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## Writing Friendship, Mourning the Friend in Late Anglo-Saxon *Rules of Confraternity*

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At an early eleventh-century synod, a group of bishops and abbots from several neighboring Benedictine monasteries, including Sherborne and New Minster, Winchester, agreed to adopt a brief set of reciprocal regulations concerning the rituals, prayers, and almsgiving that should be performed following the death of a brother. Two manuscripts—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 943 (from Sherborne) and London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi (from New Minster)—each contain this little-known agreement in the form of nearly identical Old English *Rules of Confraternity*, which forged a symbolic and, indeed, very practical bond between the monasteries involved.<sup>1</sup> By formally accepting the agreement, the abbots and bishops of these communities together became “anræde” [of one mind] and “cor unum et anima una” [one heart and one soul]. The gesture of unity announced by the establishment of the confraternity aligns appropriately with the predominant culture of late Anglo-Saxon monastic communities, recently restructured and solidified by the tenth-century Benedictine reforms. Yet, as I will show, the *Rules of Confraternity* functions in a far more subtle manner, taking on and reconfiguring the profound experience of grief, loss, and mourning in a monastic context where these emotions, and the simultaneous possibility and impossibility of friendship that accompany them, have been quietly restricted and forcefully effaced.

Derived from Acts 4:32, the phrase “cor unum et anima una” was, prior to the twelfth century, quoted primarily to help establish the conceptual unity of the entire Christian community (as opposed to individual relationships within that community).<sup>2</sup> At first glance, the *Rules of Confraternity* appears to endorse the symbolic oneness implied by the phrase, broadly uniting entire communities under its universal reach. But, at the same time, the *Rules* also requires that each brother—and, in the Sherborne version, each

brother and sister — “synderlice” [singularly or separately] perform a number of diurnal duties in response to a neighboring community’s death, especially the death of a bishop.<sup>3</sup> This contrast between overall unity and individual singularity is to be expected, as the Benedictine monasticism of the period generally required that, on the one hand, the unity of the monastery absorb every monk into its communal whole and that, on the other hand, each individual monk remain singular and isolated. This paradox will receive further attention below, but essentially it ensured that the monks be equally subordinate to the communal institution while simultaneously engaged in a constant, exclusive, and loving bond with God.<sup>4</sup> Individual friendships between monks were therefore strictly prohibited for fear that they might disrupt the monastery’s balanced order and endanger the community. Set amidst this context, the *Rules of Confraternity* evinces a possibility of friendship, but lacks even the words to describe it. For this possibility of friendship is not based on the formal, official friendships often recorded between bishops and other elite members of Anglo-Saxon society, but instead the *Rules of Confraternity* silently attests to friends that can leave no trace of themselves. Specifically, through emendations and through distinctions from the New Minster version, the Sherborne *Rules of Confraternity* stealthily interrogates this structure of community first by attempting a reconciliation with the singularity of death, and second by ratifying the bond between two monasteries *as though it were* a bond of friendship. This institutional bond, as a bond between living friends, disrupts the oneness of each monastery and, as we will see, opens up a space for monastic friendships by moving beyond and becoming slightly more personal than the generic fraternity and universal *caritas* of all monasteries, all monks, all brothers, and all neighbors.<sup>5</sup>

### **The Sherborne Rules, the New Minster Rules, and the concept of confraternity**

Scholars have only rarely discussed the existence of confraternities in England prior to the Norman Conquest.<sup>6</sup> Although bishops and abbots often held meetings and synods, Anglo-Saxon abbeys strictly abiding by the *Rule of St. Benedict* and the *Regularis Concordia* typically existed as independent self-governing entities, rendering most interaction between monasteries unnecessary.<sup>7</sup> To be sure, relationships between English monasteries — such as the “*pax et concordia*” between Wearmouth and Jarrow, as instituted by Benedict Biscop and noted by Bede — certainly existed.<sup>8</sup> In fact, there is evidence that memorializing death, especially between houses, was a com-

mon monastic preoccupation both in Anglo-Saxon England and elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> Not only are the numerous Continental and Insular *libri vitae* and *necrologia* (lists of names of individuals to receive intercessions after they have died) suggestive of the need and tendency to organize prayer as a communal response to death, but there are also specific examples of similar confraternity arrangements on the Continent as early as 762, with the Synod of Attigny.<sup>10</sup> While the *Regularis Concordia* does encourage neighboring English monasteries to announce and pray for each other's dead, its general prescription is by no means the same as the specific agreement between monasteries such as the one between Sherborne, New Minster, and any other house whose record of the agreement has not survived.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, the term *confraternity* is more typically associated with secular societies of the later Middle Ages in which groups of lay individuals began forming their own confraternities, or "voluntaristic corporations that socialized death."<sup>12</sup> Similar corporations of nonmonastic individuals in Anglo-Saxon England have become known as parish guilds, which themselves left behind evidence of their practices of memorializing death. These acts of memorializing do resemble the practices outlined in the *Rules of Confraternity*.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, the Anglo-Saxon *Rules of Confraternity* established in Sherborne and New Minster differs from these other arrangements in not only its monastic situation and its peculiar language, but in its deliberate attempt to restructure the relationship between several houses around their commitment to pray for the dead. In other words, the *Rules of Confraternity* is the first and only Old English attestation to a monastic confraternity as an agreement that formally joins two monasteries together with the sole purpose of confronting the ultimate form of separation — death.

The two versions of the *Rules of Confraternity* that survive and the differences between them provide important information about the confraternity itself. The New Minster version, composed sometime between the years 1023 and 1031, parallels the first third of the more extensive Sherborne *Rules*. The New Minster *Rules* was written into two blank pages of BL Cotton Titus D. xxvi (see fig. 1) — a tiny manuscript known as Ælfwine's Prayerbook from New Minster, Winchester, an abbey located about fifty miles northeast of Sherborne.<sup>14</sup> Around the year 1030, the Sherborne *Rules of Confraternity* was inscribed onto a blank folio in the final, adjunct quire of BN lat. 943, also known as the Sherborne Pontifical or the Pontifical of St. Dunstan (see fig. 2).<sup>15</sup> The manuscript as a whole, datable to the second half of the tenth century, originated in Canterbury and, shortly after Archbishop Dunstan's death in 988, was given by either Sigeric or Ælfric, archbishops

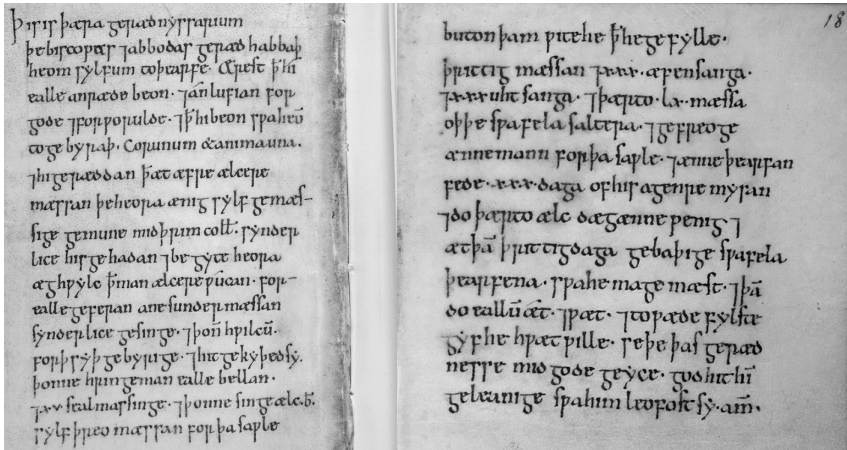


Figure 1.

*New Minster Rules of Confraternity. London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi, fols. 17v–18r. Reproduced with the permission of the British Library Board.*

of Canterbury (990–994 and 995–1005, respectively), to Wulfsige, bishop of Sherborne (ca. 993–1002). In fact, the second item in the manuscript is a letter from the archbishop of Canterbury to Wulfsige, beginning in carefully formed rustic capitals with the greeting: “dei gratia archi episcopus fideli amico wulfsino aepiscopo” [By the grace of God, the archbishop to his faithful friend Bishop Wulfsige].<sup>16</sup> This line will haunt this study and, I hope, continually remind us of the very fraught conceptions of friendship at play here. In other words, the address of the “fideli amico” [faithful friend], commonly used by bishops and elite Anglo-Saxons, was more formulaic—even, perhaps, political—than reflective of any individualized, personal friendship. The phrase “fideli amico” shows up in a wide range of texts, including the salutatory lines of other letters between bishops, and several charters as well.<sup>17</sup> To say that the archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop Wulfsige were friends (and to speak of the specific nature of their friendship) would therefore require a much closer examination of their lives and the particular meaning of *amicitia* in this context. To what degree does the phrase actually signify a close, strong, or faithful relationship? Or, rather, does its repeated and formulaic usage condition it as an expression applied equally among all bishops? Indeed, the entire letter at the opening of the Sherborne Pontifical paraphrases an earlier letter written by Abbot Ælfweard of Glastonbury to

Ðiſ is þæra ge wæ onessa sum þe biſceopas ge wæo habbað heom  
 sylfum to þea rpe. ærfe þ hý ealle an wæde beon 7 an lufian for þe  
 populde. 7 þ hý beon swa hým to gebyred cor unum et anima una 7 hý ge wæodon  
 þæt ærfe ælcere mæſſan þe heora dñi sylf gemæssi ge mune mid þum collec  
 tum synodlice hý gehadan 7 be sýc heora æghwylc þiman ærfe æghwylcere pucan  
 tofealle ge feran ane sunoer mæſſan synodlice gehinge. 7 þon hwylcum biſceope  
 forsid gebyrige. þon sin ge ælc biſceop sylf þreo mæſſan for þa saple. 7 butan  
 þam rice he þ he ge wylle. xxx. mæſſena 7 xxx. æfen sang 7 xxx. uht sang. 7 ge  
 dætan fund. healf widd mæſſan 7 healf ælmer mannum. 7 ge freoge anne man  
 for þa saple. 7 anne þearpan feode. xxx. dagu. 7 æt þam þwite ge þan de ge gebadige  
 7 æala þearpanna swa he mæsse 7 mæge. 7 þam de eallum æt 7 pte. 7 to feode sylste  
 ær he hæt wylle. se þe þar ge wæon ærfe mid gode ge sýc. god hýc him ge lene ge  
 walm leo for. sý amen. De ge wæde eac ealle ure geþroþra 7 ge swiftra þe abbaðer  
 syn 7 abbaðer sýc sý þe bliþlice. 7 hý ge onlice myn gæd 7 eadmodlice birodad þ  
 hý for þe oer lufon heora æganne þearpe. 7 þara þe hý æt geof dome forð leaðan  
 seolon. georne beþenceon. 7 ge gýmad þæt hi us on heora gebededene mid heora  
 geþroþra 7 ge swiftra eadome synodlice eac habbon swaspa þe biſceopa s  
 us beþeonan ge wæo habbað nelle þe to him. 7 gýman feoh gesceotef.  
 ne geot mannes butan hwa sylf wylle. 7 þæt þe beo unne. ac þære  
 gebedwedene þe pilmad georne þæt hi forus beon geonlre geonleþe  
 7 þe eadmodlice forhi beon wylle. þe ham sylþan gemete þe þe  
 alyad þæt hi forus doþ. Eala leofan geþroþra 7 ge swiftra geþencad  
 swýþe georne þa oer neode þe us eallum sý gemæne. god us ge healde.  
 for hý micelan mildheortnesse 7 us gesýlde þæt þe næpwe ne for  
 purdon ondaim topendan dome þe ealle to geladode sýnt. **ANCI.**  
**ā** Incipit oratio mea. col. Ds quicquidatis. epla. In diebus illis. oratione  
 paciebant. gr. Respice dñe. v. Exsurge dñe. alt. Quirament dñm speres.  
 Evangl. In illo tempore. Dixit ilis discipulis suis. Amen amen dico uob.  
 quia si quis dixerit huic moni tolle te & mitte te. in mare. of in mare  
 & angelum dñi. super ost. Miserepe qd dñe famulis tuis pibus tuis  
 p quib; hoc sacripicu laudis. **PRÆTIO** **Ð** ærfe dñ. In polorates. tuis  
 maifestatis miserecordiam. cō. Inclina aurem tuā. p cō. Divina libantes.

Figure 2.  
 Sherborne Rules of Confraternity and liturgical incipits. Paris,  
 Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 943, fol. 163v. Reproduced  
 with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Sigeric upon the latter's ascension to archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>18</sup> And, significantly, Ælfweard adapted his letter from letters written by Alcuin of York (735–805) that describe how an archbishop ought to behave, copying even the first line: “Amico antiquo novus non est similis” [a new friend is not the same as an old friend].<sup>19</sup> This line, however, is left out of the letter to Wulfsgige in the Sherborne Pontifical, suggesting that the friendship here is not old enough to warrant the repetition of Alcuin's expression. Ultimately, this epistolary and conventional display of friendship establishes the manuscript itself, the Sherborne Pontifical, as a *gift* to Wulfsgige, the faithful friend.

Turning from these opening folia of the Sherborne Pontifical to the very end of the codex, one immediately notices that the final quire (fols. 163–70) measures 25 mm. shorter from the bottom than the rest of the Pontifical. Although it was attached to the Pontifical while still in Sherborne, the quire itself functions as an independent unit. In addition to the *Rules of Confraternity* (fol. 163v), this final quire contains six other items: a copy of the twenty-ninth chapter of Augustine's *Enchiridion ad Laurentium sive de fide, spe et caritate*, describing the time between death and God's judgment (fol. 163r); an Old English homily for the dedication of a church (fols. 164r–70r);<sup>20</sup> a Latin formula letter for announcing the death of a monk (fol. 170r); and a letter from Æthelric, bishop of Sherborne (1002–9), that begins, “Æþelric bisceop gret Æþelmær freondlice” [Æthelric, bishop, greets Æthelmær as a friend] (fol. 170v).<sup>21</sup> The term *freondlice* here evokes an address all too similar to the *fideli amico* found in the letter to Wulfsgige at the very beginning of the Sherborne Pontifical. The *Rules of Confraternity* is thus codicologically bookended by these two examples of formulaic, epistolary friendship. At the same time, the *Rules of Confraternity* is immediately bound up by this relevant chapter from Augustine's *Enchiridion* on the preceding folio, which reminds the reader that “neque negandum est defunctorum animas pietate suorum uiuentium releuari” [there is no denying that the souls of the dead are benefited by the piety of their living companions].<sup>22</sup>

In total, seven different eleventh-century scribes have left their mark in the final quire of the Sherborne Pontifical. As we will see, it is of tremendous importance that the Sherborne *Rules of Confraternity* itself was written in two different hands. Based on the ink and script, the second scribe on folio 163v is responsible for the text of the *Rules* after “æt godes dome”; the Latin incipits at the bottom of the page; the superscription in line six of the letter eth (ð) after the word “gesinge,” changing the verb from the subjunctive to the indicative; and lastly the interlinear additions above lines seven and nine of the phrases “butan he furþor wylle” and “for þa saule” (see fig. 2).

The second scribe's emendations, particularly the addition of the phrase "butan he furþor wylle" [unless he wishes to (sing) more], subtly rethink the formation of community in a manner appropriate for a document written into the back of a pontifical, which would have resided at the church altar. Furthermore, the multiplicity of hands in the last quire of the Sherborne Pontifical suggests that this particular quire was subject to much consideration and use. And the active emendation of the Sherborne *Rules* implies that the text was not simply written and then ignored, but instead was affected by and had an effect on its own particular monastic environment.

Both the Sherborne and the New Minster *Rules of Confraternity* open with an abstract description of the agreement, emphasizing the unanimity of the monastic communities. The rules then dictate how each bishop must sing a mass when "death happens" to one of them ("þonne hwylcum bisceope forðsið gebyrige" in the Sherborne version) and how the brothers must care for the needy in remembrance of the dead. The two versions of the *Rules* conclude by returning to a bond with God, who will authorize the confraternity and protect its members. However, the text following the phrase "God hyt him geleanige swa Him leofost sy. Amen" [may God reward him as may be most pleasing to Him. Amen], in the middle of the Sherborne version, does not continue in the New Minster version, which cuts off here despite the availability of two additional blank pages immediately following. The absence of a continuation of the text in the New Minster manuscript suggests that the Sherborne version was copied after or likely even from the New Minster *Rules*. Without a break in the manuscript text, the Sherborne version continues on, and the bishops "gretað" [greet] the abbots and abbesses, encouraging them to pray for and remember their monks (and the bishops themselves), should any of them pass away. In his *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, Helmut Gneuss records that this second part of the Sherborne *Rules* (which is not present in the New Minster version) served as a formula letter for announcing the death of a monk.<sup>23</sup> While the phrasing and theme is, for example, similar to the formula letter that Ælfric encouraged the monks of Eynsham to send around to neighboring monasteries, making known the date of a monk's burial and requesting intercessions, this section of the Sherborne *Rules* serves a larger purpose by announcing not so much the death of a monk, but the establishment of the preceding agreement along with the principles of reciprocity that motivate the arrangement.<sup>24</sup> This second section, unique to the Sherborne *Rules*, thereby strengthens the guidelines set out in the first section. The Sherborne *Rules* further extends and augments the New Minster *Rules* near the bottom

of the folio, where on the left margin a capital “A” topped with a macron (signifying *Antiphona*) marks the most significant addendum (see fig. 2). Here begin liturgical incipits. Because the scribal hand remains the same for the end of the Sherborne *Rules* and the incipits, and because this hand occurs nowhere else, the Sherborne *Rules* and the incipits were clearly written together and in all probability function together as well. Based on the simple appearance and organization of text on what was previously a blank scrap page, it appears that the Sherborne *Rules* and its incipits were conceived of as a single unit. Even when the second scribe takes over from the first (at the phrase “æt godes dome”), he carefully makes his script as consistent with his predecessor’s as possible, writing in a small, cramped, and contrived style at first and then opening up to his more natural, thicker, rounder style for the rest. The incipits are seamlessly integrated into this unified mise-en-page and, yet, despite their critical relationship to the *Rules of Confraternity*, these incipits have been excluded from all three modern editions of the Sherborne *Rules*.<sup>25</sup> In addition to providing at the end of this article a new edition of the Sherborne *Rules* that includes the incipits, I will show how the liturgy evinced by these particular incipits might have functioned as a tool for establishing the confraternity itself and, at the same time, for instituting a notion of friendship that hesitatingly breaks with the preexisting historical-theological institutions of *caritas* and *amicitia*.

### Monastic friendship

It is important to mention at the start that several recent studies of gender and sexuality in Anglo-Saxon monasticism have shed much light on the intricacies and complexities of friendship, particularly on same-sex friendship.<sup>26</sup> In this section, I will broadly sketch a history of monastic friendship leading up to and shaping the particular scene in which the *Rules of Confraternity* is situated, adding but one other dimension to the invaluable work that has already been done.

The conceptualization of *amicitia* and friendship in early English monasticism of the Benedictine variety was, from a distance, influenced by John Cassian (ca. 360–ca. 435) and his two major writings, the *Institutes* and *Conferences*.<sup>27</sup> We know that St. Benedict read and generally approved of Cassian’s thoughts because, in chapter 42 of his *Rule*, Benedict urges his monks to read the *Conferences* in silence.<sup>28</sup> While it is quite unlikely that Cassian would have been read in the reformed Benedictine monasteries of England, his influence on Benedict and his *Rule* is undeniable.<sup>29</sup> Accord-

ing to Brian Patrick McGuire, Cassian understood friendship to assume “a well-ordered monastic role.”<sup>30</sup> But, in fact, Cassian shows an acute awareness of the multiplicity of forms that friendship can take, with friendships between virtuous men (a closely Ciceronian notion) upheld as the highest, and relationships based on worldly substances and goals reduced to the lowest.<sup>31</sup> Above all, his famous sixteenth conference on friendship articulates the importance of uniform friendship among all members of a monastic house in preventing conflict and anger within the monastery by uniting everyone under the same spiritual roof. Cassian thus leaves little room for personal and individual friendships beyond the universal bonds of brotherhood. In fact, in the *Institutes*, he is even less accepting of intimate friendships:

Summa namque obseruantia custoditur, ne quisquam cum alio ac praecipue iuniores uel ad punctum temporis pariter substitisse aut uspiam secessisse uel manus suas inuicem tenuisse deprehendantur.<sup>32</sup>

[Indeed, the greatest care is to be taken that none of the monks, especially the younger ones, is discovered to have lingered with another even for a moment, or to have withdrawn with another, or to have held hands.]

Cassian goes on to mandate that such behavior must be punished on account of “suspicionem coniurationis” [suspicion of conspiracy]: “culpam nisi in unum cunctis fratribus congregatis publica diluerint paenitentia” [they cannot wash away the fault unless by public penance, with all the brothers gathered together into one].<sup>33</sup> “The danger,” notes McGuire, lies not in “holding hands but in hatching plans and schemes when monks go off by themselves and keep exclusive company,” which might in turn “harm solidarity” — solidarity, I would add, that even public penance preserves by its application to the entire community “in unum.”<sup>34</sup>

In order to understand Cassian’s position, we must look to the work of St. Basil the Great (329–79), whose *Long* and *Short Rules* formed a foundation on which Cassian and Benedict would later build. In one of his sermons, Basil earnestly warns against the dangers of political and carnal friendships, especially among young men (or between older monks and young boys), for while such friendships often take on the appearance of “spiritual love” [πνευματικῆ ἀγάπη], they are more often the work of the enemy, who will throw them into the eternal fire of the vile pit of the five cities (“πενταπολιτῶν μυσαρὸν βάραθρον”).<sup>35</sup> Basil’s concern over political, carnal, and youthful friendships in particular is reflected in Cassian and

Benedict's charges against conspiring monks.<sup>36</sup> Although Basil allows for some degree of intimacy between two individuals (mature men), Cassian is inclined to prohibit any bond of friendship that is not shared evenly among all the brothers of a monastic house. In order to establish this priority of the community, Cassian employs a verse of the New Testament eminently applicable to the present study; he writes, "in Actibus apostolorum legimus de unitate credentium omni uirtute" [in the Acts of the Apostles we read about the unity of the believers with all their strength], referring to the biblical passage in which the first Christian community is formed as one heart and one soul.<sup>37</sup>

A century later, Benedict developed a mode of living that combined coenobitic and eremitic monasticism while retaining their polarity. In doing so, he largely ignored the topic of friendship, while frequently restricting situations liable to breed such bonds. For example, chapter 69 of the *Benedictine Rule* prohibits monks from defending one another:

Praecavendum est ne quavis occasione praesumat alter alium defendere monachum in monasterio aut quasi tueri, etiam si qualivis consanguinitatis propinquitate iungantur. Nec quolibet modo id a monachis praesumatur, quia exinde gravissima occasio scandalorum oriri potest. Quod si quis haec transgressus fuerit, acrius coerceatur.

[It should be avoided that one monk dares to defend another in the monastery at any time or, as it were, to protect another even if they are joined together by some close kinship. By no means should the monks dare to do this since the gravest occasion for scandal may arise from this. But if any monk should transgress this rule, he should be punished very severely.]

Benedict's serious concern over blood relationships lies beyond the licentiousness implied by Cassian's admonition against holding hands. Kinship—a tie that for the Anglo-Saxons was of utmost importance (indeed, the Old English word *freond* can sometimes refer to relatives or kin)—must be severed upon entering the monastery, forming the monks into a homogeneous community of spiritual brothers, united under a spiritual father.<sup>38</sup> Hence, Benedict foresees one monk defending his blood-kin or friend (though he avoids this word) as a devastating act against the equilibrium of solitude and community.

Chapter 69 contains the clearest injunction against the formation

of friendships, but other chapters exhibit a similar purpose. Chapter 33, for example, forbids the possession of personal property and the giving or receiving of gifts:

Ne quis praesumat aliquid dare aut accipere sine iussione abbatis . . . neque codicem, neque tabulas, neque graphium, sed nihil omnino, quippe quibus nec corpora sua nec voluntates licet habere in propria voluntate.

[Let no one dare to give or accept anything without the command of the abbot . . . neither a book, nor writing tablets, nor an engraving pen, in fact nothing at all since it is not permitted for monks to possess either their bodies or wills in accordance with an individual purpose.]

Here, Benedict equates the possession of one's body and will with the possession of writing tools, for owning anything in private works against the idea of community ("cor unum et anima una") established in Acts 4:32 and embraced by the Benedictine lifestyle. The act of giving the gift of one's writing tool, body, or will would create a dangerous bond between two individuals, disrupting the principle of communal ownership. The rhetoric of this chapter places specific emphasis on the tools of writing; the *codex*, *tabulae*, and *graphium* must always serve a communal purpose and never, we might postulate, be employed toward personal ends. Chapter 54 is even more explicit on the matter, prohibiting the exchange of not only gifts, but also letters between monks. Because the exchange of gifts, according to Cassian, is one of the three conditions for false friendships, the prohibition of gift-giving in two chapters of the *Benedictine Rule* must function simultaneously to prevent such friendships.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, as an extension of the body and the will and as a means to bond two bodies and two wills, writing and sharing unofficial letters between friends would have jeopardized the community. This threat arises from the secrecy that might be engendered by a friendship. Entrusting a secret to a friend instead of the abbot, for example, directly violates one of Basil's rules: Every monk "μηδὲν μὲν ψυχῆς κίνημα ἀπόκρυψον φυλάσσειν πύρ' ἑαυτῶ" [ought not conceal within himself any movement of his soul], but must lay before his superior "τοῦ πάντα καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας" [all matters, even the secrets of the heart].<sup>40</sup> If all the brothers must become "one heart and one soul" in the *Rules of Confraternity*, then every secret of the heart and the soul must be shared throughout the community. The *Benedictine Rule* (chap. 33) counteracts the threat of per-

sonal property (of writing tools, secrets, wills, and bodies) by citing the scene in Acts where the phrase “cor unum et anima una” first appears: “omniaque omnium sint communia, ut scriptum est, ne quisquam suum aliquid dicat vel praesumat” [everything should be common to everyone, as it has been written, and let no one call or presume anything as his own]. Within the walls of the monastery, possessions are all held *in communa*; a monk cannot therefore have a friendship that is not shared by everyone.<sup>41</sup>

To secure the community further, Benedict insists that it be isolated from the outside world and, accordingly, discourages bonds between monasteries, for such bonds would disturb the unity of each monastery.<sup>42</sup> Travel between houses would also expose monks to risky temptations. This is not to say that travel—especially by bishops, who frequently ventured to Rome, for instance—did not take place. But, rather, when interaction and travel from the monastery grounds were necessary, the greatest care was to be taken by those involved. In chapter 67 of Benedict’s *Rule*, the whole monastery must offer intercessions for the traveling brother. That brother is also prohibited from relating anything from outside to anyone inside the monastery. Chapter 66 requires that the monastery contain all necessities so that no one might have an excuse to roam outside. And chapter 61 allows an abbot to take in a monk (with restrictions) from an unknown monastery, but not from a known monastery.

Although monasteries sometimes followed customs in addition to the *Benedictine Rule*, monastic reform in the late tenth century placed the *Benedictine Rule* and the *Regularis Concordia* at the center of insular monastic life. Therefore, the *Rules of Confraternity* must, in effect, amend these two sets of monastic codes. More importantly, the *Rules of Confraternity* shows an awareness for this type of task: “Se þe þas gerædnese mid gode geyce, God hyt him geleanige swa Him leofost sy. Amen” [He who adds to this agreement with good, may God reward him as may be most pleasing to Him. Amen] (Sherborne *Rules*). Adding on is precisely what the second Sherborne scribe does by emending and augmenting the *Rules of Confraternity*. But, notably, no other passage in the entire Old English corpus resembles this one. In fact, the request here actually reads like a reversal of the sanction clauses found in numerous Anglo-Saxon charters, which prohibit any modification to the agreements.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, this passage in the *Rules of Confraternity* is even more remarkable when compared to the powerful statement at the close of the Book of Revelation (22:18): “Si quis adposuerit ad haec adponet Deus super illum plagas scriptas in libro isto” [If any man shall add to these things, God shall add unto him the plagues written in this book]. Although

the context is different, any member of the confraternity would have been immediately reminded of these final lines of the New Testament. Yet following the command “mid gode geyce,” the second Sherborne scribe, whether acting on his own initiative or following orders, added several critical emendations to the first part of the *Rules*, inscribed ten and a half additional lines, and finally included the liturgical incipits at the bottom of the page. The *Rules of Confraternity* thus forces the *Benedictine Rule* to change not only by adding another regulatory element to monastic custom, but by opening up its own contribution to future modifications.

### The figure of the friend

The *Rules of Confraternity* idealistically affirms a oneness, which levels the self and unifies the monastic community, submitting the individual will into total obedience. By using symbolic phrases like “cor unum et anima una,” the rules appeal to this accepted order of unity, the authority of which would be undermined by the presence of two friends. Where then can friendship be located within this new notion of confraternity in Anglo-Saxon England? I will not attempt to prove or even suggest that two brothers never became friends, for secretive friendships—that is, friendships that managed to develop and exist against the conventions of the abbey and therefore went unrecorded—could certainly have been the strongest. I would like to propose, however, that the entirety of the New Minster *Rules* and the first part of the Sherborne *Rules* ostensibly uphold this “one-heart-and-one-soul” monastic ideology, which regulates the subject by preventing him or her from freely interacting with others and thus precludes friendship between monastic individuals. Later, in the alterations and additions to the Sherborne *Rules* carried out by the second Sherborne scribe, the confraternity comes to represent an institutional bond of friendship between two monasteries in a way that affects each monk individually as a living friend who has the capacity to remember a dead brother singularly *as a friend*. In this manner, the Sherborne *Rules* interrogates and rends the larger order of oneness, and it does so by employing the very language of the law, “swa hym to gebyreð” [as it befits them], the bishops at the synod. Remember, according to the *Benedictine Rule*, nothing can be written without a communal purpose; the writing tools belong to the community as a whole (chap. 33). The Sherborne scribe might not have written with the intention of subverting this structure of communal unity. However, numerous decisions took place during the establishment of the *Rules*, from the textual corrections, to the additions, to the emenda-

tions, and finally to the creation of the liturgical incipits at the bottom of the page—not to mention, the actual performance of the liturgy.

These modifying events take place amidst a complex culture of community, which is worth our attention. This culture is born from paradigmatic monastic theology—that the individual must be one with God, and the monastery must function as a single communal entity, which must also be one with God. This paradox, which lies at the heart of the development of coenobitic monasticism, is revealed in the Latin word *monasterium*—a cognate of the Greek word *μόνος* (*monos*), meaning “alone” or “one.” Therefore, a monastery must be conjuncted as one, but also be composed of monks who are similarly singular, for the word *monk*, like the Old English *muneca*, is derived from the same Greek word.<sup>44</sup> Within this figure of the unified monastic individual, it becomes necessary to distinguish between three personae: the friend, the neighbor, and the brother. Drawing a distinction becomes a question of the “who” and the “what.” The brother in a monastic, nonconsanguineous context resembles the neighbor in Leviticus 19:18 (“love thy neighbor as thyself”), for both the neighbor and the brother are positions filled by a transferable and replaceable person.<sup>45</sup> One’s relationship to the neighbor does not depend on *who* the neighbor is, but *what* the neighbor is. In other words, a monk loves all of his brothers because he is commanded to love his brothers regardless of *who* they are. The friend, on the contrary, is irreplaceable. One loves a friend because of *who* the friend is. But no matter *who* fills the position of the brother or neighbor, that person is always related to the self by virtue of his position as neighbor or brother. More importantly, that relationship is always *in terms of* a relationship to the third, namely God.<sup>46</sup> The monks (one, *μόνος*) can only be brothers (two) insofar as they are committed to God (three). To complicate matters, Jerome translates the Hebrew *l’rayácha* in Leviticus 19:18 as *amicum*, not *proximum* or *vicinum*.<sup>47</sup> The brother, neighbor, and friend are thus conflated, and the friend becomes a mere figure, which (not whom) we must love regardless of who happens to embody it. I will therefore maintain an important distinction between the neighbor, the brother, and the monastic “figure of the friend” on the one hand, and the friend (the irreplaceable *who*) on the other.

The differences in the language of the New Minster *Rules* and the Sherborne *Rules* reveal the conceptual tension between the friend and this “figure of the friend.” The New Minster *Rules* explicitly applies to the death of “hwilcum” [whichever] brother: when the death “gekyped sy” [is known or proclaimed] it must be followed by the sounding of “ealle bellan” [all the bells]. These tasks call for communal participation in the work of mourn-

ing. However, neither of these qualifications is to be found in the Sherborne version, which primarily applies to the death of a bishop, a death that would have been promptly announced throughout the community regardless of the existence of the confraternity. To be sure, both versions of the *Rules of Confraternity* are episcopal agreements that specifically function within a monastic context and are therefore addressed to the monks, especially in Sherborne, which was already an important monastic see, but also in New Minster, where most of the monks were priests, capable of saying Mass.<sup>48</sup> Not only did most late Anglo-Saxon bishops occupy a position in the central monastery of their see, many bishops—such as Wulfsgie of Sherborne and the archbishops of Canterbury from the time of Dunstan (988) to the year 1051—were monks themselves, and all were imbued with monastic culture.<sup>49</sup> As we have seen, formal friendships of the *fideli amico* variety would have been acceptable between bishops, always mature men. Here, however, I am interested not so much in the rhetorically postured relationships between bishops as I am in the relationship between monastic institutions and, by extension, the unspoken relationships between monastic individuals. In the *Rules of Confraternity*, the bishops have agreed among themselves that they will conduct certain memorial practices if one among them dies. They also request additional forms of prayer from the monastic communities to which they belong. The agreement is therefore specifically aimed at those communities. By requesting the intercessions of the abbots, abbesses, brothers, and sisters of each monastery, the bishops create a system of reciprocity between the individual monasteries that incorporates each member into it. In particular, the second section of the Sherborne *Rules* (not present in the New Minster version) advises each of the abbots to encourage remembrance among the brothers and sisters of the monastery.

Although two bishops could have safely and easily represented their relationship as one of friendship, the same could not have been said for two monasteries as discrete institutions. Prior to the establishment of the New Minster *Rules of Confraternity*, for instance, the New Minster *Liber Vitae* found in London, British Library, Stowe 944 included the names of nearly every bishop in England as well as many kings, abbots, and entire monastic communities.<sup>50</sup> But, around the year 1020, the focus of the *Liber Vitae* shifts away from universal, generic solidarity, and as David Knowles notes, “bishops, abbots and monks of other houses disappear [from the *Liber*], and the list becomes one of those friends and benefactors who had private relationships of affection with the New Minster.”<sup>51</sup> This change almost exactly coincides with the creation of the *Rules of Confraternity*, indicating that a

new form of reciprocal prayer and intermonastic ties was underway. Specifically, with the establishment of the *Rules of Confraternity*, the relationship between New Minster and Sherborne, for example, takes on a more personal, yet—because fewer lists were created—a less traceable form of reciprocal mourning.

Instead of focusing on the death of a particular bishop, the *Rules of Confraternity* initially seeks to strengthen the community. As the text moves forward, however, acts of personal remembrance leak through. The prime example of this leak appears between the sixth and seventh manuscript lines of the Sherborn *Rules*, where the second scribe squeezes in the phrase “butan he furþor wylle” [unless he wishes (to sing) more]. This interlinear insertion stands in contrast to the otherwise highly specific procedures for mourning set out in the first part of the text (the singing of fifteen psalms, giving of three masses for the soul, performing of thirty vespers, thirty matins, and thereto sixty masses or so many psalms), which mimic the prescriptions found in the *Regularis Concordia* (chap. 12). The second scribe’s textual addition thus shifts the agency of mourning away from the “gerædnesse,” the communal order, and toward the particular monk or bishop who is remembering the dead with however many more prayers he wishes to sing. These specific intercessional procedures are further set off by the overall vagueness and peculiarity of the *Rules of Confraternity*, which, for instance, does not mention the names of the participating monasteries. This vagueness especially reveals itself when comparing the *Rules* to a similar, though later agreement in the Bath Chartulary, which contains seven lines listing the participating abbots and three paragraphs of witnesses.<sup>52</sup>

Despite this difference, the Bath agreement contains two formulae also found in the *Rules of Confraternity*: “for gode 7 for worulde” and “cor unum et anima una.” The first formula, “for gode 7 for worulde,” appears throughout the Old English corpus, but is predominantly Wulfstian (d. 1023).<sup>53</sup> In fact, the phrase shows up numerous times in Wulfstan’s *De episcopis*, the *Injunctions on the Behavior of Bishops*, each injunction of which begins with the phrase “bisceopum gebyrð” [it befits bishops], which the *Rules of Confraternity* echoes in its use of a similar phrase: “swa hym to gebyrð” [as it befits them].<sup>54</sup> The second injunction in *De episcopis* reads, “Besceopum is micel þearf for Gode 7 for worulde þæt hi rihtlice anræde weorðan 7 ealle an lufian” [There is great need for bishops, in the presence of God and in respect to the world, to be of one mind and all love as one],<sup>55</sup> and directly or indirectly foretokens the shortened “an lufian for gode 7 for worulde” that we also find in the *Rules of Confraternity*. The similar-

ties between *De episcopis* and the *Rules of Confraternity* suggest that this set of Wulfstan's injunctions—together, more abstractly, with the *Benedictine Rule* and the *Regularis Concordia*—is precisely the “gerædnassa sum” [one of the agreements] to which the *Rules of Confraternity* refers in its opening lines. In other words, the *Rules of Confraternity* does not simply establish new guidelines, but rather it reads and rewrites prior texts.

The second formula, “cor unum et anima una,” also occurs in the *Injunctions on the Behavior of Bishops*; but, of course, it originally comes from the section of Acts, in which Peter and John are imprisoned for proclaiming Christ's resurrection.<sup>56</sup> Once released, they return to their people, who “unianimiter” [with one *anima*] ask God why they are plotted against. Filled with the Holy Spirit, all of those who believe become one heart and soul and renounce all personal property for the sake of the community. This scene, as in the *Benedictine Rule* and Cassian's *Conferences*, is continually used to unify the monastery and disallow the individual possession of body, will, and, by extension, friendship—all of which must be held in common.<sup>57</sup>

In order to compensate for this communal unity and grant each brother and sister the potential for an individual relationship with God, the *Rules of Confraternity* creates the illusion of a singular (“synderlic”) self. After establishing the unity of “cor unum et anima una,” both versions of the *Rules* dictate two specific tasks for the individual priest or bishop:

þæt hy beon swa hym to gebyrð: *cor unum et anima una*. 7 hy  
geræddon þæt æt æfre ælcere mæssan, þe heora ænig sylf gemæssige,  
gemune mid þrim collectum synderlice hys gehadon. 7 begyte  
heora æghwylc þæt man æfre æghwylcere wucan for ealle geferan  
ane sundermæssan synderlice gesingð. (Sherborne version)

[that they are to be, as befits them, one heart and one soul. And they have agreed that at each and every mass, whoever happens to perform it should himself, with three collects, singularly remember his brother(s). And each of them should arrange that one man sing alone one separate mass each and every week for all fellow clerics.]

The phrase “ænig sylf gemæssige” acknowledges the possibility of a “sylf” that reflexively performs the mass and must remember each of his dead brothers or bishops singularly and specifically for himself, but it also requires a solitary and replaceable individual (whoever happens to be performing the mass). This solitude reaches its height at the end of this passage with the

many words used to describe the act: “ane” [one], “sundermæssan” [separate mass], “synderlice” [singularly or separately].<sup>58</sup> As the mass slips into a personal, *sylf*-inflected expression of mourning, this passage (written by the first Sherborne scribe) quickly returns it to a communal event, “for ealle geferan” [for all fellow clerics or companions]. The use of “synderlice” thus remains unclear. Either each living brother must individually remember the collective dead, or the collectivity of living brothers—through the corporate celebration of the liturgy—must remember each of the dead singularly. The boundary between the living-remembering and the dead-remembered coalesces. And by realizing the possibility of death as the possibility of mourning those who are still living, a degree of singularity actualizes in the subject; it flickers in the mourning monk. Here the work of Jacques Derrida provides an interesting and, I think, important perspective. In *The Gift of Death*, Derrida reflects on the Heideggerian notion that death is “that which nobody else can undergo or confront in my place” and as that which establishes an individual’s singularity and irreplaceability.<sup>59</sup> In calling for the ambiguously “synderlic” [singular] act, the *Rules of Confraternity* insinuates this singularity of death and one of the few moments in a monk’s life (though he is no longer living) when he is remembered individually. Whether death was considered something that one could singularly possess is called into question by Benedict’s chapter 33, which again prohibits monks from possessing (thus giving or taking) any object, including their own bodies and wills. Death would fall under this category, except for the fact that, as Derrida points out, death can never be given or taken and thus exclusively belongs to death’s subject.<sup>60</sup> As such, the death of one brother, if not contextualized within the community, threatens to conjure up feelings of friendship that might have existed between that particular dead brother and a particular living brother or between two living brothers reminded of their own inevitable separation. Perhaps in response to this threat, the *Rules of Confraternity* initially mandates that the brothers return to a state of being “anræde” [resolute, of one mind] in order to equalize the feeling of loss among all of the brothers.

Death is neither new, nor unfamiliar; so too is the monastic engagement with death in the form of organized prayers and intercessions. But why, in the early eleventh century, does it become central to this reformulation of monastic codes and monastic communities?<sup>61</sup> The death of one brother or bishop signals at once a realization of each living brother’s singularity as being-toward-death and a realization of the possibility for friendship as a bond that requires ipseity—an “I” who can befriend a “you” and an “I” who will mourn the loss of the first of “us” to die.<sup>62</sup> In erasing ipseity

and alterity among the brothers, as (un)animous neighbors or mere figures of the friend, Anglo-Saxon monasticism simultaneously erased a departure point for friendship. However, the act of one brother mourning the death of another brother “sinderlice” poses a hiatus within the closed “anrædnesse” of the community and sets the stage for confraternity to be rewritten and read as a bond of friendship. Precisely, according to Derrida, the bond of friendship already circulates in and anticipates the tears of mourning:

L'appréhension angoissée du deuil (sans laquelle l'acte d'amitié ne surgirait pas, dans son énergie même) s'insinue *a priori*, elle s'anticipe, elle hante, elle endeuille l'ami avant le deuil. Et elle pleure avant la déploration, elle pleure la mort avant la mort, et c'es la respiration même de l'amitié, l'extrême de sa possibilité.

[The anguished apprehension of mourning (without which the act of friendship would not spring forth in its very energy) insinuates itself *a priori* and anticipates itself; it haunts, it plunges the friend before mourning, into mourning. It weeps before lamenting; it weeps death before death; and this is the very respiration of friendship, the extreme of its possibility.]<sup>63</sup>

For Derrida, within friendship always moves the inevitability of death and thus the anticipation of mourning the friend even before a friendship can be called “friendship,” for there is no friend without the possibility of losing the friend. As unsettling as this might seem, the perpetual plunging into mourning (“endeuille”), before mourning (“avant le deuil”) — with the word’s odd etymology of deceit and dualism (from Old French *duel* and Latin *dolus*) — flows in the very breath of two (*duel*) friends. Alcuin’s famous poem that begins with the line, “Dulcis amor lacrimis absentem plangit amicum” [With tears, sweet love laments the absent friend], speaks to precisely this sweet (“dulcis”), yet haunting and “endeillant” relationship between friendship and the loss of the friend, which hinges on the diluvial “plangit” of Alcuin and “pleure” of Derrida.<sup>64</sup> This notion of mournful friendship is stated much more gnomically when Alcuin cries in another poem, “Omnia tristifico mutantur gaudia luctu, / Nil est perpetuum, cuncta perire queunt” [All the joys (of friendship), I am sad to say, change to mourning, nothing is everlasting, they are able to die together], only to explain that as a friendship extends into heaven, it does not face the same devastating form of separation it must endure on earth.<sup>65</sup> This is where Derrida brings out the complexities of Alcuin’s conception of friendship. For Derrida, the

possibility of friendship lies in precisely this constant possibility of mourning the death of the friend (even before the friend has died), and he illustrates this idea of friendship-sans-friend by evoking and playing with a reference to Nietzsche's allusion to Montaigne's allusion to a perplexing, yet incisive proclamation rumored to have been spoken by Aristotle: "O friends, there is no friend."<sup>66</sup> In the Sherborne *Rules of Confraternity*, friendship only enters deliberate consideration at the very bottom of the page, in the liturgical incipits. In the culture of a late Anglo-Saxon monastery, which permits and inscribes only official and formal friendships—a culture that is hostile to the very idea of a personal friendship—from only the most extreme recognition of the friend, that is to say only in relation to the death of the friend, can the possibility of friendship even begin to emerge. The impossibility of friendship thus becomes its only trace.

### **A mass for living friendship**

Recording the *Rules of Confraternity* in his authoritative *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, Neil Ker notes that the Sherborne *Rules* is "followed immediately and in the same hand by the incipits, in Latin, of parts of the *Missa pro defunctis*, in seven lines."<sup>67</sup> Ker likely came to this conclusion for three reasons: death is central to the confraternity, two items in the surrounding quire concern death, and the incipit for the *Postcommunio* is "divina libantes," which is often found in *Missae pro defunctis*.<sup>68</sup> One could easily imagine a *Missa pro defunctis* fitting in here nicely and appropriately. However, the grouping of incipits below the Sherborne *Rules* is *not* from a mass for the dead. Instead, the incipits comprise a mass to be said specifically for *living* friends.

Compiled from various sources, these incipits serve at once as a dedication of the confraternity and as a mass for the friends that have survived.<sup>69</sup> We find a reference to a similar mass in the Exeter guild statutes, which dictate that at each of the three annual meetings of the guild "se mæssepreost a singe twa mæssan. oþre for þa lyfigendan frynd. oþere for þa forðgefarenan" [the mass-priest should always sing two masses, one for the living friends and the other for the departed].<sup>70</sup> The Exeter statutes do not provide enough information for us to determine whether this is the same mass for living friends that we find at the end of the Sherborne *Rules of Confraternity*. However, the specific parts of the mass as outlined by the Sherborne incipits will begin to show how the mass functioned and what purpose it served. Generally, incipits such as these shape a mass by recording the first words or the opening phrase

of each proper part of the liturgy, that is, the prayers that change depending on the occasion. Since there is no extant rubric that mimics this exact grouping of incipits, we cannot align it directly with a preexisting mass. Instead, we must look to masses in other liturgical books, piecing together their use of similar incipits.<sup>71</sup> Let us begin with the *Praefatio*, the prayer said while one crosses oneself and, significantly, the prayer that often indicates the primary purpose of the mass. This particular *Praefatio* found in the Sherborne incipits only occurs in four known medieval masses: *Missa pro eleemosynariis* [Mass for almsgivings], *Missa pro salute vivorum* [Mass for the health of the living], *Alia missa sacerdotis propria* [Another mass for the celebrating priest], and *Missa votiva pro amico* [Mass, offered in fulfillment of a vow, for a friend]. While the first three are each only attested once, the last mass, the *Missa votiva pro amico*, shows up in more than twenty medieval sources.<sup>72</sup>

One of the sources most likely to have influenced the *Rules of Confraternity* and the production of the incipits is the liturgical work of Alcuin, who authored the letters that are paraphrased beginning on the second folio of the Sherborne Pontifical.<sup>73</sup> As one of very few Anglo-Saxon figures to have explored the topic of friendship and written numerous poems and letters mourning the loss of friends, Alcuin envisioned an idea of spiritual friendship authorized and protected by God, but sometimes existing beyond the universality of Christian love.<sup>74</sup> As explained above, however, there is a consistent, almost anachronistic vestige of the Derridian “O friends, there is no friend” already resting in Alcuin’s writings on friendship, or perhaps Alcuin’s vestige is alive in Derrida. Either way, applying Alcuin’s prayers for God’s protection of the confraternity inserts the confraternity into this realm of friendship without a friend, as exemplified by the *Praefatio* of Alcuin’s *Missa pro amico vivente*:

Implorantes tuae maiestatis misericordiam, ut famulo tuo ill[o]  
ueniam suorum largiri digneris peccatorum, ut ab omnibus  
inimici uinculis liberatus, tuis toto corde inhereat mandatis,  
et te solum semper tota uirtute diligat, et ad tuae quandoque  
beatitudinis uisionem peruenire mereatur.

[Beseeching your majesty’s mercy, that you may deign to grant your servant forgiveness of his sins, so that, having been freed from all of the devil’s chains, he may adhere to all of your commands with his whole heart and he may always love you alone with all his strength and deserve to come to the vision of your blessedness at some point.]<sup>75</sup>

Here, the “we” of the community prays for the forgiveness of one friend’s sins so that the friend can give his entire heart—echoing the biblical “toto corde”—to obeying God’s commands as an act of loving God.<sup>76</sup> This relationship between the friend and God is modeled on the theological argument advanced in Augustine’s *De Doctrina Christiana*, that an individual’s love (*caritas*) for others must ultimately be carried out as an expression of love toward God. In this *Praefatio*, God’s grace serves another purpose as well. It frees the friend from “omnibus inimici uinculis” [all of the chains of the devil], the temptations of the body, which, according to Basil and Cassian, are the reason to avoid personal friendships in the first place; for one often cannot descry the difference between a true friend and an enemy—or the devil—disguised as a friend.

Another distinguishing incipit is the *Super oblata*, the prayer said in a low voice by the priest while the choir sings the *Offertorium*. This particular *Super oblata* is adopted from a slightly different one of Alcuin’s masses, the *Missa pro amicis uiuentibus* [Mass for living friends], and it emphasizes a bond between the two communities of friends.<sup>77</sup> Both the *Praefatio* and the *Super oblata* are said for the protection of the friend against the enemy and for the friend’s relationship with God, not necessarily for the protection of the friendship. On the one hand, the prayers privilege the relationship with God over the relationship between friends. On the other hand, the *Praefatio* is still a prayer for the sake of a particular friend. The priority in both cases is not placed on the characterization of the friendship per se but on the protection of a friend, specifically as the friend proceeds steadily toward his death, which will happen “quandoque,” at some inevitable point.

The fact that the trace of friendship in the Sherborne *Rules of Confraternity* takes place in the liturgical event at the bottom of the parchment highlights an important aspect of the liturgy as a performative exercise, an exercise in which meaning can be created by the organization and, ultimately, by the chanting of the prayers.<sup>78</sup> The indeterminacy and the powerfully creative possibility that lie in these incipits are precisely what allow them to announce a conception of friendship that is, in many respects, inconceivable. These incipits are easily confused for a *Missa pro defunctis* by modern scholars and by Anglo-Saxon monks alike, who, particularly having encountered the *Regularis Concordia*, might assume that a death ought naturally to be followed by a Mass for the Dead. This anomaly forces us to consider why such a liturgical move to include a mass for living friends would have been made in the first place. Why place a mass for living friends where one would expect the opposite? Perhaps, the two are not entirely different. Perhaps,

the adoption of Alcuin's prayers here iterates the inherent and troubling tie between death and friendship—"O friends, there is no friend." Furthermore, deriving the prayers from two different, even contradictory masses over friendship—one for friends (plural) and one for a friend (singular)—reveals a degree of indecision and discomfort with the task of interrogating the monastic tradition while still relying on a foundation of plural unity and singular isolation. Do we all seek friends together? Or, do we each seek a friend individually? More potently, within a monastic community, can prayer be moved for one particular friend above others? Indeed, here lies the crux imposed by the second Sherborne scribe, who, by appending this mass for living friend(s) and by squeezing phrases such as "buton he furþor wylle" into the syntax of the *Rules*, necessarily permutes these two conceptions of friendship, blending the singular and the plural into something unsettlingly new. "Unless he wishes to sing more," in all its compressed glory, gives the individual friend the volition to remember, to mourn, and even to anticipate the loss of his friend to the degree which he sees fit. If death is the event, a la Derrida, in which the monk can be remembered individually, then, with the addition of this phrase "buton he furþor wylle" by the second Sherborne scribe, the act of mourning becomes a simultaneous moment of singularity in which the dead monk receives a friend's mourning, and the living monk takes up the infinitely irreplaceable task of mourning a friend. The Sherborne *Rules* can function in this manner despite being engulfed by the restrictive, universal modes of monastic friendship in which all monks must love one another equally. The *Rules* can do so precisely because it employs the symbolic rhetoric of oneness and unity, "cor unum et anima una," in order to achieve something remarkably different, in order to open a space in that world to remember a lost friend or, more urgently, a living friend who has not yet been lost, but who by virtue of being a friend will always *at some point* be lost.

It has often been proposed that the twelfth century "brought an age of friendship."<sup>79</sup> A number of writers belonging to this period happened also to begin refraining from using the biblical allusion of "cor unum et anima una" to describe unanimous, universal communities, and instead began using it to describe personal bonds of friendships. The *Rules of Confraternity* falls into place between (as impetus for and product of) these two worlds in which the notion of community is changing, but not yet changed. That said, I would like to resist the idea that friendship followed such a linear path of growth into its "golden age." Ultimately, the love between friends is a deeply human phenomenon that always takes place (as we have seen

with Alcuin, for example), regardless of its particular setting. What changes, however, are the terms and characterizations of friendship as a concept. We might therefore propose that a shift of characterization, a shift of writing occurs right around the time the Sherborne and New Minster versions of the *Rules of Confraternity* are established. This shift can be seen especially, if only subtly in the work of the second Sherborne scribe.

The most pertinent example of this transition can be found in the writings of Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, a monk who, from the years 1058 to 1078, acted as an assistant to Hermann (Sherborne's last bishop).<sup>80</sup> In his most well known work—the *Liber confortatorius*, a lengthy letter to his pupil, the anchoress Eva of Wilton—Goscelin explores their past and current friendship in light of their separation.<sup>81</sup> While there is good reason to question Eva's participation and role in this "friendship," it is clear that Goscelin sees, or at least wishes to see, a certain personal depth to their relationship, composed of two particular individuals united in their love for God.<sup>82</sup> Constantly describing the harmony of their one soul, Goscelin brings us back to the moment in which the Christian community becomes "cor unum et anima una." But when he references this exact scene, he alters the biblical text, writing that friendship causes the apostles to "merge into one heart and soul, having been divided through the whole earth." Goscelin's phrase, "in cor unum et animam conflati per universum orbem sunt divisi," is a vulgar appropriation of the Vulgate: "multitudinis autem erat cor et anima una." Most significantly, Goscelin erases the "multitudinis."<sup>83</sup> For Goscelin, the phrase "cor unum et anima una" begins as a representation of the whole Christian community, then of the individual apostles, and finally of his personal relationship with Eva. In the Sherborne community, "cor unum et anima una" thus comes to represent individual, nonfraternal bonds of friendship, bonds based on an idea of friendship not restricted to mature men, shortly after the *Rules of Confraternity* was inserted and emended in the back of the Sherborne Pontifical.

Just as the memory of the lost Eva guides Goscelin's account of their friendship, the anticipation of losing a brother guides the confraternity. The text of the Sherborne *Rules* breaks from the traditional coenobitic and eremitic monastic values. This break is eschatological. It is a break like the death of a friend; it is a break that textually occurs "æt godes dome" [at God's judgment], when the second Sherborne scribe takes over the work of the first. Although the bond of friendship between two monasteries certainly does not equate to a bond of friendship between two people, treating the two monasteries as two friends while simultaneously remembering and

anticipating the loss of (a) monastic companion(s) ruptures the tight communal synthesis within each monastery. This rupture occurs precisely when one monastery *defends* the other monastery with prayers and intercessions for the dying brother as he comes under God's judgment. Just as the mass that follows the Sherborne *Rules of Confraternity* could be used to authorize and protect the confraternity as an institutional bond of friendship between monasteries, so too could it be used for the protection of an individual friend. By creating this specific, yet open-ended institutional bond of friendship that points to a more personal experience between friends and the mourning that presupposes any friendship, the Sherborne *Rules* moves beyond the limited scope of the "congeneric double" of fraternity and toward a model of friendship that does not call itself "friendship."<sup>84</sup> While the possibility for friendship is already present in the inevitability of death and separation, the Sherborne *Rules of Confraternity* breaks open a new space in late Anglo-Saxon monastic life for an imminent future of living friends.



## Notes

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- 1 The title *Rules of Confraternity* is a modern one. Like most of the extant Old English corpus, these rules have been named by the scholars who catalogued them, such as Neil Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), nos. 202 and 364; and Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), nos. 380 and 879. Rodolf Brotanek, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur altenglischen Literatur und Kirchengeschichte* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1913), the first editor of the Sherborne *Rules*, uses the term *Synodalbeschlüsse*, meaning "synodical resolutions." Karl Schmid and Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Voraussetzung und Wirkung des Gebetsbundes von Attigny," *Francia* 2 (1974): 71–122, refer to this sort of arrangement as a *Totenbund*. I shall use the title *Rules of Confraternity*. In addition, I refer to the version

in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 943 as the Sherborne *Rules* and the version in London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi as the New Minster *Rules*. Unless otherwise noted, all quoted passages are from the Sherborne version. In the appendix below, I provide new editions of the Sherborne and New Minster versions of the *Rules of Confraternity*, along with a translation of the Sherborne version.

- 2 Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007). Further references to the Vulgate are to this edition.
- 3 The Sherborne *Rules* addresses brothers and sisters, abbots and abbesses. There is not enough evidence to do anything but speculate that those sisters belonged to Nunnaminster, Winchester or, less likely, to Wilton on the basis of their geographical relation to Sherborne and New Minster, Winchester. Although not associated with either Sherborne or New Minster, Wilton is situated directly between the two. And the relationship between Goscelin of Saint-Bertin (while at Sherborne) and Eva of Wilton suggests that Sherborne and Wilton had established some connection by the second half of the eleventh century (see below for a discussion of Goscelin and Eva). On Nunnaminster and Wilton, see Barbara Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (New York: Continuum, 2003), 76–77.
- 4 For more on love for and friendship with God in a monastic context, see Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961); in a more general Christian context, see Johan Chydenius, “The Friendship of God and the Two Ends of Man: A Study in Humanism,” *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 68 (1981): 1–56; and David Konstan, “Problems in the History of Christian Friendship,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4 (1996): 87–113.
- 5 Monastic brothers, as I will show below, resemble the political-theological figure of the neighbor (“love thy neighbor as thyself”) as it is thought through by Kenneth Reinhard, “Towards a Political Theology of the Neighbor,” in Kenneth Reinhard, Slavoj Žižek, and Eric Santner, *The Neighbor: Three Inquiries in Political Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 11–75.
- 6 The term *confraternity* has been applied to Anglo-Saxon *libri vitae*, the most famous of which are the Durham *Liber Vitae* (London, BL, Cotton Domitian A. vii; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 147, and Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 327) and the New Minster *Liber Vitae* (London, BL, Stowe 944; Ker no. 274 and Gneuss no. 500). The Durham *Liber Vitae* is newly edited in David Rollason and Lynda Rollason, *The Durham “Liber Vitae”: The Complete Edition* (London: British Library, 2007). Often referred to as “confraternity books,” these *libri vitae* retain a record of “liturgical commemorations,” the names of members of both religious and lay communities who wished to be “remembered in the prayers of a particular religious community” (David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: From the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940–1216* [London: Cambridge University Press, 1963], 472–86). Helmut Gneuss, “Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and Their Old English Terminology,” in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (London: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 91–141, notes that there is no Old English term for these books, but sug-

- gests that they had existed in Britain since the time of Bede. For a general explanation of these texts, see R. N. Swanson, "Books of Brotherhood: Registering Fraternity and Confraternity in Late Medieval England," in *The Durham "Liber Vitae" and Its Context*, ed. D. W. Rollason (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2004), 233–46. For a catalog and descriptions of the *libri vitae*, see Jan Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen, mit einem Katalog der "Libri Vitae" und Necrologien* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988). Stowe 944 is available in facsimile, in Simon Keynes, ed., *The "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 Cotton Titus D. xxvii* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996); and in Walter de Gray Birch, *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester* (London, 1892). See Simon Keynes, "The *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester," in Rollason, ed., *Durham "Liber Vitae" and Its Context*, 149–63, for a description of Stowe 944.
- 7 The Benedictine reforms reached Sherborne in 998, as evidenced by a charter in which King Æthelred grants Bishop Wulfsgie permission to convert Sherborne to a Benedictine monastery. See M. A. O'Donovan, ed., *Charters of Sherborne* (London: British Academy, 1988), no. 11; P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968), no. 895. An especially good study of the English Benedictine reform can be found in Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
  - 8 Bede, *Historia abbatum*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1896), 370.
  - 9 On the memorialization of the dead in Anglo-Saxon England, the work of archaeologists is particularly compelling. See, for example, Howard Williams, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Victoria Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2004).
  - 10 Monumenta Germaniae Historica (hereafter MGH), *Legum sectio III, Concilia*, vol. 2, ed. Albert Werminghoff, 4 parts in 2 vols. (Hannover: Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1906), part 1, 72–73, no. 13. See M. A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the "Regula canonicorum" in the Eighth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 55–56. See also Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), 101–3, who suggests that the confraternity agreement established in the Synod of Attigny was an import from the English tradition of *libri vitae*. However, subsequent scholarship by Schmid and Oexle, "Voraussetzung und Wirkung," 75–76, has revealed that both the English and Frankish forms of *Totenbund* likely derived from the late antique incorporation of "remembrance and intercessory prayers" into the canon of the Mass.
  - 11 See Thomas Symons, ed., *Regularis Concordia* (New York: Nelson, 1953); and, more recently, Lucia Kornexl, ed., *Die "Regularis Concordia" und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1993). The *Regularis Concordia* was a uniform collection of monastic codes established ca. 970 in order to avoid variations among English monasteries. After the Benedictine reforms, the *Regularis Concordia* continued to be used to create uniformity among, but not necessarily relationships

- between monasteries. Knowles, *Monastic Order in England*, 473, notes that upon accepting the *Regularis Concordia*, “each house entered upon its own life of growth or decline; the sole link established by the *Regularis Concordia* was a mutual announcement of deaths, with its corollary of suffrages, and even this was restricted to monasteries in the near neighborhood of each other.” On the formula letters for announcing the death of a monk, see Mary Bateson, “Rules for Monks and Secular Canons after the Revival under King Edward,” *English Historical Review* 9.36 (1894): 690–708; and, more recently, Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung*, 25–58.
- 12 James R. Banker, *Death in the Community: Memorialization and Confraternities in an Italian Commune in the Late Middle Ages* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 2.
  - 13 As part of a larger project, Patrick W. Conner, “Parish Guilds and the Production of Old English Literature in the Public Sphere,” in *Intertexts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Paul E. Szarmach*, ed. Virginia Blanton and Helene Scheck (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 255–71, presents a compelling interpretation of Anglo-Saxon guild life, the public setting of which formed the space where Anglo-Saxon literature would have been produced and appreciated.
  - 14 Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 202d, dates the Cotton Titus D. xxvi codex between 1023 and 1035 and dates the *Rules of Confraternity* in the manuscript to the first half of the eleventh century. Andrew Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts, c. 700–1600, in the Department of Manuscripts, the British Library*, 2 vols. (London: British Library, 1979), no. 35, dates the New Minster *Rules* between 1023 and 1032. A complete edition of Cotton Titus D. xxvi and D. xxvii (two codices once bound together, now separated) is available in Beate Günzel, *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook: London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi and xxvii* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1993). The first editor and translator of the New Minster *Rules* was Walter de Gray Birch, “On Two Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in the British Museum,” *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2nd ser., 11 (1878): 463–512, at 486–87; republished in Birch, *Liber Vitae*, 47 n. 1. In both editions, Birch was unaware of the existence of the Sherborne *Rules*.
  - 15 This manuscript has not been printed in its entirety. However, Birgit Ebersperger is working on an edition for the Henry Bradshaw Society, and the Latin text of the pontifical has been edited by Marie Conn, “The Dunstan and Brodie (Anderson) Pontificals” (diss., University of Notre Dame, 1993). The text of the Sherborne *Rules* is available in the following editions: Brotanek, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 27–28; Max Förster, “Die altenglischen Texte der Paris National-Bibliothek,” *Englischen Studien* 62 (1927): 113–31; and Dorothy Whitelock et al., *Councils and Synods: With Other Documents Relating to the English Church, Part I: A.D. 871–1204* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 402–6. A folio-by-folio description of the contents of lat. 943 can be found in the following sources: Niels Krogh Rasmussen, *Les Pontificaux du haut moyen âge: Genèse du livre de l’évêque* (Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1998), 259–317; and Birgit Ebersperger, *Die angelsächsischen Handschriften in den Pariser Bibliotheken: Mit einer Edition von Ælfrics Kirchweihhomilie aus der Handschrift Paris, BN, lat. 943* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1999), 32–44.
  - 16 BnF, lat. 943, fol. 2r, line 2. A facsimile of the first page of this letter is available in

- Simon Keynes, “Wulfsgie, Monk of Glastonbury, Abbot of Westmister (c. 990–3), and Bishop of Sherborne (c. 993–1002),” in *St. Wulfsgie and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Millennium of the Benedictine Abbey, 998–1998*, ed. Katherine Barker et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 65.
- 17 The phrase “fideli amico” occurs in the 1086 letter of Archbishop Lanfranc to S., “Lanfrancus indignus antistes dilecto et fideli amico suo S. salutem et benedictionem,” available in Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson, eds., *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 170. See also, for example, the charter from Cenred, king of Mercia, to Bishop Ecgwine in the year 709 (Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 79), and another from Æthelred, king of Wessex and Kent, to Wighelm presbyter in the year 867 (Sawyer no. 338). This list is by no means exhaustive, but see Julia Barrow, “Friends and Friendship in Anglo-Saxon Charters,” in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 106–23, for a list and discussion of charters containing terms of friendship.
  - 18 Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597–1066*, 2nd ed. (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1996), 281; and Jane Rosenthal, “The Pontifical of St. Dunstan,” in *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times, and Cult*, ed. Nigel Ramsay et al. (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 1992), 162. Ælfward’s letter is available in Whitelock, *Councils and Synods*, 1:175–77; and William Stubbs, ed., *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1874), 400–403.
  - 19 Alcuin, Epistola 39, in MGH, *Epistolae*, vol. 4, *Epistolae Karolini aevi II*, ed. Ernst Dümmler (1895; repr. München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1994), 82. Alcuin also uses “fideli amico et venerabili” in the salutation for his letter to Angilbert, Epistola 11 (*ibid.*, 37).
  - 20 This homily is a translation (with omissions) of a homily by Caesarius of Arles. At the end of the previous quire, however, there is another homily for the dedication of a church (fols. 156r–60r), which is attributed to Ælfric of Eynsham (d. 1010) and is duplicated in London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 489, fols. 51r–58v, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114, fols. 236r–42v. Both Old English homilies are printed in Brotanek, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 3–27.
  - 21 The letter was treated with a reagent and is now predominantly illegible.
  - 22 Augustine, *Enchiridion*, in *Sancti Aurelii Augustini hipponenensis episcopi Opera omnia, Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, vol. 6, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1841), col. 283.
  - 23 Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 879.
  - 24 Christopher A. Jones, ed., *Ælfric’s Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 142–43. Ælfric’s formula letter is, of course, a version of the formula letters found in the *Regularis Concordia*, chap. 12.
  - 25 Rasmussen, *Les Pontificaux du haut moyen âge*, 313, does print the incipits, but not the main text of the Sherborne Rules.
  - 26 I have in mind David Clark, *Between Medieval Men: Male Friendship and Desire in Early Medieval English Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); as well as Lisa Weston, “Reading the Textual Shadows of Anglo-Saxon Monastic Women’s Friendships,” *Magistra* 14.1 (2008): 68–78; and Weston, “*Sanctimoniales Cum Sanctimoniales*: Particular Friendships and Female Community in Anglo-Saxon England,” in *Sex and Sexuality in Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Memory of Daniel Gillmore*

- Calder, ed. Carol Pasternack and Lisa M. C. Weston (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004), 35–62. As Clark notes early in his study (7), the scholarship on same-sex relationships in Anglo-Saxon England is especially indebted to Allen J. Frantzen, *Before the Closet: Same-Sex Love from “Beowulf” to “Angels in America”* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998; repr. 2000).
- 27 Joannes Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium vitiorum remediis libri XII*, ed. Michael Petschenig, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (hereafter CSEL), vol. 17 (Vienna, 1888); and Joannes Cassian, *Conlationes XXIII*, ed. Michael Petschenig, CSEL, vol. 13 (Vienna, 1886).
  - 28 Timothy Fry, ed. and trans., *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1981); and H. Longeman, ed., *The Rule of S. Bener: Latin and Anglo-Saxon Interlinear Version* (London: Trübner, 1938), chap. 42, 74–75, “*legat unus collationes vel vitas patrum* / ræde an þurhtogene race oððe on ealdfædera lifa” [one should read the *Conferences* or the lives of the fathers]. Further quotations and translations of the *Rule* are to Fry’s edition, cited by chapter numbers.
  - 29 Stephen Lake, “Knowledge of the Writings of John Cassian in Early Anglo-Saxon England,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 32 (2003): 27–41, has shown that Cassian’s direct influence on early Anglo-Saxon monastic thought ran not broadly, but deeply; evidence can be found in the writings of Aldhelm, Bede, and the Leiden Glossary, as well as possible echoes in the anonymous *Vita S. Cuthberti* and the ninth *Responsio* from Pope Gregory to Augustine in Canterbury. However, in his *Life of Saint Basil*, Ælfric of Eynsham views Basil as Benedict’s model. See Gabriella Corona, *Ælfric’s “Life of Saint Basil the Great”: Background and Context* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), 45–46.
  - 30 Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350–1250* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1988), 78.
  - 31 Cassian, *Conlationes XXIII*, 439: “Amicitiarum ac sodalitatibus multa sunt genera” [there are many different forms of friendship and companionship].
  - 32 Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum*, 30.
  - 33 Ibid.
  - 34 McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, 79.
  - 35 Basil the Great, “Sermo asceticus de renuntiatione saeculi,” in *Basilii, caesareae cap-padociae archiepiscopi, Opera omnia, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, vol. 31, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1885), col. 637. See also, Adele Fiske, “Cassian and Monastic Friendship,” *The American Benedictine Review* 12 (1961): 190–205, at 195. On Basil’s understanding of community, see Daniel Stramara, “Ἀδελφότης: Two Frequently Overlooked Meanings,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 51.3 (1997): 316–20. David Clark, *Between Medieval Men*, 168–69, points out that this passage necessarily links such (implicitly sexual) relations between boys and adult monks to the punishment of the Sodomites. V. A. Kolve, “Ganymede/Son of Getron: Medieval Monasticism and the Drama of Same-Sex Desire,” *Speculum* 73 (1998): 1014–67, at 1028, further discusses the perceived sexual implications of relationships between older monks and young boys as expressed in the *Regularis Concordia* and Basil’s *Sermo asceticus*.
  - 36 Although Cuthbert Butler, *Benedictine Monasticism* (London: Longmans, 1919), 16, claims that Basil directly influenced the *Rule of St. Benedict*, more recent scholarship

- tends to see Cassian as the bridge between the two. See Fry, ed. and trans., *Rule of St. Benedict*, 79–96.
- 37 Cassian, *Conlationes XXIII*, 443; Acts 4:32.
- 38 See *freond* (sense 3) in *Dictionary of Old English: A to G Online*, University of Toronto, <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/dict/index.html> (Aug. 16, 2010). It is also available on microform in *Dictionary of Old English*, ed. Angus Cameron et al. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986– ).
- 39 Cassian, *Conlationes XXIII*, 439, “contractus quidam seu dati acceptiue depectio caritatis foedera copulauit” [some contract or agreement to give or take something has joined them in the bonds of love].
- 40 Basil, “Regulae fusius tractatae,” *Opera omnia*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, vol. 31, chap. 26, cols. 985–88.
- 41 James McEvoy, “The Theory of Friendship in the Latin Middle Ages: Hermeneutics, Contextualization, and the Transmission and Reception of Ancient Texts and Ideas, from c. AD 350 to c. 1500,” in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Haseldine, 3–44, at 6–9, comments on the role of friendship in terms of private ownership within the *κοινωνία* (community).
- 42 Although double monasteries existed in Anglo-Saxon England, each house was always located near the other, requiring little travel. Assuming that the textual similarities between the two versions of the *Rules of Confraternity* underscores a confraternal relationship between the two monasteries and not merely a duplication of the *Rules* for separate confraternal arrangements, the physical distance between Sherborne and New Minster makes their commitment in the rules particularly unusual. See Barbara Mitchell, “Anglo-Saxon Double Monasteries,” *History Today* 45.10 (1995): 33–39; and F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (1943; repr. New York: Oxford Clarendon Press, 2004), 161–62 and 173–75. Furthermore, according to Sarah Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600–900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 106, the “sexes were often physically separated in double houses; in Barking this was done so strictly that men and women were originally buried apart, although the two burial grounds were later combined because of pressure of space.”
- 43 See, for example, the sanction clause in the Sherborne land-grant charter between King Æthelred and the monastic community at Sherborne in the year 1014 (O’Donovan, *Charters of Sherborne*, no. 15; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 933): “Si quis uero contra hoc decretum machinari uel infringere aliquid temptauerit, ni prius digna satisfactione cessauerit aut emendauerit, penalis eum deglutiat tartarorum interitus.”
- 44 This etymological thinking can be seen in the writings of St. Jerome, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, ed. Isidorus Hilberg, 4 vols. in 3, CSEL, vols. 54–56 (Vindobonae [Vienna]: F. Tempsky, 1910). In letter 14, Jerome writes, “Interpretare vocabulum monachi, hoc est nomen tuum: quid facis in turba, qui solus es?” [Consider the meaning of the word *monk*, your name. What are you, a solitary, doing in a crowd?] (54:52).
- 45 The neighbor in Leviticus 19:18 and Matthew 22:36–40, for example, must necessarily be anyone or any other; the nonfamilial figure of the brother, in comparison, is more limited in scope, applying only within the monastic boundaries.

- 46 Reinhard, "Toward a Political Theology of the Neighbor," 73, notes that "the relationship between any two terms requires the third: the subject loves the neighbor only by means of the love of God, and loves God only by means of the love of the neighbor." A similar line of argument can be found in Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana* I.42–43, ed. R. P. H. Green (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 30, who asks how one can love one's neighbor as oneself while, at the same time, following the divine injunction to love God with one's whole heart, soul, and mind. Augustine proceeds to argue that one must love one's neighbor for the sake of loving God.
- 47 This fascinating translation deserves more attention than can be given here. For an analysis of the relationship between the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin versions, see James Edward Hogg, "Love Thy Neighbor," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 41.3 (1925): 197–98. In Leviticus 19:13, "Thou shall not oppress thy neighbor," Jerome translates *l'rayácha* as "proximo."
- 48 Keynes, "Wulfsige, Monk of Glastonbury," 68. On the members of New Minster in the year 1031, see Thompson, *Dying and Death*, 203.
- 49 Keynes, "Wulfsige, Monk of Glastonbury," 53–94; Goscelin of St. Bertin, "Life of St. Wulfsige of Sherborne," ed. Rosalind Love, in *St. Wulfsige and Sherborne*, 98–123; and David Knowles, *The Heads of Religious Houses*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 76. On the Canterbury monk-bishops, see Knowles, *Monastic Order in England*, 66. On monk-bishops more generally, see Catherine Cubitt, "The Clergy in Early Anglo-Saxon England," *Historical Research* 78.201 (2005): 273–87; and Simon Coates, "The Bishop as Pastor and Solitary: Bede and the Spiritual Authority of Monk-Bishops," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996): 601–19. Although both of these essays discuss early Anglo-Saxon monasticism, the monastic role of the bishop continues into later Anglo-Saxon England. See Mary Frances Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2007).
- 50 Keynes, *Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey*, 54–57.
- 51 Knowles, *Monastic Order in England*, 67.
- 52 William Hunt, ed. *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St. Peter at Bath* (London, 1893), 3–4.
- 53 The phrase (and similar phrases, such as "ge for Gode ge for worulde") occurs sixty-eight times in the Old English corpus. Nineteen of the occurrences are found in the writings of Wulfstan of York, such as in his famous "Sermo ad Anglos," in *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 255–60. Fourteen of those nineteen occurrences can be found in Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity*, ed. Karl Jost, *Die "Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical": Ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York* (Bern: A. Francke AG Verlag, 1959). See Sara M. Pons-Sanz, "For gode and for worolde: Wulfstan's Differentiation of the Divine and Worldly Realm through Word-Formation Processes," *English Studies* 85.4 (2004): 281–96.
- 54 Whitelock, *Councils and Synods*, 406–13. These injunctions were written by Wulfstan as part of his *Institutes of Polity*, found in two manuscripts from Worcester: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, fols. 15v–17r (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 338; and Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 644); and London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i (possibly from York), fols. 99r–100r (Ker no. 164, and Gneuss no. 341).

- 55 Whitelock, *Councils and Synods*, 409.
- 56 Acts 4:32. The reference to this verse in the *Injunctions*, ed. Whitelock, *Councils and Synods*, 410, reads “beon swa to gebyrð: ‘Quasi cor unum et anima una.’”
- 57 Benedict, *Rule of St. Benedict*, chap. 33; and Cassian, *Conlationes*, 443.
- 58 *The Regularis Concordia* uses *synderilce* to gloss *specialiter*; see Kornexl, *Regularis Concordia*, no. 67, “on diglum gebedhuses stowum synderlice [specialiter] for him mæssan singe” [in the separate places of the oratory he should sing masses privately (or, individually) for him (the dead monk)].
- 59 Jacques Derrida, *The Gift of Death and Literature in Secret*, 2nd ed., trans. David Wills (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 42–43.
- 60 Derrida, *The Gift of Death*, 45, writes: “Just as [death] can’t be given to me, so it can’t be taken away from me. Death would be this possibility of *giving and taking* [*donner-prendre*] that actually exempts itself from the same realm of possibility that it institutes, namely from *giving and taking*.”
- 61 On the ritualization of death, particularly with regards to the ninth-century Benedictine reforms on the Continent and the commemoration and prayers for the dead as well as their role in the Continental confraternity agreements, see Frederick S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990), 134–37.
- 62 Jacques Derrida, “Lyotard and *Us*,” in *The Work of Mourning*, trans. Pascale-Anee Brault and Michael Naas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 216–41, at 221, reflects on the phrase “there shall be no mourning,” written by Jean-François Lyotard, and recalls wondering if it “would one day, when the time came, be reread by one of the two of us (but which one?).”
- 63 Jacques Derrida, *Politiques de l’amitié suivi de L’oreille de Heidegger* (Paris: Éditions Galilée, 1994), 31; Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship*, trans. George Collins (New York: Verso, 1997), 14. The notion that death and friendship are bound to one another is certainly not unique to the *Rules of Confraternity*, Derrida, or Alcuin. See, for example, J. J. O’Donnell, ed., *Augustine: Confessions*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 4.4.7 to 4.12.19, in which Augustine recalls mourning the death of a friend at Thagaste and his realization of the greatness of their friendship only after his friend’s death.
- 64 Alcuin, Carmen 55, in MGH, *Poetae Latini medii aevi*, vol. 1, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, ed. Ernst Dümmler (1881; repr. Berlin: Weidmann, 1964), 266.
- 65 Alcuin, Carmen 11, in *ibid.*, 236. For a relevant discussion on the death of absent friends, see Weston, “Reading the Textual Shadows,” 76; and Carolinne White, “Friendship in Absence—Some Patristic Views,” in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Haseldine, 68–88. This concern over death persists in later medieval England, as exemplified by the occasional, but tangible joining of two friends in the same grave; see Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 85–87 and 259, where he notes that “the distinction between this [view of two particular friends] and a universalizing view of friendship—which I have characterized as Kantian—could not be put more graphically than in the gesture of the shared grave.”
- 66 Throughout *The Politics of Friendship*, Derrida plays with Friedrich Nietzsche’s aphorism, “‘Friends, there are no friends!’ thus said the dying sage; ‘Foes, there are no

- foes! say I, the living fool,” in *Human, All Too Human*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 148–49, which alludes to Montaigne’s comment: “le mot qu’Aristote avoit tres-familier: ‘O mes amis, il n’y a nul amy,’” in Michel de Montaigne, “De l’amitie,” *Essais*, ed. Maurice Rat and Albert Thibaudet (Paris: Garnier, 1962), 189. See also Eoin G. Cassidy, “‘He who has friends can have no friend’: Classical and Christian Perspectives on the Limits to Friendship,” in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Haseldine, 45–67.
- 67 Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 364. Following Ker’s lead, Rasmussen, *Les Pontificaux du haut moyen âge*, 314, notes the same: “7 lignes avec les *incipit* pour une messe pour les défunts.” Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 879, also follows Ker, noting that these incipits are “part of [a] Mass of the Dead.”
- 68 For example, in Jean Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien: Ses principales formes d’après les plus anciens manuscrits* (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1979), nos. 261 and 264, *Missa pro pluribus defunctis* and *Missa pro defunctis* have “divina libantes” in the *ad complendum* section of the mass.
- 69 For an edition of the incipits and the Alcuinian liturgy to which they refer, see the appendix below. I am grateful for Michael Sargent’s direction as I approached these incipits at the earliest stage of this project.
- 70 Benjamin Thorpe, *Diplomatarium anglicum aevi saxonici* (London, 1865), 613–14.
- 71 See Catherine Cubitt, “Unity and Diversity in the Early Anglo-Saxon Liturgy,” *Studies in Church History* 32 (1996): 45–57, who argues for the importance of a unified liturgy in early Anglo-Saxon monastic communities. On the use of “we” in this context, see Sarah Keefer, “‘Ic’ and ‘We’ in Eleventh-Century Old English Liturgical Verse,” in *Unlocking the Wordhord*, ed. Mark Amodio and Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 123–46.
- 72 Edmond Moeller, *Corpus Praefationum*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, vol. 161 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1980), 217.
- 73 BnF, lat. 943, fol. 2r. On Alcuin’s continued interaction with and influence upon Anglo-Saxon bishops after moving to the Continent, see Simon Coates, “The Bishop as Benefactor and Civic Patron: Alcuin, York, and Episcopal Authority in Anglo-Saxon England,” *Speculum* 71.3 (1996): 529–58.
- 74 Adele Fiske, “Alcuin and Mystical Friendship,” *Studi Medievalii* 3 (1961): 551–75. “As an abbot, Alcuin opens his arms to everyone who comes to him, and rejects no one. . . . But, in regard to personal friendship, there are degrees of intimacy.” For instance, Arn was Alcuin’s dearest friend; see Epistola 186, in *Epistolae Karolini aevi II*, ed. Dümmler, 311–13.
- 75 Jean Deshusses, “Les Messes d’Alcuin,” *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 14 (1972): 7–41, no. 12.
- 76 For example, see Deuteronomy 4:29, 6:5, 10:12, 11:13, etc., and Matthew 22:37, Mark 12:30, Luke 10:27, etc.
- 77 Deshusses, “Les Messes d’Alcuin,” 26, no. 13.
- 78 I thank Sean Curran for his insight on the performative nature of liturgy. See also Bradford Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2002).
- 79 McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, 231. McGuire specifically refers to the increased

- discussion, debate, and descriptions of friendship especially among the Cistercians in the twelfth century. Later in the century, Aelred of Rievaulx extends upon Cassian's conceptions of friendship in two particular works, *Speculum caritatis* (*The Mirror of Charity*) and *De spiritali amicitia* (*On Spiritual Friendship*), a hybrid Ciceronian-Christian guide for friendship. See also, McGuire, "Monastic Friendship and Toleration in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Life," *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985): 147–60.
- 80 As Hermann's secretary, Goscelin would have almost certainly encountered Sherborne's *Rules of Confraternity*, especially since the quire in which it appears stands out physically from the rest of the manuscript. Goscelin in his "Life of St. Wulfsgie of Sherborne" reveals his knowledge of Sherborne's documents and history. Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, "Goscelin and the Consecration of Eve," *Anglo-Saxon England* 35 (2006): 251–70, at 254 n. 31, points out that Simon Keynes, "Regenbald the chancellor (*sic*)," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 10 (1988): 185–222, at 202–3 n. 102, has shown that Hermann's tenure at Sherborne did not actually begin until after 1062, as Ælfwold would have still been bishop at that time.
- 81 C. H. Talbot, ed., *The "Liber confortatorius" of Goscelin of Saint Bertin*, Analecta Monastica, 3rd ser., Studia Anselmiana, vol. 37 (Roma: Herder, 1955). The fullest treatment of the relationship between Eva and Goscelin is in André Wilmart, "Æve et Goscelin I," *Révue Bénédictine* 46 (1934): 414–38; and Wilmart, "Æve et Goscelin II," *Révue Bénédictine* 50 (1938): 42–83. Rebecca Hayward, "Spiritual Friendship and Gender Difference in the *Liber confortatorius*," in *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and "Liber confortatorius"*, ed. Stephanie Hollis et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 341–54, at 346; and H. M. Canatella, "Long-Distance Love: The Ideology of Male-Female Spiritual Friendship in Goscelin of St. Bertin's *Liber confortatorius*," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 19.1 (2010): 35–53, at 53, both reach for C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) in order to deem the relationship between Goscelin and Eva an example of such love.
- 82 Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, *Stealing Obedience: Narratives of Agency and Identity in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming), questions the nature of the relationship between Goscelin and Eva, arguing that Goscelin's account forces Eva into a position of silence.
- 83 Goscelin, *Liber confortatorius*, 43.
- 84 Derrida, *Politics of Friendship*, xvii, asks, "Why would the friend be *like* a brother? Let us dream of a friendship which goes beyond this proximity of the congeneric double, . . . 'beyond the principle of fraternity.'"

## Appendix

### **A Comparative Edition of the New Minster and Sherborne *Rules of Confraternity***

My edition of these texts aims to facilitate comparison between them. To that end, abbreviations in the manuscripts are silently expanded; capitalization and punctuation are modernized; editorial conjectures are placed within brackets; the lemmata of each liturgical incipit at the end of the Sherborne *Rules* are expanded and boldfaced; and phrases to be compared between each text are italicized. Commentary on key features of the texts is provided in the notes, and a translation of the Sherborne *Rules* can be found at the end.

### **Edition of the New Minster *Rules of Confraternity* London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi, fols. 17v–18r**

Dis is þæra *gerædnyssarium*,<sup>1</sup> þe *biscopas* 7 *abbodas* geræd habbaþ heom sylfum to þearfe. Ærest, þæt hi ealle anræde beon 7 *an lufian for Gode* 7 *for worulde*, 7 þæt hi beon swa heom to *gebyraþ*:<sup>2</sup> *cor unum et anima una*. 7 hi geræddan þæt æt æfre ælcere mæssan, þe heora ænig sylf gemæssige, gemune mid þrim collectum synderlice his gehadan. 7 begyte heora æghwylc þæt man ælcere wucan for ealle geferan ane sundermæssan synderlice gesinge. 7 þonne *hwilcum* forþsyþ gebyrige, 7 *hit gekyþed sy*, þonne *bringe man ealle bellan* 7 *.xv. sealmas singe*, 7 þonne singe ælc b[iscop] sylf þreo mæssan for þa sawle, buton þam wite he þæt he gefylle þrittig mæssan 7 .xxx. æfensanga 7 .xxx. uhtsanga 7 *þerto .lx. massa oþþe swa fela saltera*. 7 gefreoge ænne mann for þa sawle. 7 ænne þearfan fede .xxx. daga *of his agenre mysan* 7 *do þerto ælc dæg ænne penig*. 7 æt þam þrittig[oþan] daga gebaþige swa fela þearfena, swa he mage mæst, 7 þam do eallum æt 7 wæt, 7 to wæde fylste gyf he hwæt wille. Se þe þas gerædnesse mid gode geyce, God hit him geleanige swa Him leofost sy. Amen.

## Edition of the Sherborne *Rules of Confraternity*

Paris, Bibliothèque national de France, lat. 943, fol. 163v

Dis is þæra *gerædnessa sum*, þe *bisceopas* geræd habbað heom sylfum to þearfe. Ærest, þæt hy ealle anræde beon 7 *an lufian for Gode 7 for worulde*. 7 þæt hy beon swa hym to *gebyræð: cor unum et anima una*. 7 hy geræddon þæt æt æfre ælcere mæssan, þe heora ænig sylf gemæssige, gemune mid þrim collectum synderlice hys gehadan. 7 begyte heora æghwylc þæt man æfre æghwylcere wucan for ealle geferan ane sundermæssan synderlice *gesinged*.<sup>3</sup> 7 þonne *hwylcum bisceope* forðsið gebyrige, þonne singe ælc bisceop sylf þreo mæssan for þa sawle *butan he furþor wyll[e]*<sup>4</sup> 7 butan þam wite he þæt he gefylle .xxx. mæssena 7 .xxx. æfensanga 7 .xxx. uhtsanga. 7 *gedæle an pund for þa saule*,<sup>5</sup> *healf wið mæssan 7 healf almesmannum*. 7 gefreoge anne man for þa sawle. 7 anne þearfan fede .xxx. daga. 7 æt þam þritigeþan dæge gebaðige s[w]a<sup>6</sup> feala þearfena, swa he mæst mæge, 7 þam do eallum æt 7 wæt, 7 to wæde fylste gyf he hwæt wylle. Se þe þas gerædnesse mid gode geyce, God hyt him geleanige swa Him leofost sy. Amen.

We gretað eac ealle ure gebroþra 7 geswustra þe abbudhades syn 7 abbudyssan swyþe bliþelice, 7 hy geornlice myngiað 7 eadmodlice biddað þæt hy, for godes lufon, heora agenne þearfe 7 þæra þe hy<sup>7</sup> *æt godes dome* forð lædan sceolon, georne beþenceon. 7 we gyrnað þæt hi us on heora gebedrædene mid heora gebroðra 7 geswustra fultume synderlice eac habbon, swa swa we bisceopas us betweonan geræd habbað. Nelle we to him [. . .]<sup>8</sup> gyrnan feohgesceotes ne frotmannes butan hwa sylf wylle 7 þæs þe bet unne. Ac þære gebedrædene we wilniað georne, þæt hi for us beon ge on life ge on legere. 7 we eaþmodlice for hi beon wyllaþ be þam sylfan gemete þe we geahxiað þæt hi for us doþ. Eala leofan gebroðru 7 geswustra geþencað swyþe georne þa oferneode, þe us eallum ys gemæne. God us gehealde for hys micelan mildheortnyse 7 us gescylde þæt we næfre ne forwurðon on ðam towerdan dome, þe we ealle to gelaðode synt. Amen.

**ANTIPHONA Intret:** Oratio mea. **Collectus:** Deus qui caritatis. **Epistola:** In diebus illis. orationem faciebant. **Graduale:** Respice domine. **Versus:** Exsurge domine. **Alleluia:** Qui timent dominum sperent. **Euangelium:** In illo tempore. Dixit Iesus discipulis suis. Amen amen dico uobis. quia si quis dixerit huic monti tollere et mittere in mare. **Offertorium:** Inmittet angelum dominus. **Super oblata:** Miserere quesumus domine famulis tuis fratribus nostris pro quibus hoc sacrificium laudis. **Prefatio:** (+) Aeterne deus. implorantes tuae maiestatis misericordiam. **Communio:** Inclina aurem tuam. **Postcommunio:** Diuina libantes.

### Translation of the Sherborne *Rules of Confraternity*

This is one of the agreements, which the bishops have agreed upon according to their need. First, that they are all to be of one mind and to love one thing on account of God and the world and that they are to be, as befits them, *cor unum et anima una* [one heart and one soul (Acts 4:32)]. And they have agreed that at each and every mass, whoever happens to perform it should himself, with three collects, singularly remember his brother(s). And each of them should arrange that one man sing alone one separate mass each and every week for all fellow clerics; and when a death happens to any bishop, then each bishop should himself sing three masses for the soul unless he wishes to sing more; and outside of that, he should see that he perform thirty masses and thirty evensongs and thirty morning songs and give for the soul one pound, half for the masses and half to almsmen; and free one man for the soul; and feed one poor man for thirty days. And, on the thirtieth day, he should bathe as many poor men as he possibly can and give food and water to them all and let him see to clothing them; he [should] give what he will. He who adds to this agreement with good, may God reward him as may be most pleasing to Him. Amen.

We also very joyfully greet all our brothers and sisters who are of abbatial rank and who are abbesses, and earnestly remind them and humbly ask that, for God's love, they earnestly consider their own need and the need of those who<sup>9</sup> at God's judgment they shall lead forth, [and that they] gladly remember [them]. And we desire that they keep each of us singularly in their prayers with the help of their brothers and sisters, just as we bishops have agreed between ourselves. We do not wish to demand from them money or a freeman unless anyone himself should wish and grant something better. But we earnestly desire prayers of intercession, that they for us may be [offered] in life and in death. And we will humbly be for them in the same measure as we ask that they do for us. Dear brothers and sisters consider very earnestly the extreme need, which is common to all of us. May God keep us in his great loving kindness and shield us that we may never perish in the approaching judgment, to which we all are summoned. Amen.

**ANTIPHONS Introit:** Let my prayer come. **Collect:** Lord, (you have infused the gifts) of love. **Epistle:** In those days, and all the priests made prayer (2 Maccabees 1:23). **Gradual:** Lord, look back. **Tract:** Rise up, O Lord (Antiphon, Hesbert, no. 201a).<sup>10</sup> **Alleluia:** They that fear the Lord hath hoped in the Lord (Psalm 113:19). **Gospel:** In that time, Jesus said to his disciples: Amen I say to you, that whosoever shall say to this mountain

be thou removed and cast into the sea (Mark 11:23). **Offertory:** Let the lord summon his messenger. **Super Oblata (Secret):** Lord God, we beseech you to have mercy on your servants our brothers, for whom we offer to your majesty this sacrifice of praise. **Preface:** Eternal Lord, we beseech your majesty's mercy. **Communion:** Incline thy ear, O Lord, and hear me (Psalm 85). **Postcommunion:** After drinking the divine (mysterics).

### **Alcuinian prayers extended from the liturgical incipits of the Sherborne Rules of Confraternity**

*Collectus* from Alcuin's *Missa pro amicis uiuentibus* (Deshusses, *Sacramentaire Grégorien*, no. 128; Deshusses, "Les Messes d'Alcuin," no. 13):

Deus qui caritatis dona per gratiam sancti spiritus tuorum cordibus fidelium infudisti, da famulis tuis pro quibus tuam deprecamur clementiam salutem mentis et corporis, ut te tota uirtute diligant, et quae tibi placita sunt tota dilectione perficiant. Per.

[Lord, through the grace of the Holy Spirit you have infused the gifts of love into the hearts of your devoted followers, give to your servants the health of mind and body, on account of which we beseech your mercy, in order that they might love you with all their strength, and those who have pleased you might bring it about with all their love. Through (Christ our Lord).]

*Graduale* from a Gregorian *Missa pro amico* (Deshusses, *Sacramentaire Grégorien*, no. 137):

Respice domine propitius ad debitam famuli tui ill. seruitutem, ut inter humanae fragilitatis incerta, nullis aduersitatibus opprimatur, qui de tua protectione confidit. Per.

[Propitious Lord, look back to the indebted servitude of your servant N., that, between the uncertain times of human fragility, no adversities should press down on him, who has faith in your protection. Through (Christ our Lord).]

*Super Oblata* from Alcuin's *Missa pro amicis uiuentibus* (Deshusses, *Sacramentaire Grégorien*, no. 128; Deshusses, "Les Messes d'Alcuin," no. 13):

Miserere quaesumus domine deus famulis tuis (fratribus nostris) pro quibus hoc sacrificium laudis tuae offerimus maiestati, ut per

haec sancta supernae benedictionis gratiam obtineant, et gloriam aeternae beatitudinis adquirant.

[Lord God, we beseech you to have mercy on your servants (our brothers), for whom we offer to your majesty this sacrifice of praise, that, through these sacred offerings, they might obtain the grace of heavenly blessing and acquire the glory of everlasting happiness.]

*Praefatio* from Alcuin's *Missa pro amico uiuente* (Deshusses, *Sacramentaire Grégorien*, no. 120; Deshusses, "Les Messes d'Alcuin," no. 12):

Implorantes tuae maiestatis misericordiam, ut famulo tuo ill. ueniam suorum largiri digneris peccatorum, ut ab omnibus inimici uinculis liberatus, tuis toto corde inhereat mandatis, et te solum semper tota uirtute diligat, et ad tuae quandoque beatitudinis uisionem peruenire mereatur. Per christum.

[We beseech your majesty's mercy, that you may deign to grant your servant N. forgiveness of his sins, so that, having been freed from all of the enemy's chains, he may adhere to all of your commands with his whole heart and he may always love you alone with all his strength and that he may deserve to come to the vision of your blessedness at some point. Through Christ (our Lord).]

*Postcommunio* from Alcuin's *Missa pro amicis uiuentibus* (Deshusses, *Sacramentaire Grégorien*, no. 128; Deshusses, "Les Messes d'Alcuin," no. 13):

Diuina libantes misteria quaesumus domine, ut haec salutaria sacramenta illis proficiant ad prosperitatem et pacem pro quorum dilectione haec tuae obtulimus maiestati. Per.

[After drinking the divine mysteries, we ask you Lord, to let these saving sacraments bring those (friends) to prosperity and peace, for the love of them we offer these to your majesty. Through (Christ our Lord).]

37

## Notes to appendix

- 1 Read “gerædnysa sum,” as in the Sherborne *Rules*.
- 2 Read “gebyreþ,” as in the Sherborne *Rules*.
- 3 The letter eth (ð) in *gesingeð* is an interlinear insertion by the second Sherborne scribe, changing the verb from the subjunctive to the indicative, which does not correspond with the overall tendency in the rest of the text to favor the subjunctive, as with the word *singe* in the subsequent line.
- 4 The phrase “butan he furþor wylle,” inserted above the line by the second Sherborne scribe, is not present in the New Minster text.
- 5 The phrase “for þa saule” has been inserted above the line by the second Sherborne scribe.
- 6 Accidental rubbing has deteriorated the legibility of this word.
- 7 The first scribe’s work ends here, and the work of the second scribe begins with “æt godes dome. . .”
- 8 The word *æt* has been erased by scraping and is only faintly legible.
- 9 The second Sherborne scribe takes over here.
- 10 René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Bruxelles: Vromant, 1935; repr. Rome: Herder, 1985).

