

POWERFUL WORDS

Writing in medieval Europe (c.1050 – c.1250): what, how and why?



Two self-portraits of scribes: Rufillus (Amiens Bibliothèque Municipale MS Lescalopier 30, fol. 29v) and Guda (Univ.bib Frankfurt MS Barth. 42 fol. 110v).

Faculty of History

Part II Special Subject B
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This Special Subject explores how, and why, written words were used in Western Europe in the high Middle Ages. It engages with societies where only a small minority of people were formally literate. In the 11th as in the 13th century most people could not read, and even less write; the bulk of what was copied still was in Latin. Biblical, liturgical and theological texts remained at the core of that Latinate textual culture.

However, things changed during the ‘long 12th century’. Written words became increasingly used not just by the (growing) literate minority but also by much of the rest of society. Their formats and purposes diversified. Changes were quantitative and qualitative: the number of books and documents such as charters increased sharply, and a much wider array of texts was composed and read across Europe, legal volumes, scholastic treatises, scientific texts, but also poems, political satire, manuals for everything from receiving confession to writing beautiful letters. It was also the seminal moment when most vernacular languages emerged or established themselves as literate languages: vernacular poetry, romance, administrative work, and spiritual literature started to be written and disseminated.

Classes cover all dimensions of writing: the cost and multiple skills that went into turning animal skin into written artefacts, the education that allowed authors and scribes to write their texts – most of them still in Latin – and the increasingly diverse forms and genres of written texts, from documentary artefacts such as charters and rolls, to religious, legal and literary genres. At the core of our seminars will be what drove the creation of those artefacts, who their audiences were, and what they tell us about literacy and its evolutions.

The scholarship about medieval literacy and texts has been transformed over the last few decades. Exciting work has changed our understanding of the materiality of manuscript and document production. Each class will reflect this by featuring the analysis of digitized documents. Alongside printed translated sources, these digitised ‘raw’ sources allow us to get close to the choices made by scribes as they organized words on parchment. Even closer to the sources, two of the classes are visits to libraries to look at and handle physical manuscripts, which is always a striking experience.

The default image of a medieval scribe is male, but we now know a lot about female literacy and authorship, beyond the few extremely famous examples like Hildegard of Bingen. There will be one class specifically devoted to the question of women and literacy during the period. However, women, and questions of gender, will be present in most classes, for instance when charters or the patronage of vernacular texts are discussed.

The articulation of orality and literacy has also been a lively field of enquiry, ever since Brian Stock proposed the concept of ‘textual communities’ to redefine the boundaries between literacy and illiteracy in the medieval West. The question of how, and by whom (formally literate or not) written artefacts were used will be at the core of this paper.

The source material in English translation is abundant, and I will supply my own translations when necessary. There will be no requirement or expectation of any previous knowledge of Latin or modern languages. Students are not expected to have taken medieval history papers in Part I.

The teaching is organised as follows:

- 16 two-hour classes (8 in MT, 8 in LT);
- in Lent Term three additional one-hour classes: two about gobbet work and one for a Long Essay Q&A/clinic;
- three revision classes in Easter Term.

Ahead of each class, set reading will be given. The nature of the reading will vary from class to class; in most weeks it will consist of a combination of key items of secondary literature (typically one to three chapters or articles) and some primary sources (30 to 70 pages).

COURSE PROGRAMME

Michaelmas Term

Week 1: Introduction to the course

Week 2: Schools and education

Week 3: Charters and forgeries: a pragmatic use for written records.

Week 4: Clerics and clerks: literate men at the service of the powerful

Week 5: The Bible and the Church fathers: the core of medieval literate culture

Week 6: Multilingual writing: how the quasi-monopoly of Latin ended

Week 7: Manuscript: writing by hand and the resulting limitless variations of contents, structure and layout.

Week 8: Let's go and look at some manuscripts.

Lent Term

[Weeks 1-3 explore three examples of genres / types of texts; weeks 6-7 deepen and wrap up two themes running through the course: the literacy of people who were not clerics or monks]

Week 1: Lives shaped by letters: examples of epistolary writing

Week 2: Satire and irreverence: speaking truth to power?

Week 3: Medieval epics: new takes on old stories (Alexander the Great, the Trojan War)

Week 4: Libraries, catalogues and booklists

Week 5: Writing on objects, fabric or stone: words beyond the parchment.

Week 6: Literacy beyond churchmen: re-focusing on women and literacy

Week 7: Literacy beyond churchmen: re-focusing on laypeople and literacy

Week 8: Let's go and look – again! - at some manuscripts

Easter Term

Three revision classes: one general one, two focusing on goblets.

EXAMPLES OF LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS

- What was a school in the twelfth century?
- To what extent could the institutional Church control what was written?
- What use were texts to illiterate people?
- 'Female literacy was essentially a monastic affair.' Discuss.
- Did the role of charters change over the long twelfth century?
- 'The Bible was the core of medieval culture.' Discuss.
- Are forgeries curses or blessings for historians?
- Why did literate men become increasingly indispensable to powerful ones?
- Has the literacy of the laity been underestimated?
- What did it take for vernacular languages to become written ones?
- 'Every medieval textual artefact is unique.' Discuss.
- Cleric and literate: discuss the relation between these two words.

PRIMARY SOURCES: SET TEXTS AND PICTURES

1. Textual sources

A selection of poems/songs translated in *Vagabond Verse; Secular Latin Poems of the Middle Ages*, ed. E. H. Zeydel (Detroit, 1966): 'Drinking', 'The Abbot of Cockayne', and 'At that Time'.

Abelard and Heloise, *Letters*, ed. and trans. B. Radice and M. Clanchy (2003), extracts

Ancrene Wisse. Text available here (modern English translation of the difficult bits in the footnotes at the bottom of the page), Part 2, lines 1-20 (to 'gleames of his grace'):
<https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/hasenfrantz-ancrene-wisse-part-two>

Bernard of Clairvaux, letter to Geoffrey of Peronne, in *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, transl. B. S. James (London, 1953), p. 167-8; then read it again here, where most of the biblical references are italicized and identified:
<https://archive.org/details/somelettersofsai00bernuoft/page/164/mode/2up>

Bertran de Born, *Poems*. A small selection!

Charters and documents: a small sample (for week 3)

Elisabeth of Schönau, letter to Hildegard [only the first two paragraphs]:
<https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/124.html>

Four letters from Alix, duchess of Burgundy to Blanche, countess of Champagne (June 1219):
<https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/25833.html>;
<https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/25834.html>;
<https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/25835.html>;
<https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/25836.html>

Guibert of Gembloux, Letter to Bovo, in *Jutta and Hildegard: the Biographical Sources*, ed. Anna M. Silvas (Turnhout, 1999), p. 99-117.

Guibert of Nogent, *The Autobiography of Guibert, Abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy*, trans. C.C. Swinton Bland (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1925); pp. 16-24 and 67-73 as revised and reprinted in *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader*, ed. A. Novikoff (Toronto, 2016), p. 71-78.

Guy (or Guido) of Bazoches, letter to his mother:
<https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/1050.html>

Hermann of Tournai on his master Odo in his *Liber de restauratione ecclesie Sancti Martini Tornacensis*, trans. Paul Edward Dutton, in *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader*, ed. A. Novikoff (Toronto, 2016), pp. 78-81.

Hildegard of Bingen, Opening declaration/foreword of *Scivias*, transl. C. Hart and J. Bishop (New York, 1990), p. lxxi-lxxv.

Hildegard, letter to Bernard of Clairvaux: <https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/1188.html>

Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, ed. and trans. S. A. Barney *et al.* (Cambridge, 2006), beginning of Book VI on the books of the Bible, p. 135-138, Book XI.ii ('on the ages of human beings'), p. 241-243, start of Book XII on livestock – just the first page to get a sense of what is going on, p. 247 [although feel free to carry on if you feel curious!]

Jerome, *Prologues*. Look Jerome up! Prologue to the book of Jeremiah: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_preface_jeremiah.htm; Prologue to the Epistles of Paul: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_preface_pauls_letters.htm

John of Salisbury on Bernard of Chartres: selection of extracts in *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader*, ed. A. Novikoff (Toronto, 2016), pp. 63-68.

John of Salisbury, Letter 145, *The letters of John of Salisbury. Vol. 2, The later letters, 1163-1180*, ed. W.J. Millor and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford, 1979), p. 37-41 (on the inscribed gold ring given by his brother).

John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, chapter 10, ed. and trans. Cary J. Nederman (Cambridge, 1990), p. 85-91.

Jordan Fantosme, *Chronicle*, lines 1-34 (to 'mad with grief').

Joseph of Exeter, *Iliad (Iosephus Iscanus: Daretis Phrygii Ilias)*, ed. trans. A. G. Rigg (Toronto, 2005), lines 1-70.

Letters of Stephen of Orléans, abbot of Sainte-Geneviève (Paris) then bishop of Tournai: a short selection.

Lives of Thomas Becket, trans. M. Staunton (Manchester, 2001), pp. 43-48, 66-67 and 128-131.

Lost Letters of Medieval Life: English Society, 1200-1250, ed. M. Carlin and D. Crouch (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), chapters 3 ('War and Politics', p. 99-136) and 5 ('Knight, barn and windmill').

Master Goyas de quondam abbate, edited and translated by A. Piltz, in *Master Golyas and Sweden : The Transformation of a Clerical Satire : A Collection of Essays*, eds O. Ferm and B. Morris (Stockholm, 1997), chapters 1-23 p. 160-181 (only the odd pages, not the facing Latin; many pages are more than half filled by footnotes).

Peter Lombard's *Sentences*: Book II, distinction 18 (on the creation of Eve), in *The Sentences. Book 2: On Creation*, transl. G. Silano (Toronto, 2008) book IV distinction 18, p. 76-81; Book IV, distinction 27 (on marriage), in *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader*, ed. A. Novikoff (Toronto, 2016), p. 51-53

Philip de Harvengt, extract of his *De continentia clericorum*, as translated in *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader*, ed. A. Novikoff (Toronto, 2016), pp. 116-18.

Stephen of Orleans, selection of letters, trans. J. Barrau; Latin text in *Lettres d'Etienne de Tournai*, ed. J. Desilve (Paris/Valenciennes, 1893).

The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales, ed. H. E. Butler (London, 1937; new edition Woodbridge, 2005), extracts.

The Battle Chronicle, ed. E. Searle, Oxford 1980, a few pages.

The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1162-1170. Volume 1, Letters 1-175, ed. A. Duggan (Oxford, 2000), Letters 8, 22, 65, 87 and 109.

The Glossa Ordinaria (standardized glosses of the Bible). Extracts in *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader*, ed. A. Novikoff (Toronto, 2016), p. 53-57

Tractatus Garsiae: Or The Translation of the Relics of SS. Gold and Silver, ed. R. M. Thomson (Leiden, 1973), p. 15-29 (only the odd pages, not the facing Latin!).

Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis*: the prologue (in the recent edition by D. Townsend) and the extracts of the *Alexandreis* chosen in Novikoff's *Reader*.

2. Visual sources

Frowin and Richene

Image: Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek MS 5 f. 1r, (1143x1178)

Colophon: 'Why and for what reason should Frowin have less of the reward [than I]? As the scribe I did the writing, but my hand obeyed him. For as long as this one [= Frowin] leads well and the other [= the scribe] obeys prudently, the reward of both will blossom in the heavenly citadel.'

<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/search/all?sQueryString=Engelberg%2C+Stiftsbibliothek+MS+5+&sSearchField=fullText&sSortField=score&iResultsPerPage=20&aSelectedFacets=>

Seals

1. William of Sicily – the 'real' seal and Roger of Howden's rendition
2. Henry II's first and second great seals, pictures pp. 9 and 12 in Nicholas Vincent, 'The seals of King Henry II and his court', in *Seals and Their Context in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. Schofield (Philadelphia, 2015), pp. 7-33

Rings

1. Gold ring with sapphire, inscription *AVE MARIA G/RACIA PLENA* (Hail Mary full of grace), 13th century.

<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O121872/ring-unknown/>

2. Signet ring, inscription * IOHANNES: EST: NOMEN: EIVS (John is his name), 13th century [what is a signet ring? Look it up if you are not quite sure...]

<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O121098/signet-ring/signet-ring-unknown/>

Grisandus the Sicilian cleric and the funeral stones for his parents

Episcopal gloves

1. 'Glove of St Liudger', picture p. 462 in A. Kumler, 'Writing on the world beyond the page: medieval inscriptions as *facta* and *ficta*' *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 97 (2023), pp. 447–484.

2. 'Glove of St Fulcran', picture p. 6 of the and analysis pp. 6-7 of the pdf of E. Ingrand-Varenne, 'Dextera Domini. The Earliest Inscriptions on Liturgical Gloves', *Über Stoff und Stein: Knotenpunkte von Textilkunst und Epigraphik Beiträge zur 15. internationalen Fachtagung für mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Epigraphik vom 12. bis 14. Februar 2020 in München*, eds Tanja Kohwagner-Nikolai, Bernd Päffgen and Christine Steininger (Wiesbaden, 2021), p. 85-97.

RELEVANT PRIMARY SOURCES IN TRANSLATION

[TO COMPLEMENT THE SET SOURCES]

The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader, ed. A. Novikoff (Toronto, 2016)

Abelard and Heloise, *Letters*, ed. and trans. B. Radice and M. Clanchy (2003)

Abelard, prologue to the *Sic et Non*, trans. A.J. Minnis and A.B. Scott, *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism* (rev. edn. Oxford 1991)

Accessus ad Auctores: Medieval Introductions to the Authors, ed. and trans. Wheeler, Stephen M. (Kalamazoo, MI, 2015).

Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, trans. J.J. Sheridan (Toronto 1973)

Anselm of Canterbury, *Letters*, trans. W. Fröhlich, 2 vols. (1990, 1993)

Bernard of Clairvaux, *Letters*, trans. B.S. James (1953)

Medieval library catalogues: *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*: vol. 13, *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, ed. B.C. Barker-Benfield (London, 2008); vol. 3, *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*, ed. D.N. Bell (London, 1992); vol. 6, *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. T. Webber and A.G. Watson (London, 1998).

Education of Nuns, Feast of Fools, Letters of Love: Medieval Religious Life in Twelfth-Century Lyric Anthologies from Regensburg, Ripoll, and Chartres, eds. and trans. D. Traill and J. Haynes (Peeters Publishers, 2021)

English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I, 2 vols, ed. R.C. Caenegem (London, 1990 and 1991)

Elisabeth of Schönau, *The complete works*, trans. A. L. Clark (New York, 2010)

Godfrey of Saint-Victor, *The Fountain of Philosophy*, trans. Hugh Feiss, in *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader*, ed. A. Novikoff (Toronto, 2016), p. 121-129.

Gratian, *The Treatise on Laws* (Decretum 1-20), trans. A. Thompson (Washington 1993)

Guibert of Nogent, *The Autobiography of Guibert, Abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy*, trans. C.C. Swinton Bland, (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1925); we will read the extracts at 16–24, 67–73 as revised in *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader*, ed. A. Novikoff (Toronto, 2016), p. 71-78.

<https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/women/>: we will read a selection of women's letters from this wonderful website.

Hugh of Saint Victor, *Didascalicon*, trans. J. Taylor (New York 1961)

Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, eds. Barney, S., Lewis, W., Beach, J., & Berghof, O. (Cambridge, 2006).

John of Salisbury, *Letters*, ed. and trans. C.N.L. Brooke et al., 2 vols. (1979,1986)

Joseph of Exeter. *Iliad (Iosephus Iscanus: Daretis Phrygii Ilias)*, ed. trans. A. G. Rigg. Toronto: University of Toronto, 2005.

Lark in the Morning: The Verses of the Troubadours, a Bilingual Edition, ed. and trans. Robert Kehew, Ezra Pound, W. D. Snodgrass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims, and Settlers in the 12th and 13th Centuries, trans. Barber, M., and A. K. Bale (Aldershot, 2010).

Nuns' letters from Admont: I will provide a translation of the Latin letters edited by Alison Beach in 'Voices from a Distant Land: Fragments of a Twelfth-Century Nuns' Letter Collection', *Speculum*, 77 (2002), 34–54 at 52-54.

Richard FitzNigel, *Dialogus de Scaccario. The Course of the Exchequer*, ed. and trans. Charles Johnson, F. E. L. Carter, and D. E. Greenway (Oxford, 1983).

The Battle of the Seven Arts, trans. Louis John Paetow (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1914), extracts reprinted in *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader*, ed. A. Novikoff (Toronto, 2016), p. 134-145.

Tractatus Garsiae, or The Translation of the Relics of SS. Gold and Silver, ed. and trans. R. M. Thompson (Leiden: Brill, 1973)

Vagabond Verse; Secular Latin Poems of the Middle Ages, ed. E. H. Zeydel (Detroit, 1966)

Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. and trans. C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983)

DIGITIZED MANUSCRIPTS AND DOCUMENTS

There are now constantly growing resources online providing high quality digitized images of medieval original documents. While they do not fully replace the physical contact with parchment (that's what the two classes in libraries are for), digitized sources have been a game-changer in our access to medieval intellectual and social practices.

Here are a few websites that we will be using during classes:

<https://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/library/wren-digital-library/>

<https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/>

<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/>

<https://manuscrits-france-angleterre.org/polonsky/en/content/accueil-en?mode=desktop>

<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en>

<https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/>

<https://deeds.library.utoronto.ca/>

To help with engaging with those manuscripts:

Parkes, M., 'Layout and presentation of the text', in N. Morgan and R. Thomson (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 55-74.

Kitzinger, B., 'Working with Images in Manuscripts', in O. Da Rold and E. Treharne (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval British Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 76-105.

Scragg, D., 'Reading a Manuscript Description', in O. Da Rold and E. Treharne (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval British Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 39-48.

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[selection of translated primary sources] *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance: A Reader*, ed. A. Novikoff (Toronto, 2016)

Giraud, Cédric, ‘Introduction. Schools and the “Renaissance of the Twelfth Century”’, in *A Companion to Twelfth-Century Schools*, (Leiden, 2019), ed. C. Giraud, p. 1-9.

Brooke, C. N. L., *The twelfth century renaissance* (1969)

Bynum, C. W., ‘Did the twelfth century discover the individual?’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980), p.1- 17.

Carruthers, Mary, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 189-220

Colish, Marcia L., *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition 400-1400* (New Haven, 1997)

Le Goff, Jacques, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1993)

Mews, C. J., ‘The Schools and Intellectual Renewal in the Twelfth Century: A Social Approach’, in *A Companion to Twelfth-Century Schools*, ed. C. Giraud (Leiden, 2019), p. 10-29.

Morris, Colin, *The discovery of the individual 1050-1200* (1972)

Murray, A., *Reason and society in the Middle Ages* (1978)

Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century, ed. R.L. Benson and G. Constable (with C.D. Lanham), (Oxford 1982; repr. Toronto, Buffalo and London 1991)

Jaeger, Stephen, *The Envy of Angels – Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe 950-1200* (Philadelphia 1994)

Jaeger, Stephen, ‘Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century “Renaissance”’, *Speculum* 78 (2003), p. 1151-1183.

Southern, Richard W., *Medieval humanism and other studies* (1970)

Southern, Richard W., *Scholastic humanism and the Unification of Europe, Volume 1: Foundations* (1995); *Volume 2: The Heroic Age* (2001)

Swanson, R.N., *The Twelfth Century Renaissance* (New York, 1999)

The European Book in the Twelfth Century, ed. E. Kwakkel and R. M. Thomson (Cambridge, 2018)

Attitudes to novelty: dwarves and giants, *antiqui et moderni*

[see also contributions to *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R.L. Benson and G. Constable (with C.D. Lanham), (Oxford 1982; repr. Toronto, Buffalo and London 1991)]

Smalley, B., 'Ecclesiastical attitude to novelty', in *Studies in church history*, 12 (1975), p.113-131.

Jaeger, S., 'Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century "Renaissance"', *Speculum* 78 (2003): 1151–83.

Verger, J., '*Spes proficiendi*. Travail intellectuel et progrès individuel au Moyen Âge', in *Tradition, Innovation, Invention. Fortschrittsverweigerung und Fortschrittsbewusstsein im Mittelalter*, ed. H.-J. Schmidt, (Berlin-New York, 2005), p. 277-291.

Eco, U., 'Riflessioni sulle tecniche di citazione nel medioevo', in *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto, 1999, vol. 1, p. 461-484.

Scribes and their manuscripts: the making of the written

The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain vol 2: 1100-1400, eds N. Morgan and R.M. Thompson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), especially the section on book production, p. 39-109, including R.M. Thompson, 'Parchment and paper, ruling and ink'.

R. Clemens and T. Graham, *Introduction to Manuscripts Studies* (Ithaca, 2007)

Alexander, Jonathan J. G., *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven CT and London, 1992).

Clemens, Raymond and Graham, Timothy, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007).

de Hamel, Christopher. *A History of Illuminated manuscripts*, (2d ed. London: Phaidon, 1997).

de Hamel, Christopher. *Medieval Craftsmen. Scribes and Illuminators* (London, 1992).

Binski, Paul, and Panayotova, S., *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West* (London, 2005).

Panayotova, S. (ed.), *The Art and Science of Illuminated Manuscripts: A Handbook, Manuscripts in the Making 3* (London, 2021).

The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture. Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium, 26 September-1 October 1982, ed. Peter Ganz (Turnhout, 1986).

Cleaver, Laura, *Illuminated History Books in the Anglo-Norman World, 1066-1272* (Oxford, 2018).

Pohl, B., *Publishing in a Medieval Monastery: the View from Twelfth-Century Engelberg* (Cambridge, 2023), accessible here:

<https://www-cambridge-org.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/core/elements/publishing-in-a-medieval-monastery/17B31679A5EF213BFCAF283BBB4C6440>

Education and the 'school revolution'

A companion to twelfth-century schools, ed. Cédric Giraud (Leiden–Boston, 2019).

Boynton, Susan, "Training for the Liturgy as a Form of Monastic Education," in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. C. Muessig and G. Ferzoco (Leicester, 2000), p. 7-20.

Ferruolo, S. C., *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and Their Critics 1100-1215* (Stanford, 1985).

Beaujouan, G., "The Transformation of the *Quadrivium*," in R. L. Benson and G. Constable, eds., with Carol D. Lanham, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Toronto, 1991), 463-487.

Southern, R. W., "The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Toronto, 1991), p. 113-37.

Brundage, J., "Teaching canon law," in *Learning Institutionalized: Teaching in the Medieval University*, ed. John Van Engen (Notre Dame, 2000), p. 177-196. [also in: *The profession and practice of medieval canon law* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2004)].

Jaeger, S. C. "Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century 'Renaissance'", *Speculum* 78 (2003), p. 1151-1183.

Cobban, A. B., "Medieval Student Power," *Past and Present* 53 (1971), p. 28-66.

Dod, Bernard G., "Aristoteles Latinus", in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy from the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism 1100 - 1600*, eds. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, Jan Pinborg (New York, 1982), p. 45–79.

Law, Vivien, *Grammar and grammarians in the early Middle Ages*, London, 1997.

Orme, Nicholas, *English schools in the Middle Ages*, London, 1973.

Literacy: the clergy, the laity and the written

Ad Litteram: Authoritative Texts and their Medieval Readers, ed. M. Jordan and K. Emery, 1992.

Bäumli, F.H., 'Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Speculum*, 55 (1980).

Briggs, Charles, 'Literacy, reading, and writing in the medieval West', *Journal of Medieval History*, 26 (2000), p. 397-420.

Clanchy, Michael T., *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066–1307* (Oxford: 1979; revised edition 1993 and 2013).

Cleaver, *Education in Twelfth-Century Art and Architecture. Images of Learning in Europe, c. 1100–1220* (Woodbridge: 2016).

Green, Denis, 'Orality and Reading: The State of Research in Medieval Studies', *Speculum*, 65 (1990), p. 267-280.

Ong, Walter, *Orality and Literacy: Studies in the Technology of Communication*, Oxford, 1988 [key anthropological text].

Parkes, Malcolm B., 'The literacy of the laity', in *Scribes, scripts and readers. Studies in the communication, presentation and dissemination of medieval texts*. London, 1991. [originally published in 1973]

Petrucchi, Armando, *Public Lettering: Script, Power and Culture*, Chicago, 1993.

Stock, Brian, *The implications of literacy. Written language and models of interpretation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries*, Princeton, 1983.

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