eynsham’s *Colloquium* disclose this expectation much more clearly. Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe has argued, for example, that the *Colloquium* not only gives us a window onto Ælfric’s irrevocable view of oblation but shows that Ælfric had encouraged Latin literate boys to identify themselves as professed as well:<sup>2</sup>

Professus sum monachus  
psallam omni die septem sinaxes cum fratribus  
et occupatus sum lectionibus et cantu.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For the original scholarship, see Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe, *Stealing Obedience: Narratives of Agency and Identity in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto, 2012), chapter 2 ‘Esto quod es: Ælfric’s Colloquy and the Imperatives of Monastic Identity’, pp. 94-150. For a more recent discussion see also, Rebecca Stephenson, *The Politics of Language: Byrhtferth, Ælfric, and the Multilingual Identity of the Benedictine Reform* (Toronto, 2015), chapter 5: ‘The Politics of Ælfric’s Prefaces’, pp. 135-8, esp. pp. 153-5.

<sup>3</sup> ÆlfColl, p. 19: ‘I am a professed monk. I sing seven times every day with the brothers, and I am kept busy with reading and singing’ (my translation).

Evidence for continued study of this section by generations of teachers and students in the form of new copies and vernacular glosses indicates that Ælfric's position remained current long after he was writing.<sup>4</sup> The evidence of the *Colloquia* of Ælfric Bata also supports this analysis. The *Colloquia* express Bata's position on oblation in very different ways to his teacher, and in ways which depend on the significance of the terminology he used to describe religious children and religious adults. Ælfric Bata allowed the occasional Latin diminutive *fraterculi* to throw light on differences in age between boys and men, for example, but in all other cases he equated boys with seniors, confirming his acceptance of their shared status by describing children and adults through the same fraternal vocabulary (i.e. *frater*).<sup>5</sup>

If Æthelwold's, Ælfric's, and Bata's shared position on the irrevocability of the oblation ritual was upheld for the remainder of the late Anglo-Saxon period, we should be careful not to preclude entirely the possibility that the Anglo-Saxon position on oblation was mixed, and perhaps as mixed as the already inconsistent body of church canons on oblation which we encountered in the introduction to this thesis, and which the Anglo-Saxons had inherited from Carolingian Europe (p. 21). It remains a possibility that some Anglo-Saxon religious adopted a ritual mechanism for signposting boys' emergence into adulthood by virtue of observing closely documents which were drawn up shortly after the Council of Aachen in c.817. These documents introduced into England church canons declaring the irrevocability of child oblation rituals while also requiring *pueri* to

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<sup>4</sup> Joyce Hill identifies three versions of Ælfric of Eynsham's *Colloquium*, one of which acquired an apparatus of Old English glosses in the eleventh century, see Joyce Hill, 'Winchester Pedagogy and the *Colloquy* of Ælfric', *Leeds Studies in English* n. s. 29 (1998), pp. 137-52.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. ÆlfBColl, pp. 80, 84, 92, 110, 120, 160-1.

undergo a ritual to ‘confirm’ (*confirmare*) their religious commitment at a vaguely defined ‘age of understanding’ (*in tempore intelligibili*).<sup>6</sup>

In the absence of evidence for the observance of an elevation ritual in later Anglo-Saxon monasteries, we can only turn to consider alternative mechanisms of transition, and ask whether closures in the gaps in the daily round which had set boys apart from seniors might have played a role in children’s emergence into adulthood before the Norman Conquest instead. For this, we can return to explore evidence seen in chapter one, concerning monastic discipline and conditions of behavioural learning. As I have explored previously, boy oblates and men living at the Old Minster appear not to have been expected to observe the same daily round (pp. 62-64). The *Regularis Concordia* points to differences in their conditions of supervision and the ways in which experiences of violent punishment depended on the influence of *magistri*. Indeed, it reveals differences in the ways boys participated in the choir (pp. 61-62), a *schola* (pp. 68-69), and in fixed routines for eating, for washing, and for using the toilet (p. 63). But the *Regularis Concordia* also reveals a vacuum of regulation about the nature of the children’s own round, obscuring our view of how boys closed those gaps and emerged into structures with which adults were otherwise associated.

We can perhaps turn to a more useful context of evidence which related to the role of the liturgy, and explore how changes in the areas of experience raised in chapter two, and which concern a gap visible between boys’ and seniors’ liturgical performances in choir, might have provided a mechanism of elevation into adulthood. As we have already seen in the Latin *Regularis Concordia*, at the section where Æthelwold referred

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<sup>6</sup> *Collectio Capitularis*, CCM I, c. 48, 529. See also de Jong, *In Samuel’s Image*, pp. 35, 46-7.

to *Tenebrae* on Maundy Thursday (see pp. 132-133), three groups of boys described as *pueri* were required to perform *Kyrie eleison*, *Christe eleison* and *Domine miserere nobis* from different parts of the church, one after the other. If the Latin *Regularis Concordia* revealed no expectation that that service should or might have been carried out by boys of significantly different ages, however, the same cannot be said of Old English glosses which were later added to a copy of the *Regularis Concordia* which was available at Canterbury in the eleventh century. This copy reveals instead that some houses expected a distinction between boy-singers, and expected that the two individuals who were to sing *Kyrie eleison*, would be *cnapan*, while the four remaining figures, who performed *Christe eleison*, and *Domine miserere nobis*, should be *cildra* or ‘children’.<sup>7</sup>

The decision of the glossator in this copy to describe the first group as *cnapan* is a surprising one. In every other location in the scribe’s apparatus of vernacular glosses to the Latin *puer*, the glossator had chosen to use the form *cild*, the direct cognate of the modern ‘child’ and, incidentally, Æthelwold’s own preferred vernacular equivalent to *infans* in his *Old English Rule*.<sup>8</sup> *Cnapa* is and can be a synonym of sorts for *cild*, and roughly translates as ‘boy’. It shares a semantic range with *cild*. But this gloss also resists such a reading here. It is also the case that *cnapa* was not an exact replacement, and possessed a usage in vernacular versions of Latin texts which also translated the Latin *adolescens*, meaning that glossators could differentiate our six singers by age, and

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<sup>7</sup> RC, p. 36. *Die Regularis Concordia*, ed. Kornexl, p. 75, the word by word gloss appears as follows: ‘*Cnapan*\* on swyðran dæle chores þa mid geswegre singan stæfne/Let the two boys/*adolescents*\* on the left part of the choir sing with a sonorous voice’ (my translation).

<sup>8</sup> *Die Regularis Concordia*, ed. Kornexl, p. 75; DOE: n. *cild*: ‘child’, n. *cnapa*: (1) ‘male child, boy, youth, young man’, (2) ‘specifically a son’, (3) ‘a boy servant – of any childhood age’, (4) ‘a servant of God – of any age’.

give visibility in the liturgy to boys who were either approaching puberty or who were approaching an age and status equivalent to adulthood.

That *cnapa* could mean adolescent and/or young man should not simply be accepted, however, and it is important to demonstrate not only that this was possible, but that there are in fact many cases in the works of Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham, Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester and in their social circles where contemporaries appear to have used the term *cnapa* to describe post-adolescent youths. We find just such a case, for example, in the homiletic writings of Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham, and in homily no. 28 of his first series in particular, where he described *cnapa* as boys who could be up to sixteen years old (*þæra cnapena þe binnon syxtyne geara ylde wæron*).<sup>9</sup> We also find this in the writings of Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester, and, indeed, in chapter 30 of his *Old English Rule*, where he translated the original Latin *adulescentiores ætate* with the phrase *stiðe cnapan*.<sup>10</sup> We also find this in sacred texts, and in a careful Old English translation of Genesis [39:10] now preserved in the *Old English Hexateuch* (an attempt to translate the first six books of the Old Testament into the vernacular, and of which Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham was an important contributor). This text provides several clear occasions which demonstrate a contemporary capacity to translate the Latin *adolescentes* with *cnapan*. Indeed, we find an occasion which demonstrates how *cnapa* related to chronology in the Anglo-Saxon view of a male life-cycle, describing Joseph as a *geong cnapa* when he was ‘sixteen years (winters) old’ (*Ða ioseþ wæs syxtyne*

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<sup>9</sup> ÆCHom I, 28, p. 24, line 412: ‘...of the boys who were within sixteen years of age...’ (my translation).

<sup>10</sup> RSB, c. 30, pp. 114-5; OERB, c. 30, pp. 53-4: ‘þonne geonge cild and stiðe cnapan...ðe hwonlice understandan magan hu micel wite is þæt man on amansungunge sie, þa ðyllice þonne hy agultað, him man styre oðþe mid swiðlicum fæstenum oðþe mid teartum singellum.../When young boys or manly lads, who hardly ever understand how great a punishment it is to be excommunicated, let them as such, when they commit an error, be disciplined either with a severe fast or with sharp beatings...’ (my translation). N.b. *stiðe* ‘manly’ means ‘stiff, hard, strong’, but I have considered that its purpose here is to emphasise maturation, see BT: adj. *stip*

wintre) – in fact, this passage suggests that *cnapa* could be sexually mature, and might, like Joseph, have been old enough to have been capable of ‘illicit sex’ (i.e. *7 þæt wif wearþ wrap þam geongum cnapan 7 he ascunode unriht hæmed = et mulier molesta erat adolescenti et ille recusabat stuprum*).<sup>11</sup>

This context of use of the word *cnapa* for an older boy, and potentially of boys who were of a post-adolescent age in the documentary record, intersects neatly with the distinction a glossator made to the *Regularis Concordia*. It helps us to understand the wider semantic range of *cnapa*, and allows us to give serious consideration to the visibility of older boys and adolescents in the apparatus of liturgical activities represented by surviving copies of the *Regularis Concordia*. It lets us recognise that contemporaries may have given distinctive roles to the *cild* and to the *cnapa*, and that liturgical services such as *Tenebrae* on Maundy Thursday played a role in communicating transitions between boyhood, adolescence, and adulthood.

Contributing further to the idea that this gloss for *cnapa* gives visibility to older boys if not ‘adolescents’, we can also turn to a fragmentary copy of the vernacular *Regularis Concordia* which we have seen previously (pp. 154-156) had required ‘two [children] of greater age’ (*twegen on maran ylde*) to recite *Domine miserere nobis*, at *Tenebrae* on Maundy Thursday.<sup>12</sup> This vernacular fragmentary copy reveals a similar response to the same Latin prescription, showing, and perhaps confirming, an expectation of difference in the ages of participants. If we accept that it points towards the participation of

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<sup>11</sup> DRV Genesis: 39:10: ‘Both the woman was importunate with the young man, and he refused the adultery’. Now in MS London BL Cotton Claudius B IV. See *The Old English illustrated Hexateuch: British Museum Cotton Claudius B. IV*, ed. Charles Reginald Dodwell and Peter Clemoes (Copenhagen, 1974), fol. 57v.

<sup>12</sup> Zupitza, ‘Ein weiteres Bruchstück’, p. 6.

significantly ‘older’ oblates, and, since it occurs in one of only two known fragmentary copies of the vernacular version of the *Regularis Concordia* which attracted feminine word forms, it may even have potential to connect us to religious girls and women, supporting the idea that at some reformed Benedictine houses the liturgy came to play a role in signalling the transitions of girls and boys into adulthood on a parallel basis.

We can also consider the role which might have been played by Latin instruction in signposting the emergence of religious boys into a status of religious adulthood. Saints’ lives provide evidence for a shift in educational focus, suggesting that religious boys were expected to turn at a stage of adolescence away from a pattern of studying Latin grammar and towards a focus on Christian poetry instead. Although Æthelwold had not been offered to a monastery as an oblate, and had acquired a monastic education, apparently from a relatively rudimentary stage, much later in life, Wulfstan Cantor’s (d.996) *Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi* framed the bishop’s earliest formal education at Glastonbury in these terms, emphasising a shift from learning the art of Latin grammar, to studying Latin metrics, or poetry, and subsequently to reading ‘the best-known Christian writers’.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, Wulfstan’s own recollections of schooling at the Old Minster in Winchester under Bishop Æthelwold suggest the bishop had been particularly enthusiastic in encouraging the study of Latin verses and metre in adolescence.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Wulfstan Cantor, *Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi*, in *The Life of Saint Æthelwold*, ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge, OMT (Oxford, 1991), pp. 14-5: ‘Didicit namque inibi liberalem grammaticae artis peritiam atque mellifluam metricae rationis dulcedinem, et morae apud prudentissimae; que solet boni odoris arbores circumuolando requirere et iocundi saporis holeribus incumbere, diuinorum carpebat flores uoluminum. Catholicos quoque et nominatos studiose legebat auctores/At Glastonbury he learned skill in the liberal art of grammar and the honey-sweet system of metrics; like a provident bee that habitually flits around looking for scented trees and settling on greenery of pleasant taste, he laid toll on the flowers of religious books. He was eager to read the best known Christian writers’.

<sup>14</sup> Wulfstan Cantor, *Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi*, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Lapidge, pp. 46-9: ‘Dulce namque erat ei adolescentes et iuuenes semper docere et Latinos libros Anglice eis soluere et regulas grammaticae artis ac metricae rationis tradere et iocundis alloquiis ad meliora hortari/ It was always sweet to him to teach adolescents and youths, translating Latin texts into English for them, and passing on the rules of the arts of grammar and of metrics’.

Byrhtferth of Ramsey (fl. 986-1016), schoolmaster to the adolescents of Ramsey Abbey, tells us in his *Enchiridion* that his own students scrutinised a body of texts by Latin Christian poets as well.<sup>15</sup> In fact, Byrhtferth's school-text is somewhat more instructive, and named a handful of the school-texts which boys had studied there, including the *Disticha Catonis*, the *Epigrammata* of Prosper of Aquitaine, the verses of Aelius Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale* (or The Easter Song), and Arator's versified *Historia Apostolica*. In terms of their contents, many of these school-texts were relatively short in length and had the sort of repetitive structures and shared vocabulary that might have helped with the task of memorisation of different types of verse, offering students opportunities to acquire more experience in handling biblical scripture.<sup>16</sup>

If educational manuscripts, including Cambridge University Library Gg.5.25, and the surviving body of didactic glosses added to surviving copies of school-texts present in them, give any indication of the extent of use of school-texts, Abbo of Saint Germain-des-Prés' (d.922) *Descidia Parisiacaе Polis* (Wars of the City of Paris) (and more specifically, book three) and Bishop Aldhelm of Sherborne's (d.709/10) twinned works, the verse and prose *De Virginitate* (On Virginitate), appear to have informed a particular apex of Latin scholarship and literary ambition in late Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>17</sup> Alistair Campbell and Michael Lapidge have drawn particular attention to the popularity of these

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<sup>15</sup> Byrhtferth, *Enchiridion*, ed. Peter Baker and Michael Lapidge, EETS s.s. 15 (Oxford, 1995), pp. 120-1.

<sup>16</sup> For some of the most important studies on our educational corpus, see Alan Rigg and Gernot Wieland, 'A Canterbury Classbook of the Mid-Eleventh Century (the "Cambridge Songs" Manuscript)', *ASE* 4 (1975), pp. 113-30; Gernot Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.5.35* (Toronto, 1983); Patrizia Lendinara, Lorendana Lazzari, and Maria Amalia D'Arconco (eds.), *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence* (Turnhout, 2007).

<sup>17</sup> Gernot Wieland, 'The Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of Prudentius' *Psychmoachia*', *ASE* 16 (1987), p. 217. Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 12, pp. 27-8. For all extant copies of the *Descidia Parisicase Polis* [or *Bella Parisiacaе Urbis*], see Gneuss, *Handlist*, nos. 12 (27), 93 (36), 252 (53), 435 (77), 438 (77). For more on the uses of hermeneutic texts, see the entry for 'Glossaries' in *Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia on Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Lapidge, Blair, Keynes, and Scragg, p. 212.

three works in fact, and have argued that contemporaries used them as material bases for cultivating a rhythmic and Greek-filled style of Latin composition called ‘hermeneutic’.<sup>18</sup>

Although the school of Æthelwold at the Old Minster in Winchester is particularly well known for the cultivation of this elevated Latin style – indeed, the prologue to the *Regularis Concordia* offers some example, and illustrates the prestige and importance which was already being attached to it under Bishop Æthelwold – the surviving documentary record suggests that it was cultivated much more widely. Byrhtferth of Ramsey may not have mentioned any study of the works of Abbo or Aldhelm in his *Enchiridion*, but his choice of title for that work (from the Greek equivalent of ‘manual’), his very extensive use of Aldhelm’s exotic vocabulary, and his similar use of a characteristic rhythm and poetic phraseology in all of his known Latin compositions – including his *Enchiridion*, which he might have begun compiling in his late teens (988x996), his lives of Saints Oswald and Ecgwine, and also his contributions to the *Historia Regum* (c.997x1002) – demonstrate the significance of this Latin style in his own educational training from boyhood.<sup>19</sup>

Scholars such as Rebecca Stephenson and Jonathan Secord-Davis have gone as far as to suggest that the hermeneutic style of which he and several of his contemporaries, including Ælfric Bata, were proficient, had become an identifying feature of the literary

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<sup>18</sup> Alistair Campbell and Michael Lapidge postulate that the study of Aldhelm might have originated at the school of Glastonbury in the 940s, Alistair Campbell, ‘Some Linguistic Features of Early Anglo-Latin Verse and its Use of Classical Models’, *Transactions of the Philological Society* 11 (1953), pp. 4-5; Lapidge, ‘The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England I: The Evidence of Latin Glosses’, pp. 99-140.

<sup>19</sup> For Michael Lapidge’s study of Byrhtferth’s Latin style and grecisms, of which ‘many were derived from...the writings of Aldhelm’, see Byrhtferth, *Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, ed. and trans. Lapidge, p. xlix. Campbell, ‘Features of Early Anglo-Latin Verse’, pp. 6-9.

works of Benedictine monks in pre-Conquest England.<sup>20</sup> Their studies have been concerned with understanding the relationship between acquired literary style and expressions of religious identity, and they have argued that the hermeneutic style had acquired the qualities of a private register of the Latin language. Indeed, they have argued that it had come to serve the purpose of allowing monastic students to signal to their peers the nature of their upbringing, signifying their possession of an identity as Benedictine monks, and, perhaps, their worthiness for career progression, at a time when monks could expect to dominate the episcopal bench.<sup>21</sup>

If this was the case at Winchester and Ramsey between c.950 and c.1000, it pays to ask too whether and how far similar educational trajectories might have informed the experiences and literary identities of adolescent monks who grew up at houses which are overlooked by virtue of the fact that they have not left behind evidence of outstanding scholarship. We can turn, for example, to consider a booklist which survives from Peterborough Abbey from shortly after its (re)foundation in c.970 (then known as *Medeshamstede* or *Burh*).<sup>22</sup> This booklist suggests that Peterborough held very few school-texts at an early stage, but insofar as we can observe this lack when compared to evidence of learning at much larger religious houses, the library would still appear to have allowed at that time for a limited study of intermediate versified Latin texts. Indeed,

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<sup>20</sup> Stephenson, *The Politics of Language*, p. 19; Jonathan Davis-Secord, 'Sequences and Intellectual Identity at Winchester', in *Latinity and Identity in Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Rebecca Stephenson and Emily Thornbury, Toronto Anglo-Saxon Series 22 (Toronto: University Press, 2016), passim.

<sup>21</sup> Stephenson, *The Politics of Language*, p. 19; Jonathan Davis-Secord, 'Sequences and Intellectual Identity at Winchester', in *Latinity and Identity in Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Rebecca Stephenson and Emily Thornbury (Toronto, 2016), esp. p. 115: [Hermeneutic Latin was the] 'defining feature of Benedictine monasteries in the Anglo-Saxon period [...] Byrhtferth presented knowledge of Latin and mastery of this challenging style as defining features of Benedictine monasteries in Anglo-Saxon England'.

<sup>22</sup> See Michael Lapidge, 'Surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England, Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 52-5.

it would seem to have supported the study of Latin poetry through an untitled metrical work on the twelve vices and virtues and a versified version of the *Vita* of Saint Felix. In fact, it would also appear that the library of Peterborough in c.970 was capable of allowing students to study the hermeneutic style, and could support their cultivation in adolescence or early adulthood of a characteristic vocabulary and rhythmic prose through study of a copy of Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés' *Descidia Parisiaca* *Polis*.<sup>23</sup> It is worth noting that Abbo's work is a singular representative of this type of study in the Peterborough booklist. The absence of any other supporting school-text, or indeed of any other popular school-text of the late Anglo-Saxon period, is more indicative of poverty in the material base at that foundation. But the presence of this school-text would suggest that Peterborough had co-ordinated to some extent with a set of educational expectations pursued at the largest Benedictine houses of the late tenth century, enabling students to acquire a literary identity which had come to be seen as a signifier of good Latinity in England before the Conquest.

It is possible too that the emergence of a larger number of boys into senior communities was shaped by mechanisms of promotion to holy orders. The *Regularis Concordia* required brethren to minister at the altars of churches and to support priests who celebrated two daily Masses. Indeed, it anticipated that members of religious communities would need to fill positions as priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, serving duties on a rotational basis each week.<sup>24</sup> The *Regularis Concordia* never directly referred to boys in relation to these roles. But there is evidence to suggest that boys were allowed to train for them, and were given opportunities to learn by imitation how to approach holy spaces, hold or clean ritual items, and carry out the complex of rituals

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<sup>23</sup> Lapidge 'Surviving booklists', pp. 52-5.

<sup>24</sup> RC, pp. 40, 47, 64; EME, pp. 124-5.

which would make a candidate suitable for ordination once they had reached a canonical age.

The evidence base for this is not especially rich. Christopher Jones' study of an erasure of the word *puer* visible in a surviving copy of Ælfric's *Epistula ad monachos* has shown that Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham might, on one occasion, have expected a boy to carry out duties proper to acolytes or sub-deacons, supporting the priest who celebrated the Morrow Mass on Palm Sunday.<sup>25</sup> But the idea that contemporary houses enabled boys to participate in sacraments and train for ordination depends more on the significance of the evidence of contemporary saints' lives. Byrhtferth of Ramsey and Eadmer of Canterbury both framed the acquisition of holy orders in this way in their versions of the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, for example, treating ordination as a key watershed in their narratives on Oswald's religious life-cycle. Eadmer in particular went as far as to suggest that Oswald had been promoted to the diaconate while still in his adolescence (*decanus factus adolescens*), and used the moment of describing Oswald's elevation in order to emphasise the shift which it brought about, enabling his emergence from being a student and from being subject to the guidance of seniors, to being a teacher and a model of heavenly discipline for those senior to him in age.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> EME, pp. 124-5: 'Interim dum matutinalis missa canitur, agatur a sacerdote cum quodam puero\* processio in claustris/While the Matutinal Mass is being sung, the procession in the cloister shall be carried out by a priest, with a boy as server'; Christopher Jones notes that this mention of a boy\* appears to have been later erased from the MS, possibly because the sub-diaconate was later elevated to the status of a Holy Order, becoming inaccessible to boys.

<sup>26</sup> Byrhtferth, *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, in *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, in *Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgbine*, ed. and trans. Michael Lapidge, pp. 50-1. Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, in *Eadmer of Canterbury: Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, ed. and trans. Benjamin J. Muir and Andrew J. Turner, OMT (Oxford, 2006), pp. 224-5.

**Anglo-Norman England:  
The end(s) of boyhood**

If the Carolingian Councils at Aachen in c.817 had led to the fragmentation of a position on the irrevocability of child oblation in England, evidence for the conditionality of oblation and for the emergence of a ritual event which signposted boys' acceptance into an adult religious society only seems to materialise after the Norman Conquest. This evidence emerges in the more detailed prescriptive context of a chapter of the *Constitutiones* of Canterbury, where Lanfranc articulated a Carolingian expectation that boys at Christ Church would need to undergo a ritual of profession upon reaching the age of fifteen:<sup>27</sup>

Cum uero adulta etate facturus professionem fuerit, fiant ei cetera que superius debere fieri conuerso iam diximus. Hoc enim quod modo factum est, iterari non oportet.<sup>28</sup>

This adulthood profession appears to have been intended to secure boys to the religious life, differing in form from both an oblation and the profession of adult novices. Eadmer of Canterbury's (1060-1126) *Vita Sancti Anselmi* confirms the emergence of this ritual of profession for oblates in a near contemporary account of the elevation of Osbern, a boy who appears to have entered the Norman Abbey of Bec under Anselm. Eadmer disclosed that Osbern underwent a ritual which secured his status after oblation (*oblatio*) and which he and his contemporaries at Canterbury appear to have called a 'profession' (*professio*). Indeed, his account suggests that he had considered that this ritual was similar to oblation, and was believed to have had a similar sacramental quality and a

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<sup>27</sup> De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, p. 188.

<sup>28</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 105, pp. 164-5: 'When he has grown up and is to make his profession, all is done as described previously for the case of one coming into the monastery from the world: for the part which has been done already should not be repeated'.

purifying efficacy.<sup>29</sup> Insofar as Eadmer describes a ritual which he believed had been observed in Normandy, however, the contemporary manuscript record also preserves evidence for ritual *ordines* which seem to organise rituals of profession used in England, and in a Benedictine context outside of Archbishop Lanfranc's Benedictine priory at Canterbury. We find this, for example, in the case of the Pontifical of Bishop Samson of Worcester (1096-1112) which was compiled for use at his Benedictine community after the death of Bishop Wulfstan.<sup>30</sup> This *ordo*, which now appears in the unprinted manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 146, under a section entitled, 'the blessing of a boy as a monk' (*benedictio pueri in monachum*), initially appears to offer a framework for oblation, but presents us with a formulation which does not appear to be consistent with the form described in the *Regula Benedicti* or, indeed, anywhere else in contemporary documentary record:

Ego frater N[omen] offero hunc puerum illum cum oblatione in manu atque petitione [...] Illum abbatis presentia trado coram testibus regulariter permansurum [...] promitto cum iureiurando coram Deo et sancta Maria quod nunquam per suspectam personam nec quolibet modo per rerum mearum facultates aliquando egrediendi ei de monasterio tribuam occasionem.<sup>31</sup>

In some respects, its wording resembles the petition set out in chapter 59 of the *Regula Benedicti* (pp. 20-21), but the *ordo* opens unexpectedly, revealing discrepancies which

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<sup>29</sup> Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Anselmi*, in *The Life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. Richard William Southern, OMT (rev. ed., Oxford, 1972), c. 10, pp. 18-9: 'Priusquam a parentibus ad seruitium Dei in monasterium offerretur commiserate [...] post oblationem parentum ante suam professionem fecerat illum accusavit [...] post professionem ante obitum/[His sins were wiped clean, which he had made] before he was offered by his parents to the service of God in the monastery [...] and the sins he had committed since he made his profession [were wiped clean by his vows] [...] and [those sins he made] after his profession before his death [were wiped clean by his confession]'.

<sup>30</sup> CCCC, MS 146, pp. 56-59.

<sup>31</sup> CCCC MS 146, p. 56: 'I brother n[ame] offer this boy with oblation in my hand and with petition [...] I give this [boy] in perpetuity in accordance with the rule in the presence of the abbot and before witnesses...[and] I promise before the law and before God and holy Mary [that] never through me nor through any appointed person nor by any means of mine will I give occasion for the boy to leave the monastery', (my transcription and translation).

indicate that it was intended for a different purpose. It is voiced by a professed monk rather than by a parent (*Ego...frater*). It does not require any promise to be given by secular parents or guardians in order to fasten the child to the monastic life. Indeed, it seems to have assumed that the boys who would have been subject to its ritual would also have already been members of that community:

Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris et hunc famulum  
n[omen] benedicere dignare cui in sancto tuo nomine habitum  
sacrae religionis imponimus ut te largiente deuotus in ecclesia  
persistere et uitam percipere mereatur eternam.<sup>32</sup>

This closing intercession, assigned to the abbot (or bishop) and undertaken in the presence of the community, appears to have required boys to promise that they would *stay* in their specific monastic community. It is the presence of the Latin verb *persistere* which suggests this intended purpose, grounding a consideration that the ritual was a ‘confirmation’ ritual. This ritual could have taken place after a period of time during which boys had been housed and educated, and once they had either reached a sufficient threshold of compliance with monastic norms or attained an ‘age of understanding’.

Attitudes to irrevocable oblation were likely to have been mixed too, however, and evidence for contemporary views on the irrevocability of oblation would suggest that it remained mixed long into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The documentary base of the twelfth century allows us to identify several houses, for example, where an irrevocable line on child oblation might have continued to be upheld. The additions of generations of authors who maintained the post-Conquest portions of a document

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<sup>32</sup> CCCC MS 56, p. 56: ‘Attend our prayers O Lord, and deign to bless this n[ame] on whom we confer the habit of holy religion in your holy name so that having vowed to stay in the church and through your assistance he may deserve to receive eternal life’, (my transcription and translation).

known as the *Liber Vitae*, a document which lists the names of those who became monks at the New Minster and Hyde Abbey of Winchester, and which lists the names of hundreds of *pueri* among them – including one in particular, called *Deodatus* (lit. ‘I have been given to God’), and almost certainly representing an oblate boy who entered that house between c.1030 and 1222 – reveal no change in the terms of child oblations before the abbacy of John Sutcliff c.1178x1222, when a final two entries for *pueri* were retrospectively erased.<sup>33</sup> Richard of Ely (d.1189), author of the *Liber Eliensis* in the late-twelfth century, still described boys of that house as professed monks at the time he was writing.<sup>34</sup> The twelfth-century *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon* categorised ‘boys’ as ‘monks’ into the twelfth century as well, and, in the cases of a knight of Henry I’s called Gilbert Basset who had his son Robert made a monk of Abingdon (*Robertum monachum in hac ecclesia fecit*), and of another knight called Norman, who petitioned for his son Eudo to be made a monk at Abingdon under Abbot Vincent (1120-30), the *Chronicon de Abingdon* suggests that boys were being secured irreversibly to the oblate status simply by virtue of having been clothed in the monastic habit.<sup>35</sup>

Where oblations might have been considered irrevocable in this way, and where rites of profession might not have provided a significant watershed in boys’ religious lives between childhood and adulthood, we can expect that other mechanisms of elevation, including those which depended on the closure of gaps between the routines of boys and seniors on a daily round, might have continued to be significant. In terms which

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<sup>33</sup> *Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester: British Library Stowe 944: Together with leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A. VIII and British Library Cotton Titus D. XXVII*, ed. Simon Keynes (Copenhagen, 1996), fols. 22v, 23r, 23v.

<sup>34</sup> Richard of Ely accounts for the presence of boy monks during the episcopacy of Nigel of Ely (1133-1169), see *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake, bk ii, p. 169, and bk. iii, p. 379.

<sup>35</sup> *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. Joseph Stephenson (London, 1858), II, pp. 145, 169, 170, 207.

build upon the environmental and disciplinary structures outlined in chapter one for example, the *Constitutiones* allow us to consider the importance of a moment in boys' lives of the role of elevation in a hierarchy of seating in the choir (pp. 84-86), and of the movement of boys from their own places and conditions of supervision (pp. 85-86), into spaces and systems of seating which were shared by and which signalled peership with seniors.<sup>36</sup> Lanfranc's consuetudinary reveals this elevation in the choir, for example, in prescriptions relating to the services of Maundy Thursday, where he required boys to observe different arrangements from adults. Here, Lanfranc required youths or *iuuenes* to enter and stand with seniors (*iuuenes uero qui in custodia sunt mixtim sint in ordine seniorum*), and in a way which expected youths to adhere to a form of seating signalling their acquisition of a senior liturgical status.<sup>37</sup>

In fact, Lanfranc's *Constitutiones* provide evidence for an intermediary round which was followed by youths and which may have facilitated a gradual transition into senior routines between boyhood and adulthood. We can see this where the *Constitutiones* required youths to experience different, and indeed potentially more intensive supervisory conditions from boys for example. Lanfranc required youths to be tutored and guarded by different groups of *magistri*, and he anticipated that every two would either continue to be overseen by at least one *magister* (pp. 92-93), or, if the community were large enough, that each youth would have his own (or more) guardian(s) (*singuli singulos, aut plures, sit anta copia est, custodes habeant*).<sup>38</sup> He expected that each

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<sup>36</sup> For the role of the seating hierarchy, see *Constitutiones*, c. 107, pp. 168-9.

<sup>37</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 28-31, pp. 42-3: 'In matutinis laudibus, cum incipiunt psalmum *Laudate Dominum de celis*, uadant magistri inter infantes, qui et uersi sint ad priores, sicut et ipsi infantes; iuuenes uero, qui in custodia sunt, mixtim sint in ordine seniorum/ At lauds, when the psalm *Laudate Dominum* is begun, the masters shall join the children and face the seniors with them; the young monks under ward shall be mingled with the seniors'.

<sup>38</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 110, pp. 174-5: 'They have each one or more guardians, if this is practicable'.

youth would either continue to share a lantern with another youth, much like younger boys (seen at pp. 88-90), or, if resources permitted, that each youth would be given their own lantern.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, in addition to this, Lanfranc required youths to use their own ‘ward room’ (*locus custodie*), a room which appears to have been set apart from the *schola* and which was governed by its own *magistri*.<sup>40</sup> The *Constitutiones* suggest therefore that youths were to be isolated from both boys and seniors, and were subject to more prescriptive regulations than had their less visible Anglo-Saxon counterparts, in a way that also marked their transition away from boyhood and toward a status which approached that of adulthood.

Maria Lahaye-Geusen has previously drawn attention to areas of Lanfranc’s *Constitutiones* that reveal discrepancies in activities between boys and youths and which also seem likely to have played a role in signposting transitions into adulthood. She has noted in particular, for example, that differences in the duties of boys and youths manifest themselves in the *Constitutiones* in terms which restricted boys – which forbade boys from attending to the dying during Divine Offices and from preparing dead bodies for burial – but which lifted restrictions for all older groups; expecting youths to take up psychologically more challenging tasks, like having to wash the deceased bodies of other children, youths, and former brethren.<sup>41</sup> We find more evidence suggesting that

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<sup>39</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 110, pp. 174-5: ‘Singuli singulas laternas in nocte ferant/each one carries a lantern by night’

<sup>40</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 110, pp. 174-5: ‘Extra locum custodie sue sine custode nusquam procedant /They shall go nowhere outside their ward room without one of their guardians’ and also ‘Preter abbatem, priorem, magistrosque eorum, nulli liberum sit in loco custodie eorum deputato sedere/Save for abbot, prior, and their masters no one may sit in the place set aside as their ward-room’.

<sup>41</sup> See the chapter on ‘Kinderkrankheiten’ in Maria Lahaye Geusen, *Das Opfer der Kinder*, pp. 320-4. For this evidence of difference in the rounds of boys and youths in relation to the provision of Last Rites and to the washing of the corpse of a dead brother, see *Constitutiones*, c. 112, pp. 180-3: ‘Remanentibus in choro infantibus cum magistris suis et aliquibus fratribus quibus iussum fuerit, reliqui omnes ad egrum currant/ If someone is dying during Mass or an office, the children and masters stay in choir to maintain the daily offices while all the rest go to the bedside of the dying brother’, and also c.112, pp. 182-3: ‘Portetur corpus ad lauandum ab iis de quorum ordine fuit id est sacerdos a sacerdotibus, diaconus a diaconis et sic in reliquis ordinibus, conuersus a conuersis; infans tamen non

the daily round played a role in integrating youths into a senior round in relation to prescriptions which concerned their diet, for example. Indeed, Lanfranc appears not to have permitted youths to enjoy privileges which we have seen were allowed to boys, such as an earlier meal before Vespers on Holy Saturday, or, indeed, an automatic entitlement to a breakfast or interval meal called the *mixtum* (pp. 89-90). We find evidence of change in boys' rounds in Lanfranc's section on shaving or tonsuring as well.<sup>42</sup> Here, Lanfranc required 'oblate youths' (*iuuenes nutriti*) to be separated from one another and to adhere to procedures which differentiated them from both younger boys and seniors. Lanfranc expected that youths would know how to shave but required that they should not shave one another, and would only be permitted to shave their own dedicated custodians in turn.<sup>43</sup> Allowing youths to shave masters allowed for a far greater level of responsibility to youths than he had given to boys of younger age, but in addition to this, Lanfranc also allowed that youths could be shaved by another trustworthy senior monk if their own guardians were unable. In doing so, Lanfranc reveals too that the practice of shaving had a role in allowing youths to leave behind routines of boyhood, and indeed, the *Constitutiones* suggest that shaving – and we could postulate further perhaps that the shaving of facial hair might have become important –

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ab infantibus sed a conuersis/The corpse shall be taken for washing by those of the same order as the dead man, that is, priests for a priest, deacons for a deacon, and so forth converses for converses. A boy's corpse shall, however, not be washed by children but by converses'.

<sup>42</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 94, pp. 136-9, esp. pp. 138-9: 'Iuuenes qui sunt in custodia custodes suos radant, et custodes ipsos iuuenes. Quod si custos nequierit, aut nescierit radere, roget aliquem maturum fratrem, ut eum radat, ipse tamen custodiens ipsum iuxta eum sedeat. Iuuenes quoque, siue nutriti, siue de seculo uenientes, utrique tamen extra huiusmodi custodiam existentes, non presumant ut alter alterum radat, sed seniores ab illis, et illi a senioribus radantur/The juniors under ward shall shave their guardians, and the guardians shall shave their juniors. If a guardian knows not how, or is physically unable to shave, he shall ask a brother of mature age to shave his junior for him, but he himself shall sit by meanwhile. The juniors no longer under ward, whether alumni of the house or those who have come from the world shall not presume to shave one another, but shall shave, and be shaved by, senior monks', and for the sake of comparison, on boys 'Magistri pueros radant, et ipsi a pueris radantur, si tamen huiusmodi scientiam habent/The masters shall shave their children and they shall be shaved by them, if they know how to do it'.

<sup>43</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 94, pp. 136-9.

played a role in allowing youths to step much more closely into the social orbit of adults too.

Evidence of the integration of youths into the senior liturgical round takes a form more familiar to us from the *Regularis Concordia*, and in a way that depends upon a similar vacuum of evidence. To be clear, the invisibility of youths is not absolute. Lanfranc does in fact provide a single context in chapter no. 73 where he expected *iuuenes* to play a specific role in singing the antiphons at Vespers on feast days of the third rank, suggesting that the liturgy at Canterbury played a role in signposting an individual's emergence into 'youth'. But the rest of Lanfranc's prescriptive context makes it difficult to say and understand much more with any certainty.<sup>44</sup> We can perhaps only consider on a more contingent level that Lanfranc's silence on the participation of youths was deliberate, and stemmed from a desire to ensure that boys merged seamlessly into duties associated with *seniores*. In this way, the liturgy might have played a function in signposting a radical shift in boys' performances as they matured, requiring them not only to abandon conditions of supervision encountered above (pp. 84-86, 89-96) and with which they had associated since their oblation, but to participate in the choir in ways which depended upon a corporate and adult liturgical identity.

Our picture of educational transitions after the Norman Conquest is complicated by the fact that a large number of saints' lives composed in this period took as their subjects saintly men and women who had been educated within an Anglo-Saxon monastic culture. In cases where no pre-Conquest life for a saint survives, our sources make it

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<sup>44</sup> *Constitutiones*, c.73, pp. 98-9: 'Antiphonas super psalmos ad uesperas imponant iuuenes, quibus cantor precepit/ At Vespers those of the young monks who are so directed by the cantor shall begin the antiphons'. These feasts are listed on pp. 98-9.

difficult to distinguish records as being representative of earlier Anglo-Saxon or early Anglo-Norman monastic practice. There are some post-Conquest lives which appear to show practices that might even have bridged pre-Conquest and post-Conquest experiences. We may find one such case in William of Malmesbury's *Vita Sancti Wulfstani*, for example. This saint's life allows us to consider that students' emergence into religious adulthood might have been signposted by the movement of students from one house to another. While describing at first the pre-Conquest movement of the young Wulfstan and his departure from Evesham Abbey for training at the larger Abbey at Peterborough on the cusp of adolescence, William of Malmesbury also added that Wulfstan's own student, Nicholas, had gone to Canterbury in c.1080, playing a role in transmitting knowledge of Lanfranc's customs to Worcester in the years before he was promoted to the post of prior at Worcester (1116-1124). In doing so, William reveals to us that such movements might have had a secondary function in marking the lives of adolescents, and did so before and after the Norman Conquest as well.<sup>45</sup>

Most saints' lives present a picture of educational experience suggesting that Latin instruction continued to shape adolescents in ways which depended on a shift in the focus of boys' Latin studies from the study of grammar and onto more advanced poetic Latin texts. Eadmer of Canterbury introduced a division into his version of the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, for example, separating the earliest period of his education on letters to study of 'the knowledge of secular books' (*scientia librorum saecularium*), and from a yet later period of 'reading the pages biblical scripture' (*paginae diuinarum litterarum*).<sup>46</sup> Some lives express a trajectory of Latin instruction which differs slightly

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<sup>45</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Vita Sancti Wulfstani*, in *Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, pp. 132-3.

<sup>46</sup> Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, in *Lives and Miracles*, ed. and trans. Muir and Turner, pp. 222-4.

from this model, and William of Malmesbury's recollection of his own education serves to remind us that Latin instruction might have played a subtly different role in the lives of capable Latin students who did not obtain a promotion to higher monastic or church office. William's recollections of his 'early manhood' (*iuuentus*), for example, suggest that his adolescence was not only marked by his experience of study of an emerging corpus of school-texts popular after the Conquest such as Lucan's (d.65) poem *De Bello Ciuili* (On Civil War), but by a continuation of his studies into areas of a scientific quadrivium.<sup>47</sup> William's experience of Latin instruction appears in fact to have allowed him to continue his Latin reading without obvious terminus, allowing him to range widely, and to 'give an ear to instruction on logic' (*logicam solo auditu libauit*), as well as medicine (*physicam pressius concepi*), and ethics.<sup>48</sup>

Boys also appear to have been encouraged to acquire and express a different style of Latin literacy after the Norman Conquest. The *Versus allegorici* (or 'Allegorical Verses') composed by Bishop Patrick of Dublin after the Norman Conquest (1074-1084), belonged to a tradition characterised by a hermeneutic vocabulary and rhythm considered in the section above (pp. 217-220).<sup>49</sup> But Patrick was also among only very few monks, including Osbern of Canterbury and Osbert of Westminster (d.1158) who we know wrote in this style between c.1070 and 1150.<sup>50</sup> Surviving manuscripts and catalogues of school libraries shed light on changes in Latin instruction, and indicate that the period which followed the Conquest in England saw an expansion in the scope

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<sup>47</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum/History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. Mynors, Winterbottom, and Thomson, I, pp. 150-2.

<sup>48</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gest Regum/History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. Mynors, Winterbottom, and Thomson, I, pp. 150-2.

<sup>49</sup> Patrick of Dublin, *Versus allegorici*, ed. and trans. Aubrey Gwynn, *Writings of Bishop Patrick of Dublin, 1074-1084* (Dublin, 1955), pp. 89-91, 97.

<sup>50</sup> Rodney Thomson, 'Two Versions of a Saint's Life from St Edmund's Abbey: Changing Currents in Twelfth-Century Monastic Style', *Revue Bénédictine* 84 (1974), p. 383.

of metrical and quadrivial study in Benedictine houses as well as a shift towards the study of school-texts which were valued for a plainer Latin style.<sup>51</sup> Only a small number of manuscripts compiled at particularly conservative houses between the late-eleventh and early-twelfth century give witness to a continued pre-occupation with texts popular in pre-Conquest libraries. An un-localised and unprinted manuscript of the second quarter of the twelfth century, now London, British Library MS Harley 4092, preserves copies of Prudentius' *Psychomachia* and Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale* and other hymns, testifying to a degree of continued interest in established authors.<sup>52</sup> A collection from Æthelwold's foundation at Thorney Abbey c.1100, now preserved in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS advocates 18.6.12 and 18.7.8, indicates too that 'hermeneutic' school-texts, such as Abbo of St-Germain's *Descidia Parisiaca Polii*, continued to be influential into the twelfth century.<sup>53</sup> But even in this very conservative compilation, there were classical Latin school-texts, including works by Horace (*Epistulae*), Cicero (*Orationes*), and Sallust (*Inuectiva*) that were relatively unknown to Anglo-Saxon libraries, and which represent the emergence in England's Benedictine houses of a programme of reading connected with continental trends in education, ensuring that students adopted a style valued by a much wider European community.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> For more on this expansion c.1066 and 1130, see Gameson, *Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, pp. 13, 25-9; Suzanne Reynolds, 'Glossing Horace: Using the Classics in the Medieval Classroom', in *Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: Production and Use*, ed. Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel and Margaret Smith (London, 1996), pp. 103-17; Antonia Gransden, 'Traditionalism and Continuity during the Last Century of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40 (1989), p. 202.

<sup>52</sup> Gameson, *Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, no. 453, p. 108.

<sup>53</sup> Gameson, *Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, nos. 290, 291, p. 88.

<sup>54</sup> For more on the twelfth century 'renaissance', see Rodney Thomson, *Books and Learning in Twelfth Century England: The Ending of the "Aster Orbis"* (Walkern Herts, 2006), pp. 5-10; Rodney Thomson, 'Where were the Latin Classics in Twelfth-Century England?', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 7 (1997), 25-40; Rodney Thomson, 'Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *Books and Collectors c.1200-1700, essays presented to Andrew Watson*, ed. James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite (London, 1997), pp. 4, 12-3.

As we have seen in chapter three (pp. 195-197), the *Epistolae* or ‘Letters’ of Bishop Herbert of Norwich (1096-1119) provide direct evidence for the education of oblates, and this remains the case at a more advanced stage of the Latin curriculum too. On one occasion, these *Epistolae* suggest that boys studied Christian poetry, advancing later still into the study of Aristotle’s *Topics* and *Categories*.<sup>55</sup> They suggest that boys read Sedulius’ *Carmen Paschale* with some enthusiasm, for example, indicating that Christian poets continued to provide students with a material base for their study of the gospels, Latin hexameters, and modes of biblical exegesis after the Conquest.<sup>56</sup> At the same time, the *Epistolae* suggest that Herbert strongly disapproved of students who spent too long in reading Christian poets, and on the occasion of one letter he both demanded to know ‘how long [students] intend to loiter in the study of Sedulius?’ and asked them to ‘break off what [they were] reading’.<sup>57</sup> Herbert’s justifications for their break in study show that his disapproval stemmed from a concern about the potential impact on boys’ Latinity and biblical learning of a Late Antique example of a versified Gospel.<sup>58</sup> They disclose too that Herbert did not consider that the study of the Gospels

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<sup>55</sup> Herbert de Losinga, *Epistolae Herberti*, ed. Anstruther, no. 49, pp. 86-7: ‘Labora terminare Topics differentias et diligenter accipe praedicamenta Aristotelis antequam ueniam domum. Non attendas tui college delicias cui sufficit nosse nomina librorum quos legit et suae lectionis nominare folia [...] tuo desiderio triuuium commendo et quadriuium, septem uidelicet liberales artes’; trans. Symonds and Goulburn, *Letters of Bishop Herbert*, I, no. 49, pp. 35-6: ‘Strive to finish the different kinds of Topics and take up diligently the Categories of Aristotle before I get back home. Do not copy your associate (Otto) who thinks it sufficient to know the names of books and to assert the number of pages he has read [...] I commend to your ardent pursuit the study of the Trivium and the Quadrivium, that is, of the seven liberal arts’. Herbert says that they were ‘preadolescent boys’, *Epistolae Herberti*, ed. Anstruther, no. 30, p. 62: ‘Item in uersu xi, te numquam uocavi “iuuenem” quia *adhuc impuber es*’; trans. Symonds and Goulburn, *Letters of Bishop Herbert*, I, no. 30, p. 28: ‘Also in line 11, take note that I have never called you a “youth”, because you are still under age’.

<sup>56</sup> Herbert directly refers to the boys as adolescents, see Herbert de Losinga, *Epistolae Herberti*, ed. Anstruther, nos. 22, 30, pp. 41, 62; trans. Symonds and Goulburn, *Letters of Bishop Herbert*, I, nos. 22, 30, pp. 28, 37.

<sup>57</sup> Herbert de Losinga, *Epistolae Herberti*, ed. Anstruther, I, no. 9, p. 13; trans. Symonds and Goulburn, *Letters of Bishop Herbert*, I, no. 9, p. 19.

<sup>58</sup> Herbert de Losinga, *Epistolae Herberti*, ed. Anstruther, I, no. 9, pp. 43-4: ‘Quousque in Sedulis delitescitis? Magna quidem sunt sacramenta Sedulii, sed ea Matthaesus et Marcus, Lucas et Joannes luculentiori exsequuntur stilo. Solidus cibus est euangelicus sermo et perfectis mentibus conseruandus. Aetas tenera lacteis adoletur alimentis, et inter lasciuientes fabellas tenerae puerorum mentes urbanas dictiones et subtilium orationum compositione sinseparabiliter imbibunt’; trans. Symonds and Goulburn, *Letters of Bishop Herbert*, I, no. 9, pp. 19-20: ‘How long do you mean to

was appropriate to adolescents either. Indeed, his *Epistolae* suggest that Herbert had thought that Holy Scripture should not be studied through an intermediary, but should be postponed until students had ‘reached a maturity’ of age suitable to a more direct type of study of the ‘more excellent style’ of the Gospels themselves, suggesting that adolescents should initially focus on the study and imitation of classical Latin texts instead.<sup>59</sup>

Elevation to holy orders likely continued to play an important role in signalling a religious individual’s emergence into adulthood. We have already seen in the introduction and in chapter three above (pp. 11-12, 194-195) that Orderic Vitalis, a boy monk who had been born in England, at Atcham near Shrewsbury, and who had been sent by his father to an abbey in Normandy at the age of around ten, had measured the space of his own religious childhood in these terms, emphasising the moment he became a sub-deacon at the age of sixteen:

Undecimaque kalendas octobris dominico clericali ritu tonsoratus sum [...] idus Martii cum xvi essem annorum, iussu Serlonis electi Gislebertus Luxouiensis presul ordinavit me subdiaconum.<sup>60</sup>

Orderic served the altars of a Norman Benedictine abbey, but there are grounds for considering that he described a practice which was also current in Anglo-Norman England. Goscelin’s post-Conquest *Vita Sancti Wulsini*, or ‘Life of Saint Wulfsige’

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skulk in your Sedulius? Great, no doubt, are the mysteries of Sedulius, but Matthew and Mark, Luke and John methinks, relate those mysteries in a more excellent style. The Gospel story and doctrine are strong meat, to be retained and digested only by those whose minds have reached maturity. A tender age is nourished with a diet of milk and amidst playful little pieces of fiction, the tender minds of boys gradually but surely imbibe polished diction and the method of tasteful composition’.

<sup>59</sup> Herbert de Losinga, *Epistolae Herberti*, ed. Anstruther, I, no. 9, pp. 43-4.

<sup>60</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. Chibnall, VI, bk. 13, pp. 552-5: ‘I was given a clerical tonsure on Sunday the twenty-first of September [1085] [...] [and] on the fifteenth of March 1091, when I was just sixteen years old, Gilbert, Bishop of Lisieux, ordained me as sub-deacon’.

(1002) framed the boy's elevation to holy orders in this same way, for example, as a kind of watershed moment in religious life, allowing Wulfsgie to 'leave behind ...boyhood' (*excussa...pueritia*) and enter into an entirely new adult-centric pattern of advancement 'through the holy grades of the [priestly] offices' (*conscendit per sacros gradus officiorum*).<sup>61</sup> Eadmer of Canterbury's version of the *Vita Sancti Dunstani* framed promotion into minor ecclesiastic grades in this way too. He presented ordination as an opportunity for boys to 'flee childish pastimes' and 'the pleasures of the world', allowing boys to enter into routines which signalled a coequality of status with adult men. Eadmer's work tells us that ordination allowed boys to share in environments which were otherwise monopolised by men, allowing boys to go to the oratory more freely, to light candles, to pour water on the hands of priests and deacons, to enjoy opportunities to serve water and wine in the Eucharist, and to train further for promotion in the grades of clerical orders.<sup>62</sup>

### **Communities of Religious women: The end(s) of girlhood**

Ubi uero inter quattuordecim uirgines, coruscantibus cereis tanquam syderibus et lampadibus supernis, ad dominicas nuptias trepida et penultima accessisti ac, populosa caterua sollemniter expectante, pignus fidei diuine cum sacrata ueste induisti, ille humilis habitus, ille tremebundus accessus, ille suffusus uultus, tamquam ab igneo throno Dei sedentis super cherubim, sapienter metuentis, altius uiscera me percussere cum hoc epithalamico carmine admirabilis gratie: "Ipsi sum desponsata, cui angeli

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<sup>61</sup> Goscelin, *Vita Sancti Wulfinsi*, in 'The Life of Wulfsin of Sherborne by Goscelin', ed. Charles H. Talbot, *Revue Bénédictine*, 69 (1959), p. 75; trans. Love, 'The Life of St. Wulfsgie of Sherborne by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: A New Translation with Introduction, Appendix and Notes', in *St. Wulfsgie and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Millennium of the Benedictine Abbey 998-1998*, ed. Katherine Barker, David. A. Hinton, and Alan Hunt (Oxford: 2005), p. 105.

<sup>62</sup> Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, in *Lives and Miracles*, ed. and trans. Muir and Turner, pp. 56-7: 'Ut liberius oratorium frequentare, luminaria accendere, manibus sacerdotum ac leuitarum aquam fundere, uinum et aquam in eucharistiam corporis Christi sumministrare, legere atque cantare diei ac noctis posset, minores gradus suscepit/He took minor orders so that he could frequent the oratory more easily, light candles, pour water on the hands of the priests and deacons, serve the water and wine in the Eucharist of the body of Christ, and read and sing in both the day and night offices'.

seruiunt, et annulo suo subarrauit me”. Tacitus sum rore celesti et feruore irriguo fleui. Continuata quoque silentia tua, sollicita continentia, frequens psalmodia, pia magistre testimonia, magis accenderunt uota mea.<sup>63</sup>

Goscelin’s account of the childhood of Eafe (fl.1058-1125) ended with a ritual marking her reception into a professed adult community at Wilton Abbey in c.1065. The precise nature of this ritual, its significance in her religious life, and her age at the time it took place have all been subject to debate in recent years but scholars now generally agree that Goscelin did not witness an oblation ceremony.<sup>64</sup> Aside from the fact that the account does not conform well to any record of an insular or continental oblation, Goscelin’s remembrance of Eafe singing psalms and holding her silence indicates that she was older than seven and had developed a monastic disposition. This has led some scholars, including Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe, to argue that Goscelin witnessed an adult consecration instead. But insofar as Goscelin implied Eafe’s maturity, his account of her experience also resists this categorisation. For one, it ignores her condition in childhood, subject to the strictures of a religious life. It also fails to explain gaps in what we might expect from an adult consecration ritual; Goscelin referred to her sacred habit, but he did not mark clearly her reception of the veil, and made no reference at all to her

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<sup>63</sup> Goscelin, *Liber Comfortatorius*, ed. Talbot, p. 28; trans. Otter, *Liber Comfortatorius*, p. 23: ‘But when you walked up to the Lord’s wedding, with trepidation, the penultimate of fourteen virgins, with glittering candles like the stars and constellations above; when, before a large crowd waiting in solemn silence, you put on the sacred vestment, it was as if from the fiery throne of God sitting above his cherubim, I was struck to the quick with this wonderously beautiful epithalamium: “I am given in marriage to him whom the angels serve, and he has wedded me with his ring”. I was touched by the heavenly dew and wept in tearful fervor (sic). And as I continued to witness your silence, your careful continence, your singing of the psalms and the praises of your teacher, my desire was inflamed even more’.

<sup>64</sup> Daphne Stroud has argued that Goscelin became Eafe’s teacher when she was about twelve years old, see Daphne Stroud, ‘Eve of Wilton and Goscelin of St Bertin at Old Sarum ca 1070-1080’, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 99 (2006), p. 205. Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe on the other hand has argued that she was neither a young child nor an oblate when Goscelin first knew her but an adult who was consecrated as a nun after a period of education as a secular girl, see Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe, ‘Goscelin and the Consecration of Eve’, *ASE* 35 (2006), pp. 251-70.

offering of sacred vows.<sup>65</sup> Scholars have forwarded no settled and satisfying answer to these discrepancies, and it may remain the case that we will never identify the ritual elevation which Eafe experienced. But it is possible that Goscelin witnessed something in between, a contemporary response to the emergence of confirmation rituals in houses of religious men. This possibility has been overlooked until now, and perhaps by virtue of the fact that there have been no studies on religious girlhood in England, but it would explain many of the unusual features present here, and it would allow us to suppose Eafe's experience recognised her oblate status while also securing her future as a religious woman.

Whatever the case may be, we can still consider the significance of the ritual which Goscelin described for Eafe of Wilton and ask why it appears not only to have marked her emergence into adulthood, but into a sexual status as a 'virgin', and, indeed, into a privileged relationship with the divine, partaking of the language of betrothal:

Altius uiscera me percussere cum hoc epithalamico carmine  
admirabilis gratie: Ipsi sum desponsata, cui angeli seruiant, et  
annulo suo subarrauit me.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> For a contemporary account of an adult consecration, see *Vita Sancte Sexburge Regine*, ed. and trans. Love, pp. 170-1: 'Prima diei terminata, usu regulari capitulum completa. Inde profecta uirago insignis flammeo Christi consecrates accersit. Hortatur religioni insistere, et bonis attentius operibus insudare, uictrices mundi fieri ut uictorie premiis remunerentur, estus libidinis uincere, et sacre uirginitatis uictricia signa palmamque portare. Manusque apprehendens singularum super altare ordinatas instruxit/ When the first hour of the day had been completed, as is the custom of the rule she completed chapter. Setting out from there the noble heroine summoned those who had been consecrated to the bridal veil of Christ. She exhorted them to pursue piety, and more carefully to labour at good works, to become victorious over the world so that they might be rewarded with the prizes of victory, to vanquish the heat of lust, and to bear the victorious emblems and palm of holy virginity. So taking the hand of each one in order she placed it on the altar'.

<sup>66</sup> Talbot, *Liber Confortatorius*, p. 28; trans. Otter, *Liber Confortatorius*, p. 23: 'I was struck to the quick with this wondrously beautiful epithalamium, "I am betrothed to him whom the angels serve, and he has wedded me with His ring"'.

Goscelin's letter suggests that the timing of this ceremony may have coincided with Eafe's acquisition of biological maturity, and that her confirmation into religion also served to mark her emergence into a status of sexual integrity as *uirgo* or 'virgin', allowing him to consider her as bound in marriage to Christ. In fact, Goscelin's narrative choices in the sections of the *Liber Confortatorius* which followed add further to this understanding, and demonstrate that Goscelin expected Eafe to adopt this view of herself as she emerged into adulthood. Indeed, Goscelin's letter to Eafe encouraged her to project onto Christ concepts of marital desire, encouraging her to consider the reception of Christ's body in the Eucharist in terms which approximated the act of consummation in marriage, and allowing her to become one with Christ's body, and in the same way that two are made one flesh in sexual copulation, but without presenting a risk to her status as *uirgo*.<sup>67</sup>

If religious girls did not emerge into adulthood by means of a single ritual therefore, we can consider that girls' emergence into religious adulthood might still have been shaped by these associations, if not also by closures in gaps of routine which separated them from religious women. Sadly, and apart from returning to specific evidence for girl's own routines, such as their attendance of a school at Barking Abbey (pp. 114-115, 156-157), it is not quite as possible as it has been in relation to boys to ask what role changes in their rounds may have played in particular. Indeed, we can say little more about the potential role of changes in girls' participation in the liturgical community than we have already said in relation to evidence preserved in vernacular copies of the *Regularis*

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<sup>67</sup> Goscelin, *Liber Confortatorius*, ed. Talbot, p. 114; trans. Otter, *Liber Confortatorius*, p. 110. I owe this idea to Stephanie Hollis, whose studies articulate and argue for the significance of Goscelin's use of marriage imagery in women's religious identities, see Stephanie Hollis, 'Edith as Contemplative and Bride of Christ' in *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and Liber Confortatorius*, ed. and trans. Stephanie Hollis, W. R. Barnes, Rebecca Hayward, Kathleen Loncar, and Michael Wright (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 281-306.

*Concordia* above (pp. 154-156) – that *Tenebrae* on Maundy Thursday might have played a role in signposting the emergence of girls into a status ‘of greater age’ (*on maran ylde*) in parallel to older boys or *cnapan*.

Of the three areas of experience which we have encountered so far in this thesis, we are perhaps only in a position to consider how the experience of Latin instruction might have shaped girls’ emergence into a mature religious identity. In his *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, Goscelin suggests that adolescence might have been an important watershed in educational experience, not only potentially becoming more restricted and choreographed through windows, as we have seen in Goscelin’s account of Eadgyth above (pp. 111-113, 199-201), but marking a period when girls would either continue in their studies or move away from Latin instruction altogether and enter into a more contemplative pattern of life followed by senior religious women. We find an example of this division in the context of Goscelin’s *Vita* of Saint Eadgyth of Wilton, for example, and shortly after his account of her restrictive educational environment, where he imagined that the young girl ultimately chose to devote so much of her attention to her spiritual development as she approached adulthood that ‘the sweetness of the Lord and the light of His countenance supplanted her former great enthusiasm as an academic student’.<sup>68</sup>

If this shift represented the experience of some, however, there is evidence to suggest that girls who were able to advance were allowed to continue in their Latin studies at Wilton, and might even have been encouraged to undertake a course of instruction in

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<sup>68</sup> Goscelin, *Vita sancta Edithe Virginis*, in ‘La légende de ste Édith’, ed. Wilmart, c. 7, pp. 51-2: ‘Magnum etiam feruorem scholaris gymnasii maior supplantabat pregustata dulcedo domini et illuminatio uultus sui’; trans. Hollis et al., *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 33.

Latin texts which paralleled the experiences of adolescents in contemporary male houses. There is only slight evidence in the documentary record which allows us to identify the form and material basis of this prolonged type of Latin instruction, however. We find some evidence, for example, in Eadmer of Canterbury's *Vita Dunstani*, where he interpolated a choir of female religious into a passage not present in earlier versions of the *Vita*, describing a group of young girls (*puellae*) singing the verses of Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale*.<sup>69</sup> The event is likely to be invented, since the first *Vita* of Saint Dunstan mentioned no such girl-choir, but it is significant that Eadmer had chosen to add the detail, and had thought it credible that a[n] [arch]bishop on visitation might have encountered religious girls in a Benedictine context who had studied a popular Latin school-text. Scholars have also pointed to several surviving death-bills which circulated in houses of religious women in England following the death of Abbess Mathilde of the Abbey of Ste Trinité, Caen (d.1113), and which preserve verses composed by a religious woman of Shaftesbury who had studied Virgil's *Ecloga*.<sup>70</sup> Others have isolated letters written by the monk Osbert of Westminster to Abbess Adelidis of Barking (c.1136x1157) in particular, arguing that they may be indicative of the Abbess' familiarity with the Latin texts which he cited, throwing light onto her knowledge of Aldhelm's *Prosa* and *Carmen de Virginitate*, as well as more classical authors such as Seneca, Virgil, and Ovid.<sup>71</sup>

Goscelin's *Liber Confortatorius* to Eafe indicates a similar context of education in houses of women religious. In the passage set out below, for example, Goscelin appears

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<sup>69</sup> Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, in *Lives and Miracles*, ed. and trans. Muir and Turner, pp. 132-3.

<sup>70</sup> Stephanie Hollis, 'Barking's Monastic School, Late Seventh to Twelfth Century: History, Saint-Making and Literary Culture', in *Barking Abbey and Medieval Literary Culture: Authorship and authority in a Female Community*, ed. Jennifer N. Brown and Donna Bussell (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 53; *Rouleaux des Morts*, ed. Delisle, no. 18, p. 190.

<sup>71</sup> Morton and Wogan-Browne, *Guidance for Women*, pp. 17, 21.

to list the Wisdom books of Solomon, along with a larger corpus of non-scriptural patristic and poetic Latin texts, among the works he expected Eafe to encounter. Goscelin's words, 'as you know', locate the Wisdom books in Eafe's own education at Wilton before the moment he wrote, and not only explain the effect he expected them to have on Eafe's views on discipline, sexual integrity, and the divine, but may even intersect with and help to explain the origins of Goscelin's terminology for cells and *cubicula* which described girls' environments as well as the images relating to spiritual marriage which he used to describe their status as women:

Nosti, ipse est sapientissimus Salomon [...] tres libros edidit: Parabolam, Ecclesiastes, et Cantica Canticorum; primus disciplinam timoris domini et recte uiuendi regulam ponit, secundus in concione diuersorum desideriorum uanitati omnia subicit, ut ad tertium gradum in cantica canticorum eternitatis, appetitu nos rapiat ubi a seruitute uaritatis libera, in pace conditoris mens contemplatiua pertendat.<sup>72</sup>

These, and a wider body citations of Latin works present in Goscelin's letter to Eafe, indicate that Eafe's education was a very contemporary one; indebted to both a late Anglo-Saxon literary culture, and to an emerging expansion in the scope of Latin instruction generally connected to the twelfth century 'renaissance'.<sup>73</sup> Goscelin added citations from biblical scripture, most notably including the Psalter and Gospels, but he referred to poetic school-texts, such as Prudentius' *Psychomachia* and *Cathemerinon*,

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<sup>72</sup> Goscelin, *Liber Confortatorius*, ed. Talbot, p. 39; trans. Otter, *Liber Confortatorius*, p. 39: 'As you know, he is Solomon the wise man himself [...] He wrote three books, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. The first sets down the discipline of fearing God and the rule for right living; the second preaches that all things are subject to the vanity of our various desires, in order to ravish us to the third stage: the eternal Song of Songs, where, freed from the servitude to vanity, the contemplative mind may rush towards the peace of its maker'.

<sup>73</sup> Sharon Elkins argues that the *Liber Confortatorius* represents Eafe's and Goscelin's 'shared learning', Sharon K. Elkins, *Holy Women of Twelfth-Century England* (Chapel Hills NC, 1988), p. 11. Stephanie Hollis also argues that her education was touched by changing taste for the classical, Stephanie Hollis, 'Wilton as a Centre of Learning', in *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legends of Edith and Liber Confortatorius*, ed. and trans. Stephanie Hollis, W. R. Barnes, Rebecca Hayward, Kathleen Loncar, and Michael Wright (Turnhout, 2004), p. 338.

and Aldhelm's *Prosa De Virginitate* and *De Laudibus Virginitatis*. He also referred to works on logic and philosophy, including Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. The chance survival of a copy of that work, which appears on the grounds of *ex-libris* marks to have been offered by an 'Ælfgyth of Barking' to Horton Abbey in the mid-eleventh century, also confirms that it had been available to religious women at a similar time.<sup>74</sup> Alongside these, Goscelin's *Liber Confortatorius* suggests that Eafe might have encountered a corpus of poetic works by authors who were more popular on the continent, such as Horace's *Satires* and *Epistulae*, and Virgil's *Aeneid*, *Ecloga*, and *Georgicae*.<sup>75</sup>

The poverty of surviving copies of didactic manuscripts from houses of religious women means that it is incredibly difficult to assess whether this aspect of Goscelin's *Liber Confortarius* reflects Eafe's actual education or just Goscelin's aspirations and, even if the former, whether her education might have been representative of other girls at Wilton or just Eafe's own and particularly close relationship with a very learned tutor. It is perhaps only possible to read significance into these lists insofar as we can see that Goscelin had sought to instruct Eafe on these works. Eafe remains a silent figure in the historical record, and so we will never know for certain whether her adolescence was marked by the study of classical Latin poetry. But even so, the balance of evidence afforded to us, and the nature of the evidence which we obtain from Goscelin, who, we

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<sup>74</sup> Goscelin, *Liber Confortatorius*, ed. Talbot, pp. 48, 81: 'Boetius noster...fabulam proponens/Our Boethius...relates a story' and 'respice...Boetium de Consolatione Philosophie/Look back...at Boethius on the Consolation of Philosophy'. For more on the copy of Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae* in Madrid, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca MS e.II.1, see Hollis, 'Wilton as a Centre of Learning', p. 312.

<sup>75</sup> Goscelin, *Liber Confortatorius*, ed. Talbot, passim; David Bell, 'What Nuns Read: State of the Question', in *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism*, ed. James C. Clark (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 113-33.

should remind ourselves, had acted in the office of a teacher to Eafe, would seem to point us in a positive direction.

Goscelin's *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis* also suggests that promotion to high office might have provided another mechanism of elevation in the lives of some girls, serving to mark a transition between girlhood and adulthood and from being subject to monastic prescriptions to being enforcers of religious government. Goscelin framed Eadgyth's early adulthood in this way, as an emergence from a stage of life in which she had been a student and subject to the rule of others, to a moment, at the age of just fifteen, when her father, King Edgar, recommended that she should be elevated to the status of an abbess, and given the extraordinarily weighty responsibility of governing three Benedictine abbeys, of which Goscelin named only two – Nunnaminster and Barking:

Uix ergo quindecennis processerat palmula in Christo dotalis  
Editha, iam paternis affectus Eadgari magis ecclesie quam regni  
propaginem propsens[a] in filia hanc super tria sanctimonialium,  
Deo dispendatnte dispendat monasteria.<sup>76</sup>

If Eadgyth's age at just fifteen at the time of her supposed elevation seems rather too incredible to believe, it may be important to note that this account has another parallel, in Goscelin's historical account of the appointment of his contemporary, Ælfgifu, an oblate girl who had entered Barking as an infant and who was raised to the office of Abbess at the age of fifteen in 1065.<sup>77</sup> It is possible that her appointment at that age

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<sup>76</sup> Goscelin, 'La légende de ste Édith', ed. Wilmart, p. 76; trans. Hollis, *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 47: 'Scarcely had Edith, whose dowry in Christ was her own hand, progressed for fifteen years when the paternal affection of Edgar, intending his daughter for the increase of the church than of his kingdom, placed her over three monasteries of nuns with God's dispensation'.

<sup>77</sup> Goscelin, *De Aelfgiua Abbatisa*, in 'Texts of Joycelin of Canterbury', ed. Colker, p. 437: 'Adolescebat in monasterio infantula Deo decreta, mente et forma ut adhuc uernat gratiosa, uigili intelligentia, perfusa omni beniuolentia [...] Monasterialem curam fauente sacra reuelatione suscepit per regem Eadwardum quindecennis puella/The little girl, ordained to God, grew up in the monastery and sprang gracious in mind and body, with an intelligence at vigil and perfuse with all kindness [...]

was also unusual. It seems to have occurred in the very exceptional circumstances of King Edward's (1042-1066) growing illness without a settled heir, and his appointment of Ælfgifu might have been intended to secure Barking Abbey as a place of safety for royal women for the duration of a period which ultimately led to the Norman Conquest. In any case, her acquisition of that office demonstrates that contemporary circumstances allowed girls to accede to high religious offices at much younger ages than is found anywhere for boys. Ælfgifu's accession would seem likely to have marked a very significant watershed in her religious life too. Indeed, even if we imagine that other senior religious women might have supported her in the capacity of abbess, in the same way that Goscelin described of Abbess Wulfthryth of Wilton on behalf of Saint Eadgyth, it would seem likely to have dramatically altered any conditions under which she might have previously lived. Promotion to a high monastic office at that age would perhaps also allow us to consider the possibility that girls of a similar age might have aspired to obtaining other and less senior offices, like that of the *nutrix*, seen above (pp. 105-106), or of the reader or *rædestre/lectrix*, which we have encountered above in the context of vernacular additions to the *Regularis Concordia* (pp. 109-110) and in the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* (p. 206), and that mechanisms of promotion could have played a role in marking the emergence of adolescent girls into patterns of life followed by their seniors too.<sup>78</sup>

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The fifteen year old girl took up the charge of the monastery with the favour of holy revelation and the support of King Edward' (my translation). For more on Ælfgifu's elevation, see Slocum, Kay, 'Goscelin of Saint Bertin and the Translation Ceremony of Saints Ethelburg, Hildelith, and Wulfhild', in *Barking Abbey and Medieval Literary Culture*, ed. Jennifer N. Brown, and Donna Bussell (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 83.

<sup>78</sup> Slocum, 'Goscelin of Saint-Bertin and the Translation Ceremony for Saints Ethelburh, Hildelith and Wulfhild', p. 83.

## Evidence of children's "Voices"

It will now be clear that the arguments we can reach with respect to considering the significance of a confirmation ritual, and with respect to the potentially more significant and many different ways in which contemporary religious boys and girls may have emerged from their own discrete forms of religious childhood, provide for very open-ended conclusions about the nature of religious boyhood and girlhood in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England. While these directions are useful, and seem likely to reflect the nature of children's religious experiences and the various ways in which they could signpost their acquisition of a status as religious adults, they fail to provide the sort of confirmation for the actual transitions of boys and girls which would allow us to reach a more settled view of these formative experiences.

It is useful therefore to consider the nature of surviving evidence of children's "Voice" in the written record. If there are not many locations in the documentary base today where we could hope to find evidence of children's own writings, there are occasions in the prescriptive record which suggest that boys and youths once had many opportunities to compose in Latin. We see this in Lanfranc of Canterbury's *Constitutiones*, for example, where he required that death bills should be given to the teacher of the children so that the boys could write out their own messages in memory of deceased brethren.<sup>1</sup> If boys at Canterbury did indeed have opportunities to compose letters in memory of religious who had recently deceased, however, none, sadly, appear

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<sup>1</sup> *Constitutiones*, c. 90, pp. 130-1: 'Breues pro defunctis per manum illius magistro infantum dari, uel in capitulum deferri debent/Death-bills shall be given by him to the master of the children, or brought by him into chapter'. No Anglo-Saxon customary appears to have connected this activity with children, see RC, p. 66: 'Mittitur et epistula ad uicina quaeque monasteria/Moreover, a breve shall be sent to neighbouring monasteries'. EME, pp. 142-3: 'Mittatur et epistola ad uicina quaeque monasteria/ And a letter shall be sent to all the neighbouring monasteries'.

to have survived to testify to the skills, knowledge-base, grammatical ability, conceptual or spiritual beliefs, or gender and religious identities of the boys who grew up at Christ Church after the Conquest.

We do, however, possess evidence for this activity in the form of a string of Latin verses attached to a cycle of death-bills which arrived at Norwich Priory after the death of Abbess Mathilde of Caen, d.1113:

*Versus iuuenis Ottonis*

Scribere disposui tantae praeconia laudis;  
sed mihi uerborum copia pauca fuit.  
Primitias Domino dum libat uirginitatis,  
Perpetua meruit uirginitate frui.  
Virgo dicata Deo, rebus subtracta caducis,  
Percepit merito praemia digna suo.  
In laudes gemitus redeant, in gaudia fletus:  
Nil dignum lacrimis uita perennis habet.  
Transiit ad uitam felix et plena dierum,  
et meruit sponsi regna uidere sui.<sup>2</sup>

The preceding title, *Versus iuuenis Ottonis*, or ‘the verses of the youth Otto’ identifies the author of these few verses as Otto, one of only two adolescent students at Norwich we encountered earlier (p. 197) who are known to have received personal instruction in Latin under Bishop Herbert and whose educational trajectories can be retrieved in part through the bishop’s surviving *Epistolae*. This poem is highly significant, and gives us

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<sup>2</sup> *Les Rouleaux des Morts du IXe au XVe siècle*, ed. Léopold V. DeLisle (Paris, 1866), no. 40, pp. 195-6:

I have decided to compose praises of her [Abbess Matilda of Caen, d.1113] very great glory;  
But I have only a small number of words.  
While she offers (sic) the first-fruits of her virginity to the Lord,  
She deserved (sic) to rejoice in perpetual virginity.  
This virgin, dedicated to God, has been taken away from her inalienable house,  
And she has secured the worthy prize with its own reward  
Let them turn sighs into praises, crying into joys,  
[she] has nothing worthy of tears in an eternal life.  
Happy and full of days, she has crossed over to life,  
And has merited to see the kingdoms (sic) of her bridegroom’, (my translation).

direct access to his “Voice”. We see this most clearly where Otto declares his role in writing it, and where he employed the first person, ‘I decided to write’ (*scribere disposui*), to explain his reasons for entering the historical record. His poem therefore provides us with a unique window of opportunity to consider the nature of Otto’s own disciplinary, liturgical, and educational formation at Norwich.

An immediate, if obvious, point to take from the poem is that it is in Latin. It demonstrates a foundation in Latin grammar, a degree of confidence in writing, and a familiarity with a common stock of tropes and Latin vocabulary. The poem suggests that the author’s learning might have been confined in some ways. Otto appears to have preferred to stick with the indicative active voice in Latin verbal forms. It suggests too that the author was also relatively confined in or preferred to confine himself to two tenses, to the present and perfect indicative. He shows too that he could make use of perfect passive participles if he wished (i.e. *dicata deo*, or ‘she was consecrated to God’), and could correctly use a deponent verb (*frui*) requiring its object to be in the ablative case. The author appears to have sought to display his awareness of all Latin noun types and with the Latin case system, using nouns belonging to each of the first (i.e. *primitia/uita*), second (*praeconium/dominus/regnum*), third (*laus/ uirginitas/felix*), fourth (*gemitus*) and fifth declensions (*dies*).

What is also significant about this poem, however, is that Otto’s work contains several elements which contemporaries might have considered odd or erroneous. For one, Otto appears to have had some difficulty arranging his tenses. His Latin verbs turn between the present active indicative and past active indicative tenses within the space of a single verse, meaning that we are told that Matilda ‘offers’ (*libat*) her virginity in one moment

but had already ‘deserved’ (*meruit*) to enjoy eternal virginity in another. These difficulties are minor, and we can still understand Otto’s causal chain here. But there are places which suggest he had difficulty in using pronouns too. In fact, he avoided these throughout. We might explain some of these as an accident of genre, and as a result of a need to ensure that his lines conformed to metrical rules, but his failure to provide them does confuse verses where they would have been useful, where there is no obvious agent, and where, for example, Otto referred to someone, probably Matilda, whom he thought ‘had nothing meriting tears’ (*nil dignum lacrimis...habet*).

It is worth noting that Otto does seem to be aware of his powers of self-expression, and recognised in his opening verses that ‘he could not produce a large number of words’ (*mihi uerborum copia pauca fuit*). It is the case that statements of insufficient learning were also a very common trope of composition in poetry, hagiography, and in letters of an encomiastic nature. While Otto’s statement here would not appear to constitute false humility, and would seem to convey something of his concerns about his capacity to eulogise Abbess Matilda, we should perhaps consider that Otto’s claims of inadequacy reflect his awareness of that trope and literary tradition too.

It is worth recognising that his composition discloses his acquisition of several conceptually-heavy images belonging to contemporary religious thought-systems. We can see, for example, that Otto had considered that Matilda had been ‘dedicated to God’ (*dicata Deo*). His language here demonstrates that Otto had interiorised a view of oblation and consecration as religious acts which bound individuals like Matilda, and himself, to the religious life. We can also see that Otto placed a positive value on religious behaviours which were fundamental to the monastic liturgy, and we find this,

for example, where he described the need to give out ‘praises’ for Matilda on two separate occasions (*laudes*). Indeed, his very poem could be seen as a manifestation of Otto’s acceptance of the efficacy of intercession.

He also adopted the idea of heaven, describing it in terms which reflect the evidence of pre-Conquest glosses to Psalter copies seen in chapter three (pp. 183-185), and understanding it symbolically, as a ‘kingdom’ (*regna sponsi*). In relating to heaven, and to Matilda’s reward after death, Otto also discloses his personal awareness of the idea of travelling on to ‘an afterlife’ (*transit ad uitam*). Otto’s poem shows great awareness of mortality in fact. He notes that Matilda had been of an advanced age when she died, that she was ‘full of days’ (*plena dierum*), and he appears to have sought to describe life as a kind of preparation stage and part of a divine reward system which judged the sacrifices individuals made before death. Indeed, Otto’s poem appears to be heavily concerned with the idea that religious should be carefully judged before they were found worthy of obtaining an eternal life. Of all the verbs present in his poem, Otto only ever used *meruit* (she merited/ was found worthy) more than once, and indeed he added the second declension nouns *meritum* (reward) and *dignum* (appropriate/deserving) in order to add to this imagery of worthiness further still.

The performance of virginity appears to have been at the centre of Otto’s idea of worthiness, and four references to Matilda’s acquisition of virginity (*uirginitas*), her acquired status as a virgin (*uirgo*), and her reward of eternal virginity (*perpetua uirginitate*) and ‘enjoyment’ of that virginity even (*uirginitate...frui*) provided Otto with his most important source of praise. Indeed, it provides his only qualification for salvation. We should be careful not to give credit to the idea that virginity was Matilda’s

only claim to religious celebrity, however, and we should probably view Otto's insistence about her virginity here in terms which recognise that he probably knew very little about her. But his praises and emphasis tell us a great deal about his own projected assumptions, and demonstrate that he had attached great importance to the status of virginity over the course of his own religious upbringing.

Otto also used the phrase *sponsi sui*, describing Christ as Matilda's 'own bridegroom'. This phrase is more gender-specific, and was commonly used to describe a relationship between religious women and Christ in terms which equated the religious profession with the vow of marriage. We have seen this nexus of imagery before, in the context of chapter three and in Ælfric's school-text on grammar (pp. 206-207), and, indeed, immediately above, in Goscelin's writings about religious girls and women at Wilton Abbey (pp. 235-238, 240-141), but its presence here confirms that adolescent students in male houses would also be familiar with this imagery. Indeed, it suggests that boys were encouraged to imagine how religious women would use it in order to relate to the divine. In using it, Otto recognises that Matilda was different from him, that she partook in experiences and forms of personal and religious development and in an identifying vocabulary which were different to boys and men, and his poem demonstrates that he had learnt to recognise the needs of his wider religious audience and of the need to employ phrases which would signify her religious status too.

His Latin also discloses a great deal about the stylistic preferences which had been influential in the social environment where he grew up. His poem indicates that Otto's education involved the study of vocabulary with a biblical origin for example. A very cursory survey of Otto's terminology illustrates that the vast majority of his word

choices can be found in sacred texts, including the Psalter, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, and the Song of Songs.<sup>3</sup> There are some word forms which are more difficult to explain, including Otto's access to the verbs *libare* (to pour in offering) and *frui* (to enjoy) and indeed his entire phrase *subtracta caducis*. There are other moments in his phraseology which we might locate with specific Latin texts, however. One of these, *transiit ad uitam*, which Otto used to describe Matilda's passing from death to eternal life, has a clear parallel in the phrases, *transisse ad uitam*, and, *translati sumus de morte ad uitam* – occurring in 2 Macabees (6:24) and in 1 John (3:14) respectively. Otto's phrase *plena dierum* was also a common turn of expression which occurs in several places in Genesis (e.g. 25:8 and 35:29). Otto's phrase *tantae praeconia laudis* finds an origin in the funerary eulogy known as the *Panegyricus Messallae*, traditionally attributed to Albius Tibullus (i.e. *non ego sum satis ad tantae praeconia laudis*).<sup>4</sup> Otto's use of the phrase *uirginitatis frui* finds a parallel in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,<sup>5</sup> and the phrase *uirgo dicata deo* occurs in Aldhelm of Sherborne's *Carmen de Virginitate* as well as in the slightly earlier Christian poetry of Venantius Fortunatus which enjoyed a wide popularity throughout Europe from the seventh to the twelfth century.<sup>6</sup> We cannot

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<sup>3</sup> To give example, the exact forms, *disposui, laudis, uerborum, fuit, primitias, dum, domino, merito, gemitus, gaudia, habet, uitam, plena, and regna* are all in the *Psalter*. The exact forms for *pauca, perpetua, rebus, digna, transiit, felix, and sponsi* occur in the remaining books of Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. *Scribere, tantae, copia, uirginitas/atis, uirgo, percepit, and praemia* occur throughout.

<sup>4</sup> This phrase could have been obtained from an elegy traditionally attributed to Tibullus, see *Panegyricus Messallae*, in *Catullus, Tibullus, Pervigilium Veneris*, ed. Francis Warre Cornish, John Percival Postgate, John William Mackail, revised and translated by George P. Goold (rev. ed., Cambridge MA, 2014), bk. iii, pp. 320-1, line 177: 'Non ego sum satis ad tantae praeconia laudis/I am not strong enough to advertise such glory'.

<sup>5</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. and trans. George P. Gould and Frank Justus Miller (rev. ed., Cambridge MA, 2014), bk. i, pp. 36-7, lines 485-6: "'Da mihi perpetua, genitor carissime", dixit "uirginitate frui! Dedit hoc pater ante Dianae!/O father, dearest, grant me to enjoy perpetual virginity. Her father has already granted this to Diana"'.

<sup>6</sup> Aldhelm, *Carmen de Virginitate*, ed. Rudolf Ewald, MGH, *Scriptores, Auct. ant.* xv, p. 434, line 1975; Andy Orchard demonstrates that this phrase belonged to Aldhelm's *Carmen* and to Venantius Fortunatus, see Andy Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 194: 'Virgo dicata Deo, florebat tempore prisco'. R. W. Hunt, 'Manuscript Evidence for Knowledge of the Poems of Venantius Fortunatus in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 8 (1979), pp. 279-95.

know for certain how Otto obtained his Latin vocabulary, and whether his turns of phrase owe an origin to these precise sources or other intermediaries. But this breakdown of the content of his poem is perhaps sufficient to show that he was acquainted with several Latin texts and literary devices. Even if we cannot say that his Latin knowledge and style depended on study of parts of the Latin Vulgate, on the Psalter, on the Gospels, and on a handful of poetic school-texts, we can still see that his literary formation at Norwich was wrapped up with contemporary changes in education on the European continent and with shifts in literary taste which increasingly viewed plain Latin as a signifier of literary competence.

When it comes to asking whether the contemporary source base allows us access to the “Voices” of religious girls and young women, it is possible that we possess a small number of verses written by Eadgyth of Wilton. The authorship of the verses cannot be easily settled, however, and their significance depends on the very uncertain ascription of Goscelin of Saint Bertin who claimed in his *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis* to have found verses in ‘a manual of her devotions, [being kept] as a token of her memory...[and] written in her virginal hands’:<sup>7</sup>

[a]  
Domine,  
Pater et dominator uitae meae,  
ne derelinquas me in cogitatu maligno  
extollentiam oculorum meorum ne dederis michi,  
et desiderium malignum, aduerte a me  
Domine.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in ‘La légende de ste Édith’, ed. Wilmart, c. 8, p. 55: ‘Colitur in monasterio orationalis eius pugilus, memorabili pignore...uirginea eius manu cum subscriptis, orati unculis depictae’.

<sup>8</sup> Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in ‘La légende de ste Édith’, ed. Wilmart, c. 8, p. 56 ; trans. Hollis et al., *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 34:

‘O lord,  
father and ruler of my life,  
do not leave me in evil thoughts,  
do not give me pride of the eyes,

[b]  
Omnipotens mitissime, Domine  
qui sitiēti populo fontem  
uiuēntis aquae de petra produxisti,  
educ de cordis mei duritia compunctionis.<sup>9</sup>

If these verses had indeed been penned by Eadgyth of Wilton, and were written into a Wilton manual at some point in her early adulthood, they might have provided a significant parallel to Otto's verses and might have revealed something about the disciplinary, liturgical, and educational activities the author had encountered beforehand. Unfortunately for us, however, neither of these verses are what we might call 'original' compositions. The first verse [a] appears to have been borrowed almost entirely from the Bible, or to be more specific, from Ecclesiastes [23:4-5], and the second verse [b] appears to have been lifted from the services of the Roman Missal, or to be more specific, from collects which were meant to be used by ordained priests as part of the liturgical framework of Confession.

This means that we cannot treat these verses in quite the same way as we have the *Versus iuuenis Ottonis*. We know that, even if Eadgyth penned them, she did not construct them herself. We know that much of the content and style presented by these two verses cannot be seen as demonstrative of her own acquisition of skills in Latin composition and we should therefore dismiss the verses as evidence of a religious woman's own 'Voice'. If these conditions appear to limit what these verses allow us to

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and turn away evil desire from me,  
O lord'.

<sup>9</sup> Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in 'La légende de ste Édith', ed. Wilmart, c. 8, p. 56; trans. Hollis et al., *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 34:  
'Almighty and most merciful Lord,  
who brought forth for your thirsty people a spring  
of living water from the rock,  
bring forth from the hardness of my heart tears of contrition'.

ask and understand about the individual who wrote them down, however, there is still a case for considering that the verses are significant in more inductive ways. They may be significant, for example, in the sense that contemporaries thought them consistent with the Latinity of a contemporary religious woman, and they may be useful too to the degree that they represent literary choices, and are suggestive of a mind which had invested in biblical study and the liturgy.<sup>10</sup>

These verses present us with an individual who had probably also understood the contents of the Latin texts they penned. The two poems suggest that the scribe related to Christian virtues and disciplined behaviours. They ask for control of the senses, and display an anxiety about vices such as pride, and, in requests that the lord enable her to ‘bring forth tears of contrition’ (*educ...compunctionis lacrimas*), they imply the author’s interest in an index of religious gestures and virtues. The presence of nouns in the vocative case, framed with a view to allowing the reader to call out to ‘the Lord’ (*Domine*), also fits neatly with an intercessory view of the liturgy. In terms of education, these verses not only imply literacy, but suggest that the writer subscribed to a Christian religious belief system, and chose to understand God as the ‘ruler of her life’ (*dominator uitae meae*), providing a parallel to the autobiographical recollections of Orderic Vitalis (see above, pp. 11-12), and suggesting that the scribe might have come to interiorise a view of their own life as part of a ‘Divine Plan’.

In addition to these lines, however, we can also return to evidence of an alb seen in chapter two and consider how this might allow us to reach for a more settled assessment

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<sup>10</sup> See for example a reference to *Ecclesiastes* 1:1 in dialogue no. 4, *ÆlfBColl*, pp. 86-7: ‘Omnis sapientia a Domino est’.

of experiences which shaped the lives of religious girls in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England:

Circa pedes aureas apostolorum ymagines Dominum  
circumstantes [...] se uice suplicis Mariae affusam, dominica  
uestigia exosculantem.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to giving witness to the place and role of girls' instruction in craft at houses of women religious, Goscelin's description suggests the alb was crafted by an individual who had learnt to subsume herself into religious narratives and into a familial relationship with the figure of Christ, replacing the Virgin Mary (*uice Mariae*). Similar to evidence seen in chapter one, of feminine pronouns added into copies of the *Regula Benedicti* (pp. 107-108), similar also to evidence of feminisation of biblical passages in a vernacular version of the *Regularis Concordia* (pp. 159-161), and perhaps connected to Goscelin's description of Eadgyth's decision to focus on her spiritual development rather than her literary training as she approached adulthood, Eadgyth's alb suggests that religious adolescents were encouraged to adopt a view of themselves as possessing a familial relationship with Christ and to imagine themselves as agents of monastic and biblical texts. Indeed, Eadgyth's alb indicates that girls were not only encouraged to relate to a status of virginity and Christ but were expected to express their status in unique ways, through the proxies of their crafted liturgical items.

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<sup>11</sup> Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in 'La légende de ste Édith', ed. Wilmart, 79; trans. Hollis et al., *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 48: 'Around the feet, the golden images of the Apostles surrounding the Lord [...] and Edith herself prostrated in the place of Mary the supplicant, kissing the Lord's footprints'.

## Conclusions

In the introduction to this study, I set out how we might improve our understanding of monastic childhood in late Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England. I first drew attention to an account of oblation by the Norman historian, Orderic Vitalis, and pointed to the ways in which research connected to church history and childhood history have handled this and similar portraits of oblation in the past. I showed over the course of an exploration of past scholarship that attempts to situate the experience of oblation through single portraits and in terms which confine our view of oblates to a single moment of recruitment (see pp. 11-15), or construct them as victims of adult intentions, do not allow us to understand children's experiences after they entered religious houses (pp. 15-16).

Arguably, a child-centric approach has proven useful to challenging some of these perspectives. It has allowed this thesis to focus in each chapter on evidence for the acquisition of experience, and to recognise how religious children engaged with their monastic communities through different lenses to seniors. This perspective has been useful to understanding and representing children's development in a more realistic way, exploring how their world-views may have been informed by encounters with various kinds of religious knowledge which were tied up with disciplinary, liturgical, and literary spheres.

This study also attempted to explore the capacity of our primary source base to support a close study of the experience of childhood in a single national polity, asking whether the primary source base of England allows us to reach for a more rounded impression

of children's lives before and after the Norman Conquest than has previously been the case. Since there are many gaps in our understanding of how children's lives connected with the surviving material corpus, I explored both prescriptive and documentary sources that are indicative of children's conditions before and after 1066 and asked how far they contribute to our understanding of childhood realities in England in those periods. My decision to focus on prescriptive sources first has been particularly useful with respect to handling an ideal of uniformity articulated by Anglo-Saxon monastic reformers: that all religious should be of one mind when it came to religious custom and practice (pp. 41-44). This ideal suggested that contemporaries worked to reduce variation in boys' and girls' experiences, and we have seen that the *Old English Rule* and *Regularis Concordia* did indeed shape the conditions and experiences of children across England. But we have also seen that the primary source base allowed for evolution of practice, and the emergence of difference in observance and interpretation of that shared framework of customs depending on local conditions (see pp. 57-60, 136-138, 154-156, and 212-216). We have also considered in each chapter whether and how far the *Constitutiones* of Canterbury marked a break from expectations of uniformity which had shaped the lives of boys and girls, contributing further to considerations about the impact of the invasion (pp. 44-49). This has been especially useful in contributing to our understanding of how boys' formative experiences might have become more dependent on prescriptive regulations. We have seen that post-Conquest prescriptive sources are, in some ways, more detailed in their handling of regulations concerning religious infants, children, and adolescent youths than the pre-Conquest prescriptive documents connected to the *Regularis Concordia*. These materials provide more evidence of the role of infants in religious communities, of their integration into liturgical and disciplinary communities and the beginning of their literary education.

His rules also allow us to see more clearly boys' conditions of supervision and instruction in a more permanent monastic school. We also found that these materials give us clearer insight into boys' conditions of corporal discipline, conditions which appear to have been centred on the meeting of a series of communal chapters, one for seniors, which boys likely observed, and another for boys and their guardians.

Insofar as this study has exposed differences in regulatory frameworks available before and after the Conquest, we have been careful throughout not to assert that these materials show that children's experiences and conditions changed radically; these materials may, after all, only reveal an interest after the Conquest to write in more detail about conditions which may have influenced children's lives for a much longer period than is now obvious in the surviving record. The *Regularis Concordia* tells us very little of the nature of the school and chapter at Winchester, and so we cannot know whether or how closely those structures might have approximated conditions described later in Lanfranc *Constitutiones*. That said, we have been able to isolate several aspects of religious life which were described in both regulatory sources, which reveal differences between them, and which therefore allow us to be more certain of the nature of some changes in the lives of religious oblates represented by those sources before and after the Conquest. We have therefore been able to consider changes in the nature of boys' liturgical roles, their loss of responsibility over specific and recurring liturgical duties like *Benedicite* (pp. 138-139), which was performed three times a day, every day, and the reduction of opportunities to perform sequences like the *Trina Oratio* as a peer-group, differentiated from the senior community in choir (pp. 140-141). We have also isolated changes in the duties of oblates in performance on annual festival occasions, losing responsibility for antiphons which had previously allowed boys to dramatise the

events of the bible on Palm Sunday (pp. 143-145), and instead focussing on a much larger procession-based liturgy (pp. 145-146). We have also considered whether Lanfranc created what seem to be new structures for managing the conditions and experiences of youths, or oblate monks who were judged to be midway between childhood and seniority (pp. 226-229). These conditions suggest that Lanfranc and his contemporaries were especially concerned to control the activities of young adults and adolescents and separate them to an extent from both younger boys and older seniors, allowing youths to integrate into liturgical responsibilities held by seniors and allowing them to take seats alongside seniors in choir, but otherwise ensuring they followed a different daily round, washing and shaving under unique conditions, albeit conditions which bore increasing resemblance to those of adults.

In handling these prescriptions, and in exploring the significance of childhood development represented within them, we have also assessed the significance of age-related terminology used by contemporaries. It has been useful to examine and recognise, for example, evidence for the relative interchangeability of Latin and vernacular terms relating to ‘infants’, ‘boys’, ‘girls’, ‘children’, and, indeed, older ‘youths’, in the cases of the Latin *Regula Benedicti*, the *Old English Rule*, the *Regularis Concordia*, the *Constitutiones*, and contemporary school-texts (pp. 56-61, 104-111, 150-153, 204-208, 212-216). This has been important to gauging how far contemporary prescriptions tell us about conditions imposed upon children of different age groups and the nature of their ‘development’ as they grew up. It has also been useful to recognising where terminology relating to age is most surprising, or most clear, as we consider in the case of ‘infants’ and ‘youths’ after the Norman Conquest (pp. 82-84, 225-229). Indeed, it has also meant that we have been able to rest arguments about development

and experience on a more clear-sighted understanding of how evidence of children's conditions and activities likely intersected with terms for pre- adolescents.

This thesis has also shown the advantages of studies which account for several kinds of source, placing prescriptive sources alongside hagiographic and pedagogic texts. We have been able to demonstrate the utility of this approach with respect to the *Regularis Concordia* in particular, showing how school-texts very often intersect with regulations available before the Norman Conquest and give us a clearer understanding, not only of how regulations might have been observed and enforced before the Conquest, but what children did and how and on what basis with respect to areas of life where the *Regularis Concordia* gave little, or no, information. Arguably, this technique has not only been useful to ensuring that we have a more rounded impression of children's conditions before the Conquest, but it has ensured that we have a more clear sighted understanding of how their experiences might have shifted over time while also reducing the kind of risks of distortion which might have disrupted the findings of this study had we examined prescriptive sources in isolation.

Indeed, this study has been able to show how sources intersected with several areas of children's lives, connecting, supporting and reinforcing their development in discipline, the liturgy, and their acquisition of a religious world view and Christian faith. We have shown that the Psalter was important to monastic children in this way in every area of their lives, for example. We have seen that it was essential to their integration into a choir and into a liturgical community, and important too to their literary development, their development of a monastic identity, and their policing of discipline and monastic behaviours in their peers as well as in themselves.

The central chapters of this thesis aimed to show how contemporary sources provide evidence for the discrete experiences of both boys and girls in a comparative framework, asking more specifically how disciplinary, liturgical, and literary experiences enabled children to integrate into religious communities after their oblation. In chapter one, on discipline, I drew attention to a vacuum of disciplinary prescriptions in Anglo-Saxon regulatory documents (pp. 70-72), and I suggested that Anglo-Saxon systems of discipline were more dependent on the figure of the teacher than on a clear prescriptive framework (pp. 72-81). While I have considered that prescriptive sources are not always useful to understanding children's disciplinary experience before the Conquest, I have suggested that we can use pre-Conquest school-texts composed for boys as an alternative source of evidence (pp. 72-75). Ælfric of Eynsham and Ælfric Bata likely knew one another in the capacity of teacher and student, and their works testify to the similarity of their disciplinary principles and to Bata's own learning of those attitudes from Ælfric. We have considered therefore that their works are capable of revealing how systems of discipline in boys' houses were connected to systems of education, and how teachers and school-texts likely played a role in transferring monastic knowledge from one generation to another (pp. 80-81).

Chapter two has explored how the liturgy enabled children to integrate into their monastic communities. It has asked what the contemporary prescriptive record tells us about children's earliest visible entry into liturgical communities in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England, and it has asked what contemporaries demanded of children as they grew up. In doing so, this thesis has given attention to evidence contained in prescriptive records of expectations of learning and performance which might have had

a role in reinforcing a communal monastic identity (pp. 125-129), and idiosyncratic liturgical identities as well (pp. 131-136). With respect to the liturgy in women's houses, this thesis has also drawn attention to how far women's use of craft-work might have been an area of experience that was important to religious girls' development (pp. 157-161). This skill-set has not often been connected with religious girlhood or contributed to an understanding of how girls might have encountered a monastic liturgy, but it has allowed us to consider how craft might have been important to girls' lives in later chapters too.

In chapter three, I explored questions relating to becoming 'literate' and asked what purpose Latin school-texts might have served in monastic education beyond the confines of providing a basic understanding of Latin grammar. In this chapter, I approached surviving school-texts composed for the benefit of religious children in order to ask whether they might also be capable of expressing the role of monastic education in shaping students' behaviours and Christian identities as comprehension of Latin improved (pp. 167-181). A key aim has been to challenge optimal views of educational attainment in a monastic context, and so I asked too whether and how far the surviving source base can disclose another reality of educational variation (pp. 185-187). This aim has, I think, proven useful. It has enabled us to explore evidence for the emergence of intellectual hierarchies in boys' schools. Realisation and recognition of relative failures seem to have prompted teachers like Ælfric Bata to assign to students comparative levels of ignorance and inability, for example (pp. 185-187). This thesis also explored whether the source base can sustain a similar exploration of the educations of girls of course and while lacking similar material, it has been possible to show that saints' lives tell us that girls' experience of Latin education might have depended on

one of two systems, centred on a cell or chamber (pp. 111-113) and an internal or external teacher (pp. 111-113, 199-204) or a collective ‘school’ and dedicated *magistra* (pp. 113-114).

## **Infancy**

The diachronic and synchronic structures which I have used in this thesis not only allow a mechanism for reading this thesis by life-stage through infancy, childhood, and adolescence, but mean that my conclusion can draw together arguments entertained for each age-group too. This thesis has asked, for example, whether infancy for children of both sexes was an important space for religious socialisation, and it explored the ways in which children’s earliest experiences might have been informed by the monastic structures they first encountered (for chapter one, see pp. 56-61, 82-84, 104-107; for chapter two, see pp. 123-125, 138-139, 150-153; for chapter three, see pp. 197-198). I have considered that neither Anglo-Saxon nor Anglo-Norman religious communities appear to have expected much from infants, either boys or girls. For infant boy oblates who might have entered religious communities after a period of monastic reform from c.950, I supposed that a first experience of monastic routines might have begun with the oblation ritual described in chapter 59 of the *Regula* (pp. 20-21, 56-57). That being so, however, I have also recognised that neither the *Regula* nor Æthelwold’s contemporary translation, the *Old English Rule*, gives us access to his expectations of infants after that ritual (pp. 56-61). I have drawn attention, for example, to how Æthelwold removed rules relating to *infantes* from his own translation, and his use of *geonge men* in chapter 45 in particular has potential to point us away from infants in a choir structure at Winchester. But I have suggested that the nature of this terminology does not allow us to be confident of Æthelwold’s intentions. We have turned to the *Regularis Concordia*

in order to ask whether this prescriptive context provides a view of monastic ‘infants’ instead, but, again, we have argued that this source is not helpful, since it confines us to just a single reference which either confuses the activities of *infantes* and *pueri* or reveals the interchangeability of those age-related terms in that period (pp. 60-61).

A study of the *Constitutiones* has made it possible to explore some of the activities expected of the youngest monastic children who performed in the liturgy after the Conquest. The single youngest oblates of Christ Church, Canterbury, were assigned their own duty to say out loud, *Benedicite*, in order to signal the end of an office, for example (pp. 83-84, 138-139). I have argued that this duty suggests that Lanfranc had expected the liturgy to particularise the experiences of the youngest boys, and that selection might have been important to boys’ religious identities from a much earlier point in the life-cycle than can be seen in the prescriptive record of Anglo-Saxon England (pp. 138-139). Indeed, this use of *Benedicite* may even have served to mark transitions between infancy and boyhood at Canterbury. If we can assume contemporaries upheld these rules closely, loss of responsibility over this sequence and replacement by other younger boys would seem likely to have marked their accession into ‘boyhood’, signalling their integration into an ordinary liturgical community too (p. 84).

Not all houses of women may have accepted infant girls into their communities, but I have recognised evidence which suggests that girls were sometimes given by their parents to religious foundations at much younger ages than we find of boys, and indeed, shortly after they were weaned (pp. 104-107). They might even have begun their monastic lives at a stage when they were dependent on the personal care of a religious

nurse (pp. 105-106). What is more, saints' lives, including those of Saint Eadgyth of Wilton and Saint Eadburh of Nunnaminster, which describe infant girls in religious houses, suggest that their communities excluded infants from many ordinary rules, and imposed few prescriptive demands on their behaviour (pp. 106-107).

### **Childhood**

The central chapters of this thesis have considered how primary materials describe children's conditions, and indicate how their experiences on a monastic round and in the choir or school might have shaped them before adulthood. Throughout these chapters I have endeavoured to cross-reference evidence for children's experiences in different spaces to illustrate the interdependence of their training, with the choir supporting their learning in behaviour, liturgical recitation, and in Latin, and the school, chapter, *cella* or *cubiculum*, and daily round, providing similarly vital support to their development in each of those respects too. A degree of similarity in the experiences of children at women's and men's houses from the mid-tenth to the late-eleventh century has been grounded on the basis of shared observance of the same index of regulations (pp. 107-111, 150-155). I have shown that both Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman prescriptive sources assumed that children would follow an aspired daily round which was different to a round followed by adults, and which was signposted in the monastic soundscape by the ringing of bells or the striking of other kinds of *signa* (pp. 63-66, 87-88, 110-111). They suggest children entered into choirs and schools that mirrored the communal organisation of seniors too, offering a proxy community for their training under dedicated guardians and teachers.

Sadly, pre-Conquest prescriptive records are less detailed on the nature of the school than their post-Conquest successors. For late Anglo-Saxon England, only monastic school-texts allow us to consider the role of teachers in shaping experiences within them. School-texts not only confirm the importance of dynamics explored in a prescriptive context – such as entering a liturgical community, participating in a daily round coordinated by bells and learning of ritual gestures – but they show that teachers encouraged boys to develop a degree of behavioural self-awareness and reveal teachers were particularly concerned about boys’ behaviours in the sacred spaces of the church and choir (pp. 72-75). These materials also suggest that some teachers might have preferred verbal warnings and threats of violence when boys misbehaved (pp. 77-78). Others indicate that boys experienced corporal punishment, and, indeed, and along with post-Conquest saints’ lives, indicate that teachers might have imposed violence on boys in order to reinforce the gravity of offences such as theft (pp. 79-81), as well as to remind boys of the efficacy of prayers to saintly intercessors (pp. 101-103).

While I have considered that teachers played an important role in Anglo-Saxon Winchester, filling a vacuum of prescriptive authority (pp. 70-81), I have considered that they may not have enjoyed as much autonomy at Canterbury after the Norman Conquest (pp. 81-82, 93-98). Lanfranc’s *Constitutiones* were more detailed, and outlined his expectations of teachers as well as boys. Lanfranc appears to have borrowed disciplinary principles directly from the *Regula Benedicti*, and used a model belonging to the cellarer in order to set down qualities he expected teachers to espouse (pp. 94-95). Lanfranc also introduced more regulation for boys’ supervisory experiences (pp. 91-96); teachers were to maintain more precise standards of behaviour, requiring boys to be kept apart at lessons and insisting that they should never be allowed to make signs

or distract one another (pp. 94-95). At the same time, the *Constitutiones* also suggest that boys' experience of corporal violence may have shifted away from the teacher and the context of the *schola* and towards a formal meeting of a boyhood Chapter (pp. 96-101), bringing boys' disciplinary conditions into close alignment with those of their seniors. I have recognised that the *Constitutiones* also limit what we can infer about boys' experiences of Chapter, however. While I have approached rules which suggest that boys ought to be whipped in their chapter 'in the same way' that seniors were in theirs (p. 98), and while I have taken this to mean that boys' behaviours might have been measured according to the same framework of 'light' or 'grave' errors and punishments, I accept that we cannot determine how far boys shared these conditions with seniors (pp. 99-101).

I have asked whether prescriptive materials give us access to the conditions of girls, and suggested that we might approach terminology relating to *pueri* in Latin customaries and *cild* in the *Old English Rule* in terms which suppose that girls participated in an apparatus designed for the 'child' (pp. 107-111, 153-156). This has meant that I have taken a more uncertain line in some respects, assuming that girls' conditions might have paralleled those of boys in fundamental ways. I have also highlighted evidence of feminine adjustments to surviving prescriptive sources, and argued that they support this line too (pp. 107-108). They suggest that girls were governed by disciplinary guidelines present in chapter 45 of the *Regula Benedicti*, for example, but in the place of prescriptive evidence, I also turned to saints' lives written in this period, such as the *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, in order to ascertain whether they describe experiences corresponding to those outlined in more prescriptive contexts (pp. 111-118, 156-158). Goscelin's writings on the women of Barking Abbey, for example, indicate that girls

there sang from the two sides of a choir which surrounded the tombs of their saintly protectors (pp. 156-157), and they tell us that girls entered a communally orientated 'school' under a dedicated 'teacher' or *magistra* as well (pp. 113-114). Goscelin's writings provide a window onto his disciplinary methods too, and confirm that contemporaries used verbal forms of correction against religious girls (pp. 115-118). In questioning whether these sources provide a representative picture of the role of physical punishment, however, I have drawn attention to post-Conquest sources which suggest that the experience of violence was also important. While they show that female disciplinarians could impose forms of corporal punishment on a reactive basis (pp. 118-121), I have also suggested that they indicate that the experience of violence depended on social status, and that royal girls in particular may not ordinarily have been subject to physical correction (pp. 121-122).

While we can suppose that all religious children entered the choir at some stage, the *Regularis Concordia* and *Constitutiones* suggest that the timing of children's entrance into this structure was contingent on reaching a certain enabling age, and was subject to a minimum level of training in reciting liturgical Latin texts (pp. 124-125). Sadly, the *Regularis Concordia* does not allow us to consider how they contributed to the Divine Offices in general, so we have only been able to consider their participation in liturgical duties like the *Trina Oratio* in particular (pp. 125-127). The imprecision of terminology relating to age in the *Regularis Concordia* has, again, made it difficult to consider how Æthelwold of Winchester expected children of different ages (and, indeed, sexes) to learn the component skills and texts necessary for undertaking the *Trina Oratio* too (pp. 125-127). I have therefore only considered in detail how and why how the *Regularis Concordia* expected them to perform the *Trina Oratio* as a distinctive community,

without the support of their seniors (p. 131). In addition to this, I have also examined how the *Regularis Concordia* allowed *pueri* to make solo performances, such as at the close of a dramatic sequence known as *Quem Queritis*, and I argued that this evidence, along with school-texts like the *Colloquia*, reveals dynamics of competition and selection (pp. 131-137), suggesting that teachers encouraged boys to measure their performances according to metrics of ‘correctness’ (*rectius*) and ‘beauty’ (*pulchrius*) in singing (pp. 135-136)

Both Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman prescriptions suggest that boys’ awareness of major festivals was enabled by participation in memorable liturgical dramas; both required children to take part in elaborate sequences on Palm Sunday and Maundy Thursday. But I have also drawn attention to the fact that the *Constitutiones* did not allow the boys of Canterbury to replicate the liturgical emphases of boys of the Old Minster in Winchester (pp. 143-148). Lanfranc no longer associated boys with the antiphons animating the voices of the Hebraic boys on Palm Sunday, as these were to be sung by dedicated cantors (p. 144). Lanfranc did not require boys to sing in divided couplets at *Tenebrae* in Holy Week as had been the case at the Old Minster either (pp. 146-147). Instead, Lanfranc only appears to have given boys a particular role in *Tenebrae* in an indirect way, by requiring them to hold lanterns shortly after *Tenebrae* had been observed. I have shown how this requirement intersected with boys’ disciplinary conditions – Lanfranc used lamps in order to help guardians watch over their charges. But I have argued here that these lamps allowed boys to acquire a higher degree of visibility in the context of a liturgical drama, and in a way which may have reinforced boys’ sense of collective identity (pp. 147-148). Although we cannot know how far Æthelwold’s and Lanfranc’s customaries represent the full extent of boys’

engagement in either liturgical context, I have highlighted that Lanfranc's customary also made greater use of the procession (pp. 145-146), and I have therefore entertained the idea that the procession played a bigger role in boys' experiences of the liturgy at Canterbury after the Conquest. What is more, I have considered that processions may even have had a role in informing boys about their status, drawing attention to privileges which divided them from seniors, including duties in bearing holy texts and vessels (p. 146).

Contemporary canon law forbade girls and women from engaging directly with sacramental aspects of liturgical activity centred on altars and ordained clergy. While I have therefore supposed in this section that girls might have focussed on activities centred on the regular hours in the choir (pp. 108-111, 153-155), surviving evidence has not allowed direct comparison of their conditions with those of boys. Because of this, I explored in more detail an idea first raised by Maureen Miller in *Clothing the Clergy*, that girls engaged with the liturgy by crafting the vestments and fabrics which adorned their churches and officiating ministers. I have suggested that we might even find evidence for this kind of opportunity in a contemporary prescriptive record. I show that a fragmentary vernacular copy of the *Regularis Concordia* provided readers with a feminine form of a gospel reading, *Partit[a]e uestimenta mea*, which was said when deacons 'parted' a tacked piece of cloth (pp. 159-161). It is not entirely clear what this instance of a feminine adjustment expresses about the use and users of this text, and whether its significance should be confined to an unintentional scribal error, or represents something more intentional. While I suggest here that it may have encouraged a lesson which introduced a female agency into the liturgy, allowing girls and women to imagine themselves parting the garbs instead of the required deacons, I

recognise that it does not confirm it (pp. 158-161). Even if it does not connect us to girls in this precise instance, however, I suggest that the nexus of evidence presented in this section is indicative of the role of sewing in the liturgy, and this context, along with evidence for girls' crafting of albs in Goscelin's *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis*, allows us to think about how sewing might have been important to religious girls' formations in corresponding ways (pp. 160-161).

In my chapter on education and Latin literacy, I argued that little research has contributed to our understanding of how instruction in Latin grammar connected with boys' education in systems of religious thought (p. 163). Since Ælfric's *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglie* is the best attested work of its type, I have argued that it provides the most useful basis for exploring these learning outcomes before the Conquest. By undertaking a line by line comparison of Ælfric's school-text with his most important exemplar, the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, I have been able to reinforce past scholarship by Vivien Law, Leslie Lockett, Jeanine Bender-Davis, and David Porter and show that he had crafted this text in order to ensure it would function in a contemporary pedagogic context (pp. 168-173). I also suggested, however, that Ælfric's content encouraged boys' awareness of their monastic status, identity, and progress, that it enabled boys to describe paraphernalia used in liturgical processions and ritual services, and that it nudged boys into viewing documents like the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regularis Concordia* as sources of personal and collective regulation (pp. 172-173). Ælfric's additions also suggest that he intended lessons on grammar to play a role in shaping boys' basic understanding of Christian faith, their understanding of 'heaven' and 'hell', of sexual status and ritual purity (pp. 174-175), and their understanding of and relationship with biblical scripture (pp. 175-178). It also introduced boys to the idea

of Christ's sacrifice, the idea that prayer was a means of interceding with God on behalf of society, and the concept of a Final Judgement (pp. 178-180).

For a small number of boys who advanced beyond lessons in elementary grammar in late childhood, I have explored the idea that the Psalter could have provided a familiar bridge to a more demanding level of active reading of poetic Latin texts (pp. 181-182). I have built upon earlier scholarship on the role of the Psalter which has suggested students were encouraged to adopt a form of reading by relating to Latin word forms for blushing by interpreting them as signifiers of shame (pp. 182-183). I have argued that Psalter copies also demonstrate that readers were encouraged to learn a form of biblical exegesis, and were expected to learn how to read a wider body of terms relating to kingdoms, inheritances, and worldly princes by interpreting them as relating to 'heaven', 'the reward of salvation', and 'religious seniors' instead (pp. 183-185). At the end of this chapter, I argued that the picture these two sources create, of a kind of uncomplicated inertia in educational development, from learning Latin grammar to reading sacred texts, is not entirely credible. I therefore explored how far the contemporary source base also gives us access to experiences of learning failure (pp. 185-187). I argued here that Bata's *Colloquia* are particularly capable of connecting us to these outcomes, revealing that boys sometimes compared one another's Latin comprehension and identified peers in terms of their inability too (p. 187).

The *Constitutiones* give us a clearer view of how Lanfranc expected boys to attend a school, and what he expected them to learn inside it. Indeed, I argue that the 'school' may have acquired a physical location at Canterbury (pp. 93-95, 187-188). But our view of the shape of grammatical education in the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries

continues to rely on the group of school-texts composed in England between 950 and 1010. Glosses added to these materials reveal the growing influence of French speakers, whose different linguistic abilities and needs began to have a visible impact on the material culture of instruction (pp. 191-192). But I point out that these materials may have fallen out of use by the mid twelfth century (p. 193). Attempting to explain this decline and to locate the materials which took their place, I argued that changes in education after the Conquest might have undermined the role of monastic houses as centres of Latin instruction to oblate boys, and Orderic Vitalis provides further evidence to suggest there was a decline in the number of boys who entered schools without any literary experience (pp. 194-195). A pattern for a secular education in letters may have become more common, and meant that literary training played a smaller role in boys' monastic formations. For the rest of the twelfth century, I have considered that our evidence also corresponds with an area of scholarship relating to the twelfth century 'renaissance', which suggests that the material basis of instruction in Latin grammar gradually became less monastic in origin and more dependent on the primers of Late Antiquity which rather served clerics across Latin Europe (p. 193).

Where I have only been able to speculate about the nature of elementary education after the Norman Conquest, I have suggested that the *Epistolae* or letters of Bishop Herbert of Norwich confirm changes in the material base of instruction, revealing a preference in the twelfth century for an assortment of grammatical primers popular on the European continent (pp. 195-196). I have also suggested that these letters connect us to another aspect of experience, however, and suggest that boys who entered episcopal sees enjoyed opportunities to participate in a more selective system of tutoring as their Latin comprehension improved (pp. 196-197). This tutoring took place through the exchange

of correspondences as well as in person, but I highlighted in particular the role of the bishop in teaching, and argued that boys' access to these figures might have given them wider horizons than boys who entered smaller abbeys or priories (p. 197). Considering evidence for the accession of one of Bishop Herbert's students, William Turbe, to the episcopal see of Norwich in the mid twelfth century, I have suggested that these opportunities may even have placed boys who grew up in cathedrals in a much stronger position for promotion to higher church office on the episcopal bench.

Contemporary sources are less capable of showing whether and how girls might have obtained the same enabling grammatical knowledge. We have speculated that girls may have had access to grammatical primers which were important to conditions of instruction in male houses and in the lives of some boys. But I have only been able to demonstrate that primary sources reveal differences in educational structures and forms of learning support between communities of women. Writings commissioned by Abbess Ælfgifu of Barking Abbey provide an example in a woman's house for a large school of girls who shared their experiences of religious instruction under the guidance of dedicated teachers (pp. 113-114, 156-157, 199). At other nunneries, however, structures for education in behaviour and literacy seem to have centred on individual girls, and may have occurred in cells or chambers (pp. 104-107, 111-113, 199-204). Evidence of teaching practices at Wilton suggests that privileged religious girls also had access to private tutors, part supplied through windows by literate chaplains and part by the personal instruction of the abbess (pp. 199-204). I have argued that this system, exemplified by Goscelin's *Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis* and *Liber Confortatorius* to Eafe, might have connected with anxieties about girls' adolescence, and imply that the

experience of instruction under chaplains became progressively more isolating as they grew up (p. 201).

### **Adolescence**

In chapter four I asked how monastic children became monastic adults. In doing so, I built upon earlier scholarship which understands adulthood as an acquired status, and asked rather how children adopted signifiers of adulthood, and how boys' and girls' experience in areas of discipline, liturgical training, and literary training might have played a role in signposting that adult status. I first drew attention to the role of a confirmation ritual (pp. 21, 211-212). Arguing that we have no means of knowing whether Anglo-Saxons observed a ritual first advocated by Carolingian church canons, I suggested that evidence for an elevation first occurs after the Norman Conquest, at Canterbury in the *Constitutiones* of Lanfranc (p. 222), and at Worcester in an *ordo* on the 'blessing of a boy as a monk' (pp. 223-224). I have made a similar argument in the case of a ritual which Goscelin of Saint Bertin described in his *Liber Confortatorius* to Eafe of Wilton. The nature of this ritual and Eafe's age at the time it took place have been subject to debate in recent years, but I suggest here it could represent a contemporary response in a community of religious women to the emergence of evidence for rituals of profession in houses of religious men (pp. 235-237). I argued that this ritual might have taken place once girls reached marriageable age, and, indeed, we could press this further, and suggest that it marked the time when they could be considered 'virgins' and 'brides of Christ' (pp. 237-238).

This thesis has argued that changes in boys' and girls' daily routines could have played a similar role in marking adulthood. This section depends upon and supports evidence

for children's daily rounds explored in chapter one, suggesting that oblates observed a different routine to adults. I argue that transitions into adulthood depended on children closing the gaps between their own routines and those of their seniors. I understand that loss of access to extra food, in the form known as the *mixtum*, arrangements of supervision and seating in the choir and refectory, training in a school or cell, choir, and chapter, and procedures of shaving in the case of boys in particular might have signposted children's elevations in this way (pp. 212-215, 225-229, 238-239). I have suggested that boys' literary activities may have played a similar role too. In late Anglo-Saxon monastic houses, the most capable boys progressed into a stage of close reading of school-texts useful to cultivating an elevated Latin style that would mark them out as members of a Benedictine elite and worthy of promotion to church office at a time when monks could expect to dominate the episcopal bench (pp. 216-220). I have followed established scholarship by arguing that the structure and purpose of a literary education in male houses did not change immediately after the Norman Conquest. But I have argued that gradual changes to the material base of instruction also affected experiences of instruction at an advanced level, bringing adolescents into contact with classical Latin poetry, and ensuring that they acquired a style valued by a much wider European community as well (pp. 230-232).

Goscelin's *Life of Saint Eadgyth of Wilton* suggests that girls may have been expected either to focus more heavily on their spiritual development (pp. 239), or continue along a course of Latin instruction once they approached adolescence (pp. 239-242). There is evidence from Goscelin's *Letter to Eafe of Wilton* to suggest that some girls were able to undertake a course of instruction similar to boys, but this only survives in the form of a single letter produced by Goscelin of Saint Bertin. The singularity of this evidence

makes it difficult to interpret, and so I understand that very few girls might have benefitted from this type of instruction; Eafe may only have acquired her experiences by virtue of attracting the support of a particularly invested and learned tutor (pp. 241-243). While it is not clear whether this course of instruction was characteristic of most girls' experiences, however, I consider that they confirm the importance of literary identities in some girls' lives, and indicate that they could parallel those of contemporary boys.

Extending from the example of Orderic Vitalis, whose testimony we encountered at the very beginning of this thesis (pp. 11-12), I have argued that promotion to the lowest grades of holy orders, like the sub-diaconate, likely played a role in conferring an adult status too (pp. 234-235). Progress into the sub-diaconate may not have required much formal training, boys could obtain the necessary skills through observation of their seniors and so this elevation could have marked the elevation of many adolescents. Girls could not enter holy orders, however, and so promotion through church offices would not have marked an end-point to religious girlhoods. Despite this, I argue that girls could acquire promotion to monastic offices, and sometimes became abbess at much younger ages than we have seen of boys as abbots (pp. 243-244). I have also entertained the idea that girls might have aspired to less weighty offices too, and considered that girls might have emerged into adulthood by virtue of acquiring one of a larger number of offices (p. 244), including, for example, as a nurse or *nutrix* to infants (pp. 105-106), or as a reader or *rædestre/lectrix*, encountered in the context of feminine additions to the *Regularis Concordia* (pp. 109-110) and in the *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* (p. 206).

It has only been possible to give space at the end of this thesis to examine evidence for children's own writings and explore what remains of the "Voices" and "Agencies" of religious students themselves (pp. 245-255). The verses of Otto of Norwich have been particularly useful because they give us an unusually direct connection to an individual who disappeared from the historical record shortly after he completed his composition. In this sense, his words are significant beyond the confines of his composition. They are emblematic of experiences which can no longer be retrieved, and connect us to the interests and capabilities of a much broader demographic of religious boys than is usually the case. The *Versus iuuenis Ottonis* confirm that several of the dynamics explored in the chapters above shaped Otto's religious boyhood. For one, these verses demonstrate that he was instructed in Latin grammar, displaying his awareness of passive and active forms, and of Latin noun-types from all five declensions (pp. 245-247). But they also show that he had been instructed in a common stock of literary tropes (pp. 246-247). They disclose his acquisition of several concepts important to religious profession, including ideas which we have encountered in the context of the oblation ritual and in the autobiographical writings of Orderic Vitalis, of being dedicated to God (p. 248). He referred to heaven as a kingdom (p. 249), and in doing so confirms that boys were encouraged to understand and represent heaven in ways which we have encountered in the context of Psalter glosses in chapter three (i.e. pp. 183-185). His poem also confirms that boys encountered the concept of virginity, and were encouraged to view and express virginity as an important qualification for personal salvation (pp. 249-250). In addition to these aspects, his verses also seem to confirm ideas raised in chapter four, on changes in stylistic preferences between the eleventh and twelfth centuries (pp. 231-234). The majority of his word forms can be traced to biblical scripture (pp. 250-252), including many of those which scholars suspect served

as school-texts in the grammatical curriculum, and these suggest that the study of sacred text remained important when he was writing (pp. 250-252). But I have suggested that his word choices also reveal the impact of his study of more advanced works of poetry. These may have included school-texts by Aldhelm of Sherborne and Venantius Fortunatus, which had been popular in late Anglo-Saxon England, but his verses also indicate that his experiences of Latin instruction had extended into the study of Ovid and Albius Tibullus, whose works were more characteristic of library and school-text collections after the Norman Conquest (p. 251-252).

There are no parallels to Otto's verses, sadly, when it comes to confirming the experiences of religious girls and asking what religious women thought themselves. Verses attributed to Saint Eadgyth do not give us access to her own voice in quite the same way, and since they are not original compositions, they may only, and at most, allow us a view of her editorial choices and liturgical interests (pp. 253-254). They may be significant, for example, in the sense that contemporaries thought them consistent with the Latinity of a contemporary religious woman, and they may be useful too to the degree that they represent literary choices, and are suggestive of a mind which had invested in biblical study and the liturgy, and related to Christian virtues and disciplined behaviours. But the primary source base cannot confirm, one way or another, whether the dynamics of discipline, liturgical training, and literary formation which we have set out rather tentatively in preceding chapters, informed the experiences of this particular religious too.

The attribution to Eadgyth of Wilton of a decorated alb may not be sufficient to make any firm conclusions about the lives of young women in contemporary Benedictine

houses either, but I have suggested that it provides a better anchor for this study (pp. 254-255). This alb indicates what contemporaries expected girls to learn and how contemporaries expected girls to express their learning in a religious context. I suggest that references to Eadgyth's embellishment of this alb remind us of the significance of skills in sewing which have left little trace today but which might have been important to girls' monastic development. This alb is also significant because it represents the development of an individual who had learnt to subsume herself into religious narratives and into a familial relationship with the figure of Christ, replacing the Virgin Mary (*uice Mariae*) (pp. 157-158, 254-255). It is significant too because it presents us with evidence similar to that which we encountered in chapter one, of feminine pronouns added into copies of the *Regula Benedicti* (pp. 108-110), and, indeed, in chapter two, of a feminisation of a biblical passage in a vernacular version of the *Regularis Concordia* (pp. 159-161), both of which suggest that religious women observed a practice of imagining themselves into biblical texts and dramatic liturgies, casting themselves as agents of religious narratives. Although we can hardly push conclusions any further, it would be tempting to ask whether it shows that craft might have provided religious girls and women with a means to develop and acquire a specific reputation too, creating a space in which girls could foster the kind of idiosyncratic religious identities we have previously only been able to consider in the light of boys' performance in the liturgy, on the basis of the Latin *Regularis Concordia* and contemporary school-texts (pp. 131-137).

One could question the wisdom of assuming that craft skills were exclusively or predominantly connected to the experiences of religious girls. We should therefore perhaps be careful not to preclude entirely the possibility that boys were expected to

engage in a similar area of development, allowing the possibility that boys and girls were not as differentiated by these skills as sources imply. We can, after all, find accounts which associate religious boys and men with other kinds of craft, including all contemporary versions of the life of Saint Dunstan, which attributed to him skill in the design of religious garments and in iron-working.<sup>1</sup> But even so, and as far as I know, no records surviving from this period connect a skill in needlework with the religious experience of boys or men, and so it would seem reasonable to consider that needlework was more or less particular to girls, marking out their lives from boys.

Over the course of the preceding chapters we have drawn attention to different emphases of development which may have informed and also resulted from differences in the trajectories of the careers to which girls could aspire. We have considered that, while girls could not aspire to priestly offices, religious girls and women responded to limitations in their access to the liturgy by engaging with religious life from different angles, by adjusting rules to allow girls to adopt a proxy, and by allowing girls to work on crafts that were likely to have a function in a sacramental context. We have suggested that the presence of feminine word forms in a dramatic ritual described in a surviving fragment of the *Regularis Concordia* provides this sort of evidence, and, indeed, if we can allow ourselves to push the limits of these conclusions slightly further still, we could

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<sup>1</sup> Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, in *Lives and Miracles*, ed. and trans. Muir and Turner, see pp. 60-1: 'Haec inter opera eius rogatur a quadam matrona, religiosa quidem et stadium habente placendi Deo, domum suam uenire, et orarium sibi, quod ad ornatum et ministerium aecclesiae Dei inaurare uolebat, artificiosa quam in auri opera imitaretur arte praepingere/ Among the things he did, he was asked by a certain matron, who was indeed religious and possessed by a desire to please God, that he come to her house and design a stole for her with his craftsman's skill which she could copy in golden thread; she wished to cover this stole with gold for the embellishment of the church of God and its service' and also 66-7 'Quadam igitur uice, cum uir ipse, iam die aduesperascente, fabrili intenderet operi, astitit, fenestrae ipsius demon unus humana effigie tectus, rogans sibi nescio quid operis ab homine fieri/ Therefore on a certain occasion, as day was advancing towards evening and Dunstan was engaged in smith's work, a demon appeared at his window clothed in human likeness and asked him to do some task or other for him'.

consider that they show girls and women acting out this ritual for themselves, allowing deacons only to narrate their dramas. This cannot be ascertained with any certainty of course, but, if accurate, it would mean that girls engaged with dramatic rituals in far closer parallel to boys than has been recognised in the past, and it would also provide an origin of sorts to the abundance of evidence we possess for religious women participating in and organising dramatic rituals in later medieval centuries.<sup>1</sup>

Insofar as this study has drawn attention to sources which can support a study on childhood, demonstrating the feasibility of such a study, and locating sources which can confirm the importance of certain experiences in the lives of religious children, it has also, I hope, shown that there is significant space for further exploration of monastic oblates in these centuries. While we have drawn some attention to the complex nature of age-related terminology in several documents composed in this period, it is clear that space remains for future scholarship to contribute towards a clearer understanding of how vernacular terminology relating to age and life-stage intersected with a parallel framework of Latin terms. While this study has drawn attention to the impact and influence of religious children on the communities they entered, it also remains the case that we do not fully understand how important children were as a demographic in contemporary houses, what proportion of recruits children were in any given period and, indeed, when their importance as a share of recruits and as a share of their

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<sup>1</sup> For more on this, and for a discussion of the emergence of one of the earliest sources of evidence for liturgical dramas in the houses of religious women, coincidentally at the Benedictine houses of Wilton and Barking, see Alison Findlay, *Playing Spaces in Early Women's Drama* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 148: 'Dunbar Ogden has identified twenty-three music dramas performed by nuns from across Europe, from the twelfth century to 1600, which answer a need for dramatic expression by women and for the education of women [...] In the Wilton and Barking scripts for the *Uisitatio Sepulcri* (a dramatisation of the three Maries' visit to Christ's tomb), the Maries were personated by nuns'. See also, Dunbar Ogden, *The Staging of Drama in the Medieval Church* (Newark DE, 2001).

communities as a whole declined. There is therefore ample space for an examination of demographic change in monastic houses in this period, one which would make use of the many sources, including books of life like the *Liber Vitae*, for example, which would throw clear light onto the changing significance of oblates in the Benedictine houses of England. A study of boyhood in particular would also benefit considerably from further exploration of the evidence of the school-texts that contemporaries composed for their precise benefit. While we have shown some of the ways in which Latin dialogues and also other liturgical, biblical, and poetic texts contribute to our understanding of their experiences of discipline, the liturgy, and Latin literacy, they have yet to be explored exhaustively. What is more, there is potential for closer study of liturgical documents too. While we have drawn some attention to the nature of study of the Psalter through surviving glosses, there would seem to be immediate space for closer study of glosses added to documents which contain those liturgical sequences we know boys were required to learn and to we have drawn attention, like the *Trina Oratio* and the Penitential Psalms.

To the extent that these may offer particular useful windows onto the lives of religious boys, it is hoped that this study has also pointed to areas in girls' lives which could provide fruitful ground for future research too. While we have drawn attention to a grey area of participation in the dramatic liturgy, for example, it is clear that there remains significant space for an exploration of girls' interaction with the sacramental liturgy. We have assumed here that religious boys had privileged access to the altar space by helping priests and deacons, and enjoyed exclusive access to a career in the priestly orders, and, if they had entered a cathedral see in particular, where they encountered bishops, enjoyed access to and might aspire to a career on the episcopal bench too. We

have taken the position therefore that girls did not share in these future trajectories, and their formative years could not have been shaped by the possibility of obtaining in later adulthood positions of responsibility, aside from, that is, as office holders within the confines of the monastic enclosure. But there is evidence to suggest that girls were able to clean and handle of holy vessels and other objects which were associated with the altar, albeit outside the context of the celebration of a sacramental office. We have not drawn any attention to this evidence here, largely because girls' cleaning of holy vessels would not remove an important distinction between the career trajectories open to religious women and men, but these activities have potential to throw important light onto religious childhood and onto the nature of differences which were imposed upon boys and girls as they matured. Evidence of girls cleaning objects which served a function on the altar, and which held the Eucharistic offerings, may therefore offer a particularly useful area for future study, improving our understanding the nature of contemporary views of girls and boys, and revealing how far childhood in general provided a space which allowed girls to engage with their communities in similar ways to boys, providing them with a parallel opportunities to invest themselves in the liturgies and religious identities of their Benedictine communities in late Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman England c.950-1200.

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ODNB: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*:  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2082>.