THE EVOLUTION OF MONASTIC LITURGY IN NORTHERN BRITAIN BEFORE 1153

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I hereby declare that the thesis, "The Evolution of Monastic Liturgy in Northern Britain before 1153," has been composed by me, and that the work is my own.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

This thesis proposes that Northumbrian monastic liturgy evolved in ways distinct from those of the rest of Britain, and traces its development through three markedly contrasting periods of its history. The first chapter is concerned with the origins of monastic life in Northumbria, up to the death of the Venerable Bede in 735. Taking as source material the historical works of Bede and other contemporary lives of the saints, specific references to liturgy and chant are analysed, with the purpose of determining the importance of liturgical music in the evangelization of Northumbria, the type and provenance of the chants used, and the methods of musical transmission in the absence of notation. It becomes apparent from this analysis that by the early eighth century, Northumbrian monastic liturgy had reached a degree of sophistication unsurpassed even by Canterbury.

The second chapter shows, mainly by evidence from liturgical books, how a small remnant of monastic life survived the ravages of the Viking raids, until the return of relative stability after the Norman Conquest. The persistence of cults of Northumbrian saints throughout Britain is also documented, using evidence from liturgical kalandars.

The revival of monastic life after the Conquest is the subject of the third chapter, with emphasis on how the new or revived monasteries compiled their liturgical books. Strands of influence on the Durham Missal are investigated, and a little-known Scottish Tironensian missal is used as evidence of the growing importance of the reformed Benedictine orders in the north of Britain at the beginning of the twelfth century, largely due to the encouragement of David, Earl of Northumbria, who was later King David I of Scotland. Finally, complete transcriptions are presented of three surviving Rhymed Offices in honour of seventh-century Northumbrian saints: Cuthbert, Oswald and Ebba.
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INTRODUCTION

In choosing the subject matter for this dissertation, it was my intention to demonstrate that the conditions which led to the establishment of Benedictine monasticism in Northern Britain were very different from those which prevailed in the south of England. In the north, frequent contacts with Continental monasteries, and especially with Rome, meant that a lively oral chant tradition was flourishing in Northumbria by the end of the seventh century; a tradition which was related to, but distinct from, that of Canterbury.

I have chosen largely to ignore the Celtic influence on the Northumbrian Church, not because it was unimportant—there were indeed close links between Irish and Northumbrian monasteries, particularly between Iona and Lindisfarne—but because this link has often been over-emphasised by past scholars, and certainly in the popular imagination. This exaggeration has been particularly noticeable with reference to Northumbrian scribal and artistic skills, to the extent that Northumbrian manuscripts were wrongly attributed to Irish scribes, or were thought to depend on Irish exemplars, when in fact the reverse may be nearer the truth. Similarly, there is a received view that the predominant feature of the seventh-century Church in Northern Britain was conflict between the "Irish" party led by Colman of Lindisfarne, and the Romanising, Anglicising influence epitomised by Wilfrid. But this is to forget that most of the great figures of seventh-century Northumbria—Wilfrid, Bede and Benedict Biscop, for example—were native Northumbrians, who developed a distinctive brand of monasticism from Roman, Gallican and Celtic models, and kept in close contact with musical and liturgical advances at Rome, at a time when the Church in Kent may have been undergoing a period of relative stagnation.

The subject matter naturally falls into three chronological periods, the first being a time of rapid growth and consolidation from the establishment of Lindisfarne in 635 until the death of the Venerable Bede a century later. The second period is marked initially by a certain degree of stagnation and laxity in the later eighth century, then by a rapid descent into chaos and despair in the wake
of the first Danish raids in 793, to which the exposed and unprotected monasteries of the north-east coast were particularly vulnerable. I intend to show that, despite the apalling toll of destruction wreaked upon the Northumbrian Church during this period, certain vital elements of the monastic tradition were preserved from its glorious past, not least of which was the daily singing of the Divine Office. Furthermore, the cult of St Cuthbert was maintained unbroken throughout this period, and the shrine attracted not only pilgrims in search of miracles, but also kings bearing gifts, and the incorrupt body of the saint inspired the composition of elaborate liturgy in his honour, most notably a rhymed office which was the first of its kind for an insular saint, and one of the earliest of all rhymed offices.

The third period mirrors the first in its optimism and rapid rate of growth. Despite the fact that there had been no northern equivalent of the tenth-century monastic revival associated with Æthelwold and Dunstan in the south, virtually all the old monastic sites in Northern Britain were rapidly revived as Benedictine monasteries, and supplemented by new foundations such as Dunfermline and St Mary's, York. I intend to show that the inspiration for this monastic revival came not only from Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, but also from an unexpected quarter, that of the Scottish monarchy. Under the saintly Queen Margaret and her son David (first in his capacity as Earl of Northumbria, and later as King David I of Scotland), the lands north of the Humber enjoyed a spiritual zeal and a temporal prosperity which have never been surpassed.

Finally, I will demonstrate that, in addition to the visible impact of Canterbury, there was a more hidden and indirect line of liturgical influence which emanated from Cluny, and was transmitted by the Order of Tiron. By this means, Cluniac liturgy achieved a wide diffusion in Scotland before any of the other new orders, including the Cluniacs themselves, had established a foothold in the Scottish Church.

The date of 1153 has been chosen as the limit of the present study, as it marks the death of King David I of Scotland, and is also the date of the first source to contain the full monastic Offices of St
Cuthbert and St Oswald, which rank among the finest achievements of Northumbrian monasticism.
CHAPTER ONE: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NORTHUMBRIAN CHANT TRADITION

In order to trace the development of musical and liturgical life in Northumbria up to the death of Bede, three questions must be answered:

1. How important an element was liturgical music in the evangelization of Northumbria?
2. Of what type and provenance were the chants used in the early Northumbrian church?
3. What were the principal methods of musical transmission in the absence of notation?

In attempting to answer these questions, the method adopted will be to take a series of extracts from contemporary sources and assess how much each extract reveals in relation to each of the above questions. In certain cases one or more of the questions may be irrelevant or inappropriate, but by an accumulative process an overall impression of the Northumbrian chant tradition should begin to emerge.¹

The first extract, taken from Bede’s Historia Ecclesiastica, describes Saint Augustine’s entry into Canterbury in 596:

[Extract 1]

It is related that as they approached the city in accordance with their custom carrying the holy cross and the image of the great King our Lord, Jesus Christ, they sang this litany in unison: Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus in ira tua a ciuitate ista et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccavimus. Alleluia.²

¹Several of the passages from Bede’s Historia Ecclesiastica which are concerned with church music were noticed by Peter Wagner in chapter 11 of Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien, where he used them to further his argument for an "authentic Antiphoner” of Gregory. Indeed, he surmised that such a book must have been sent over with Augustine’s original mission.

²Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, Book i, Chapter 25 (in subsequent references abbreviated as follows: Bede, HE i, 25). The edition from which both Latin and English quotations are taken is Bede’s Ecclesiastical History, edited by B. Colgrave & R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969).

Fertur autem, quia adpropinquantes civitati more suo cum cruce sancta et imagine magni regis Domini nostri Iesu Christi hanc lataniam consona voce modularentur: 'Deprecamur te, Domine, in
This passage describes the missionary clerics virtually in terms of an army going forth to battle, carrying the cross as their standard, and using the litany as a form of battle-song. The chant would thus have fulfilled the dual function of boosting the morale of the singers and impressing the heathen onlookers. In addition, the chant seems to have acted as an aural symbol of Christianity, in the same way as the processional cross and panel-painting of Christ acted as visual symbols of the faith.

The task of determining the nature and provenance of the chant is greatly facilitated in this case by the quotation of the text (presumably because of its aptness to the situation), a practice otherwise rare in Bede's writings. Given that Augustine and his companions had been sent to Britain from Rome by Pope Gregory the Great, it is perhaps surprising to find that the chant Deprecamur te did not form part of the Roman Rite at the date in question. Despite being termed hanc lætaniam by Bede, it is actually a processional antiphon for use on the three days before Ascension Day, known as "Rogation Days". Their observation, first introduced by Bishop Mamertus of Vienne (c.470), was extended to all of Frankish Gaul by the Council of Orleans (511), but did not reach Rome until about the year 800, during the pontificate of Leo III. Augustine's use of a Gallican chant is readily explained by the fact that he had just passed through Gaul prior to landing in Kent. As for his authority to depart from the Roman Rite, this was supplied (albeit retrospectively) by Pope Gregory, in reply to a question on the subject from Augustine. The dialogue is reported in Historia Ecclesiastica as follows:

[Extract 2]
Augustine's second question: Even though the faith is one are there varying customs in the churches? and is there one form of Mass in the Holy Roman Church and another in the Gaulish churches?

Pope Gregory answered: My brother, you know the customs of the Roman Church in which, of course, you were brought up. But it is my wish that if you have found any customs in the

omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a civitate ista et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccavimus. Alleluia.'

Roman or the Gaulish church or any other church which may be more pleasing to Almighty God, you should make a careful selection of them and sedulously teach the Church of the English, which is still new in the faith, what you have been able to gather from other churches. For things are not to be loved for the sake of a place, but places are to be loved for the sake of their good things. Therefore choose from every individual Church whatever things are devout, religious, and right. And when you have collected them as it were into one pot, put them on the English table for their use. 4

The reported singing of the antiphon Deprecamur te does not, however, provide conclusive proof that Augustine followed Gregory’s advice and borrowed Gallican liturgical chants and practices. It must be borne in mind that such details may be embellishments introduced into the story by Bede, writing more than a century after the events concerned took place. Such a possibility does not necessarily invalidate the conclusions which may be drawn from these details; it does mean that they may be more relevant to Jarrow at the time of Bede than to Kent at the time of Augustine.

Concerning the transmission of chant, two points should be noted about the performance of Deprecamur te as described by Bede. Firstly, consona voce modularentur implies that it was sung in unison by all (or at least several) of those present, thus excluding the possibility of improvisation (for which solo performance by a cantor would normally be necessary), and suggesting that it must have had a fixed melody which was familiar to the singers. Secondly, if the entry into Canterbury is regarded as a quasi-liturgical procession, the processional antiphon Deprecamur te can be said to have retained something of its proper liturgical context.

4Bede, HE i, 27.

II Interrogatio Augustini: Cum una sit fides, sunt ecclesiarum diversae consuetudines, et altera consuetudo missarum in sancta Romana ecclesia atque altera in Galliarum tenetur? Respondit Gregorius papa: Novit fraternitas tua Romanae ecclesie consuetudinem, in qua se meminit nutritam. Sed mihi placet ut, sive in Galliarum seu in qualibet ecclesia aliquid invenisti, quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas, et in Anglorum ecclesia, quae adhuc ad fidem nova est, institutione præcipua, quae de multis ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas. Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus losa amanda sunt. Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis quae pia, quae religiosa, quæ recta sunt eliges, et hæc quasi in vasculo collecta, apud Anglorum mensam in consuetudine depone.
Before the conversion of the king of Kent allowed widespread public ministry, the missionary clerics evidently continued their own liturgical life in the Romano-British church of Saint Martin:

[Extract 3]
In this church they first began to meet to chant the psalms, to pray, to say Mass, to preach, and to baptize.\footnote{Bede, \textit{HE} i, 26.} Although from a modern point of view this order of activities might appear to be in reverse order of importance, the position of \textit{psallere} at the head of the list is unlikely to be arbitrary; a Benedictine monk such as Bede who sang the psalms daily throughout his life would naturally regard psalmody as pre-eminent amongst liturgical activities. Apart from revealing Bede's own preferences, there is no reason why this order of activities should not also reflect the priorities of Augustine and his companions. Although they cannot be shown to have observed the Rule of St Benedict, they were undoubtedly monks; this is made clear by Pope Gregory's advice to Augustine concerning the manner in which a bishop should live together with his clergy:

[Extract 4]
But because you, brother, are conversant with monastic rules, and ought not to live apart from your clergy in the English church, which, by the guidance of God, has lately been converted to the faith, you ought to institute that manner of life which our fathers followed in the earliest beginnings of the Church.\footnote{Bede, \textit{HE} i, 27.}

Gregory goes on to list the duties of Augustine's clergy:

[Extract 5]
...they must be kept under ecclesiastical rule, living a moral life and attending to the chanting of the psalms and, under

\footnotesize{\textit{Erat autem prope ipsam civitatem ad orientem ecclesia in honorem sancti Martini antiquitus facta, dum adhuc Romani Brittaniam incolerent, in qua regina, quam Christianam fuisse prædiximus, orare consuerat. In hac ergo et ipsi primo convenire psallere orare missas facere prædicare et baptizare coeperunt, donec rege ad fidem converso maiorem prædicandi per omnia et ecclesias fabricandi vel restaurandi licentiam acciperent.}}

\footnotesize{\textit{Sed quia tua fraternitas monasterii regulis erudita seorsum fieri non debet a clericis suis in ecclesia Anglorum, quæ auctore Deo nuper adhuc ad fidem perducta est, hanc debet conversationem instituere, quæ initio nascentis ecclesiae fuit patribus nostris.}}
God's guidance, keeping their heart, their tongue, and their body from all things unlawful. It is clear that in this context *canendis psalmis* must refer to the singing of the Divine Office. The precise nature of the Offices used at Canterbury cannot be determined, but it seems reasonable to assume that they were based on a Roman, rather than Benedictine, model. This assumption would exclude the use of hymns and lections which, though prescribed in the sixth-century Rule of Saint Benedict, were not introduced into the Roman Office until the seventh and twelfth centuries respectively. Consequently, the Offices sung in Saint Martin's church by Augustine and his companions would probably have consisted solely of psalms, antiphons and responsories with psalmic texts, and prayers, all of which could be sufficiently described by the terms *psallere* and *orare*. Clearly such Offices would have required no liturgical books other than the psalter, which would in any case have been memorized by most monks of the period.

The phrase *missas facere* is more problematic. It fails to reveal whether or not the Masses were sung, how often they were celebrated, or by whom. If it could simply be assumed that Augustine's practice followed that of Rome at the end of the sixth century, the implication would be that the Masses were always sung, that they were not necessarily a daily occurrence, and that the normal celebrant was the bishop, assisted by his presbyters, deacons and lesser ministers. If on the other hand it is admitted that Augustine may have adopted other Gallican customs along with the Rogation procession, a form of *missa privata* becomes a possibility, since the Council of Vaison in 529 distinguished between "Morning Masses" and the "Public Mass." The likelihood that Augustine, in the early stages of his mission, was able to duplicate the elaborate eucharistic liturgy of Rome seems rather doubtful, especially considering the uncertainty in such matters revealed by his second question to Pope Gregory (quoted above), and the fact that he may

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7Bede, *HE* i, 27. *Sub ecclesiastica regula sunt tenendi, ut bonis moribus vivant et canendis psalmis invigilent, et ab omnibus inlicitis et cor et linguam et corpus Deo auctore conservent.*

8The origin of the Low Mass is explored by Dom Gregory Dix in *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London, 1945), p. 593.
not yet have been consecrated bishop. Furthermore, it seems likely
that until the success of the mission was guaranteed by the king’s
conversion, the equipment necessary for the celebration of Mass and
adornment of churches would have been confined to the bare
essentials. This assertion is supported by the following extract, which
describes the reinforcements, both in personnel and equipment, sent
by Pope Gregory in 601:

[Extract 6]
Since Bishop Augustine had advised him that the harvest was
great and the workers were few, Pope Gregory sent more
colleagues and ministers of the word together with his
messengers. First and foremost among these were Mellitus,
Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus; and he sent with them all
such things as were generally necessary for the worship and
ministry of the Church, such as sacred vessels, altar cloths
and church ornaments, vestments for priests and clerics, relics
of the holy apostles and martyrs, and very many manuscripts. \(^9\)

Another passage of Bede’s Historia Ecclesiastica yields further
evidence of the importance attached to church music by Augustine’s
mission, and also reinforces the view that the Mass had not yet
achieved the position of supreme liturgical importance which it was to
assume in the later Middle Ages. When in 625 the pagan king Edwin
of Northumbria sought to marry the Christian princess Ethelburga of
Kent, Paulinus (one of the clerics sent by Pope Gregory in 601) was
consecrated bishop and sent with Ethelburga to Northumberland. He
was to act as chaplain to the princess, with the added intention of
converting the king of Northumbria and his people. By 627/8, Edwin
had been baptized, and churches built at York and Lincoln. Following
Edwin’s death in battle in 633, Paulinus, having completed his
immediate task, retired to Kent and spent his remaining years as
bishop of Rochester. However, the Northumbrian church was not left
entirely destitute:

\(^9\)Bede, HE i, 29.

\(Præterea idem papa Gregorius Augustino episcoopo, quia suggesserat ei\)
\(multam quidem sibi esse messem sed operarios paucos, misit cum\)
\(praefatis legatariis suis plures cooperatores ac verbi ministros, in\)
\(quibus primi et præcipui erant Mellitus, Iustus, Paulinus, Rufinianus;\)
\(et per eos generaliter univera, quae ad cultum erant ac ministerium\)
\(ecclesie necessaria, vasa videlicet sacra et vestimenta altarium,\)
\(ornamenta quoque ecclesiariam et sacerdotalia vel clericiilia indumenta,\)
\(sanctorum etiam apostolorum ac martyrum reliquias, necnon et codices\)
\(plurimos.\)
[Extract 7]

Now Paulinus had left in the church at York a certain James, a deacon, a true churchman and a saintly man; he remained for a long time in the church and, by teaching and baptizing, rescued much prey from the ancient foe.

...He was very skilful in church music and when peace was restored to the kingdom and the number of believers grew, he also began to instruct many in ecclesiastical chant, after the manner of Rome and the Kentish people.

This extract exhibits several noteworthy features. Firstly, it is significant that Paulinus deemed it appropriate to leave in his place one who, as a deacon, could not celebrate Mass. If he had regarded the Mass as an essential requirement of the embryonic churches of York and Lincoln, he could presumably have ordained James to the priesthood before his departure. But evidently the diaconal functions of teaching and baptizing were considered sufficient for the conversion of the heathen.11 Secondly, whereas the primary emphasis may be on teaching and baptizing, church music is portrayed as a powerful means of consolidation after the initial period of evangelization. Furthermore, it would be mistaken to view James' skill as a singing-master as secondary to his other functions. It is quite likely that he represents a survival from the period when the principal role of the deacon was to act as chief cantor in the liturgy. It was none other than Pope Gregory the Great who, perhaps in an attempt to remedy certain abuses arising out of this conflation of roles, sought to separate the two functions, as testified by the Council of Rome in 595.12 Before this date, it was quite common for the singing of the gradual in the Mass, as well as the proclamation of the gospel, to be undertaken exclusively by deacons. The date of

10 Bede, HE ii, 20.

Reliquerat autem in ecclesia sua Eburaci Iacobum diaconum, virum utique ecclesiasticum et sanctum, qui multo exhinc tempore in ecclesia manens magnas antiquo hosti prædas docendo et baptizando eripuit; cuius nomine vicus, in quo maxime solebat habitare, iuxta Cataractam usque hodie cognominatur. Qui, quoniam cantandi in ecclesia erat peritissimus, recuperata postmodum pace in provincia et crescente numero fidelium, etiam magister ecclesiasticæ cantionis iuxta morem Romanorum sive Cantuariorum multis coepti existere.

11Queen Eanflæd (daughter of Ethelburga, to whom Paulinus had acted as chaplain when she went north to marry King Edwin of Northumbria) evidently obtained a priest from Kent to act as her private chaplain after the departure of Paulinus. See Bede, HE iii, 25.

12c.f. Duchesne, Christian Worship, p. 150.
James’ ordination to the diaconate is unknown, but since he almost certainly accompanied Paulinus from Rome to Canterbury in 601, it is feasible that he was made deacon before the edicts of the Council of 595 took effect.

Concerning the nature and provenance of the chant taught by James, the extract reveals only that it was "iuxta morem Romanorum sive Cantuariorum". Bede’s use of the conjunction sive renders the phrase somewhat ambiguous, since it implies, either that the two expressions (Romanorum and Cantuariorum) amount to the same, or that he is undecided about them and leaves the choice to others. However, in the light of Bede’s views on the close connection between Rome and ecclesiastical chant, it seems likely that he intended to imply identity between the customs of Rome and those of Canterbury. As to the type of chants taught by James, it may be surmised that, in the absence of Masses, the emphasis was on the various kinds of psalmody used in the Roman Divine Office.

However, the most significant aspect of the above extract is James’ role as singing-master, and its implications for the transmission of chant. He is the first of several specialists in church music (in this case designated magister ecclesiastice cantionis) to be described by Bede, and differs from later examples (such as Eadde, Maban and John the arch-cantor) in passing on the Roman chant tradition not to other designated cantors or to a monastic community, but to ordinary members of the laity. The absence of a monastic community must have had a severely limiting effect, firstly on the complexity of the chants which could be taught, and secondly on scribal activity, thus curtailing the possibility of adding to those liturgical books which had presumably been brought north from Canterbury by James and Paulinus. Therefore it again seems likely that the main form of musical activity would have been antiphonal or responsorial psalmody, of a type simple enough to be taught to non-specialists.

The next Northumbrian singing-master to be mentioned in Historia Ecclesiastica is Eddius Stephanus:

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13 On the use of sive as opposed to vel, see Cassell’s Latin Dictionary (London, 1907), p. 794.
From that time also the knowledge of sacred music, which had hitherto been known only in Kent, began to be taught in all the English churches. With the exception of James already mentioned, the first singing-master in the Northumbrian churches was Ædde surnamed Stephen, who was invited from Kent by the most worthy Wilfrid, who was the first bishop of the English race to introduce the catholic way of life to the English churches.  

A further reference to Eddius is found in the work attributed to his authorship, The Life of Bishop Wilfrid. From this it is apparent that Wilfrid brought with him from Kent not one, but two cantors:

So he lived in honour, dear to all men, and, after fulfilling episcopal duties in various places, returned to his own land with the singers Ædde and Æona, and with masons and artisans of almost every kind, and there, by introducing the rule of St Benedict, he greatly improved the ordinances of the churches of God.

The same source reports in Wilfrid’s own words his most important achievements, as follows:

Did I not change and convert the whole Northumbrian race to the true Easter and to the tonsure in the form of a crown, in accordance with the practice of the Apostolic See, though their tonsure had been previously at the back of the head, from the top of the head downwards?
And did I not instruct them in accordance with the rite of the primitive Church to make use of two choirs singing with alternate voice, with reciprocal responsories and antiphons?
And did I not arrange the life of the monks in accordance with the rule of the holy father Benedict which none had previously introduced there?

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14 Bede, HE iv, 2.
Sed et sonos cantandi in ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantia tantum noverant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum ecclesias discere coeperunt; primusque, excepto Iacobo de quo supra diximus, cantandi magister Nordanymborum ecclesiis Æddi cognomento Stephanus fuit, invitatus de Cantia a reverentissimo viro Vilfrido, qui primus inter episcopos qui de Anglorum gente essent catholicum vivendi morem ecclesiis Anglorum tradere didicit.

15 Eddius Stephanus, Vita Sancti Wilfridi, chapter 14. The edition from which quotations are taken is The Life of Bishop Wilfrid, edited by B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927).
Ideo autem venerabiliter vivens, omnibus carus, episcopalia officia per plura spatia agens, cum cantoribus Ædde et Æonan et cæmentaris omnisque pæne artis institoribus regionem suam rediens, cum regula sancti Benedicti instituta ecclesiarum Dei bene meliorabat.

16 Eddius Stephanus, Vita Sancti Wilfridi, chapter 47.
In applying to these three passages the first of the questions which form the basis of this chapter ("How important an element was liturgical music in the evangelization of Northumbria?"), the implication in Extract 8 is that a knowledge of sacred music is one of the requirements of the Christian way of life. In Extract 9, improvements in the church are attributed primarily to the rule of St Benedict, but also indirectly to the singers Ædde and Æona, who, although grouped with masons and other craftsmen, seem to be the most important of this group by virtue of their position at the head of the list and the fact that they are individually named. Extract 10 ranks instruction in singing alongside changes from Celtic to Roman practices, and the introduction of the rule of St Benedict. The conclusion which may be drawn from all three extracts is that church music was a secondary element in the missionary process, in that it required a certain stability in the newly-converted community before instruction could take place, but that thereafter it became a sign of Christian orthodoxy and a means of ensuring liturgical uniformity with Rome, or the "early church". For this latter purpose, imposition of the Roman manner of saying Mass might to a later age have seemed the obvious method, but the sources are silent on the subject.

In relation to the second question ("Of what type and provenance were the chants used in the early Northumbrian

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Ad verumque pascha et ad tonsuram in modum corone, quæ ante ea posteriorie capitis parte e summo abrasa vertice, secundum apostolice sedis rationem totam Ultrahumbrensiun gentem permutando converterem?
Aut quomodo iuxta ritum primitivæ ecclesiæ assono vocis modulamine, binis adstantibus choris, persultare responsoriis antiphonisque reciprocis instruerem?
Vel quomodo vitam monachorum secundum regulam sancti Benedicti patris, quam nullus prior ibi invexit, constitueram?

17If Ædde the cantor is indeed identical with Eddius Stephanus, author of the Vita Sancti Wilfridi, the favoured position of the singers in this passage may be a reflection of his personal interests.

18The method of calculating Easter and the form of clerical tonsure were the main points of contention at the Council of Whitby (663/4), at which the proponents of Roman customs, led by Wilfrid, triumphed over their Celtic adversaries, represented by Colman, abbot of Lindisfarne. The proceedings of the Council are described at length in Bede, HE iii, 25.
church?"), the origins and subsequent travels of the people involved may be of relevance. Wilfrid was a native Northumbrian who from the age of fourteen was educated at the Celtic monastery of Lindisfarne. Having become dissatisfied with Celtic monasticism, he travelled to Kent with the intention of seeking suitable companions with whom he could journey to Rome. After a period of study in Rome under Boniface the archdeacon, Wilfrid returned to Northumbria to become abbot of the monastery of Ripon. By this time he must have encountered three different types of monasticism: the Celtic on Lindisfarne, the old Roman (or basilican) in Canterbury, and the Benedictine in either Italy or Gaul. The type favoured by Wilfrid was evidently the Benedictine, and there is no reason to doubt that he was the first to introduce the rule of St Benedict to the Northumbrian monasteries.\(^{19}\) It might therefore be concluded that the chant introduced by Wilfrid must have been of the type used by seventh-century Benedictine monks. But if this were true, why should Wilfrid have looked for suitable singing teachers in Kent, given that the rule of St Benedict seems not to have reached Kent at the date in question (c.666)? Moreover, neither Bede nor the author of The Life of Bishop Wilfrid gives any indication that Edde or Eona were even monks, let alone Benedictine ones, and their names indicate that England, rather than Italy or Gaul, was their country of origin. The evidence suggests that the chant introduced to the northern churches by Wilfrid was neither Benedictine nor up-to-date Roman, but modelled directly on that of Canterbury, which is likely to have perpetuated the liturgical and musical practices of Augustine’s original mission, or in other words, those of Rome at the time of Gregory the Great, perhaps augmented by some Gallican practices.

More concrete evidence concerning the nature of the chant taught by Edde and Eona is to be found in Extract 10. The specific reference to antiphons and responsories may suggest a higher level of musical sophistication than the psallere and orare of the earlier extract (referring to St Martin’s, Canterbury), but the fact that no mention is made of hymns or lections lends support to the contention

\(^{19}\)On the introduction of the Rule of St Benedict to Britain, see D.H. Farmer, The Rule of St Benedict (Copenhagen, 1968), and Benedict’s Disciples (Leominster, 1980).
that the full Benedictine Office was not yet in place. It is not clear whether the writer is concerned with Mass or Office chants, or both, since the terms antiphona and responsorium could apply equally well to either. In any case, the primary consideration seems not to be the chants themselves, but the manner of their performance, particularly the use of two choirs singing "with answering voices", or in other words, antiphonally. It is the primitive church, rather than Rome or Canterbury, which is cited as the authority for this practice; but it is also understood that antiphonal singing, like the rule of St Benedict and the Roman tonsure and Easter calculation, was previously unknown in Northumbria, thus implying that it was alien to the Celtic monasteries such as Lindisfarne, of which Wilfrid had first-hand experience.

With regard to the third question ("What were the principal methods of musical transmission in the absence of notation?"), the clearest fact to emerge from these extracts (8-10) is that ecclesiastical chant relied for its dissemination not on liturgical books or theoretical treatises, but on experts (termed cantandi magister and cantor) specially trained for the purpose. These experts seem not to have been attached to any specific monastery or church, but rather to have been available to travel to different parts of the country at the behest of the bishops. Bede's statement, that the knowledge of sacred music began to be taught in all the English churches, gives the impression of a systematic process at work. Given that approximately seventy years had elapsed between Augustine's arrival in Kent and Wilfrid's invitation to Ædde and Æona, and that during this period the knowledge of sacred music had been confined to Kent, it is reasonable to assume that some local means had arisen for the perpetuation of the chant tradition. Once the English mission was firmly established, it would have been impractical constantly to import expert singers from Rome, or to send native personnel to Rome for training. The obvious solution would have been to set up a song-school in Canterbury, initially staffed by Roman clerics sent by Pope Gregory, to pass on the art of singing to successive generations of native cantors (of whom Ædde and Æona are very likely to have been examples). The obvious model for such a scheme would surely have been the famous papal song-school in Rome, the Schola Cantorum.
Bede does not specifically mention such a school being set up in Canterbury, but the passage quoted above (Extract 8) follows on from a passage describing a great increase of instruction in a variety of disciplines, including study of the Scriptures, Latin, Greek, the art of metre, astronomy and ecclesiastical computation. This burgeoning of educational activity was inspired by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury from 669 to 690, and his assistant Hadrian, both of whom were sent to Britain by Pope Vitalian.

It was not unknown for bishops of this period to be greatly skilled in sacred music; two such prelates are described in Historia Ecclesiastica, the first of whom was Putta, bishop of Rochester from 669 to 676:

[Extract 11]
He was very learned in ecclesiastical matters but showed little interest in secular affairs and was content with a simple life. He was especially skilled in liturgical chanting after the Roman manner, which he had learned from the disciples of the blessed Pope Gregory. 20

In the year 676, while Putta was absent from his see, Rochester was destroyed by Æthelred, king of the Mercians. The bishop’s reaction to this event was as follows:

[Extract 12]
When Putta found that his church was destroyed and all its contents removed, he went to Sexwulf, bishop of the Mercians, who granted him a church and a small estate, where he ended his life in peace, making no attempt whatever to re-establish his bishopric; for, as was said before, he was more concerned with ecclesiastical than with worldly affairs. So he served God in this church and went round wherever he was invited, teaching church music. 21

20Bede, HE iv, 2.
[Ordinavit] virum magis ecclesiasticis disciplinis institutum et vitae simplicitate contentum quam in saeculi rebus strenuum, cui nomen erat Putta, maxime autem modulandi in ecclesia more Romanorum, quem a discipulis beati pape Gregorii didicerat, peritum.

21Bede, HE iv, 12.
Quod ille ubi conperit, ecclesiam videlicet suam rebus ablatas omnibus depopulatam, divertit ad Sexwulfum Merciorum antistitem, et accepta ab eo possessione ecclesiae cuiusdam et agelli non grandis, ibidem in pace vitam finivit, nil omnino de restaurando episcopatu suo agens (quia, sicut ut supra diximus, magis in ecclesiasticis quam in mundanis rebus erat industrius) sed in illa solum ecclesia Deo serviens et, ubicumque rogabatur, ad docenda ecclesiae carmina divertens.
The conclusions from these two extracts, which tend to reinforce what was said above concerning Wilfrid and Æbbe, may be summarised as follows: firstly, that knowledge of church music was regarded as important enough to occupy the attentions of a bishop, and even perhaps to influence his selection for that office; secondly, that Putta's musical skills, although "after the Roman manner", had been learned not from Rome itself, but "from the disciples of the blessed Pope Gregory", in other words, from the Roman clerics who had accompanied Augustine to Kent in 597 (or followed in 601); and thirdly, that the dissemination of the chant was carried out by itinerant experts, invited for this purpose to the various churches.

The activities of the other bishop whose musical skills are praised in Historia Ecclesiastica were more directly relevant to the growth of chant in Northumbria:

[Extract 13]
Acca, Wilfrid's priest, became bishop of Hexham in Wilfrid's place. He was a man of great energy and noble in the sight of God and man. He enriched the fabric of his church, dedicated to the blessed apostle Andrew, with all kinds of decoration and works of art. He took great trouble, as he still does, to gather relics of the blessed apostles and martyrs of Christ from all parts and to put up altars for their veneration, establishing various chapels for this purpose within the walls of the church. He has also built up a very large and most noble library, assiduously collecting histories of the passions of the martyrs as well as other ecclesiastical books. He has also zealously provided sacred vessels, lamps, and other objects of the same kind for the adornment of the house of God.

Further, he invited a famous singer named Maban, who had been instructed in methods of singing by the successors of the disciples of St Gregory in Kent, to teach him and his people; he kept him for twelve years teaching them such church music as they did not know, while the music which they once knew and which had begun to deteriorate by long use or by neglect was

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22Bede, HE v, 20.
Suscepit vero pro Vilfrido episcopatum Hagulstadenisis ecclesiae Acca presbyter eius, vir et ipse strenuissimus et coram Deo et hominibus magnificus; qui et ipsius ecclesiae sue, que in beati Andraw apostoli honorem consecrata est, aedificium multifario decore ac mirificis ampliavit operibus. Dedit namque operam, quod et hodie facit, ut ad quisitis undecumque reliquis etiam in venerationem illorum poneret altaria, distinctis porticus in hoc ipsum intra muros eiusdem ecclesiae. Sed et historias passionis eorum, una cum ceteris ecclesiasticis voluminibus, summa industria congregans, amplissimam ibi ac nobilissimam bibliothecam fecit, necnon et vasa sancta et luminaria aliaque huiusmodi, que ad ornatum domus Dei pertinent, studiodissime paravit.
restored to its original form. For Bishop Acca was himself a singer of great experience, as well as a very learned theologian, untainted in his confession of the catholic faith, and thoroughly familiar with the rules of ecclesiastical custom.\footnote{Bede, \textit{HE} v, 20.}

If there were any lingering doubts as to the paramount importance of chant in the life of the Northumbrian church, they must surely be dispelled by this passage. Acca’s adornment of the church at Hexham is carefully described, but the greatest detail is reserved for the activities of Maban, providing an invaluable glimpse of the nature of the cantor’s work. Furthermore, the fact that Maban is described as \textit{cantatorem egregium} demonstrates that the cantor was held in higher esteem than that granted to other craftsmen.

Regarding the provenance of the chant in question, a small but significant distinction is apparent between this extract and the preceding ones concerning Putta (Extracts 11 & 12). Whereas Putta is reported to have learned the chant "\textit{a discipulis beati papa Gregorii}'\text{"}, Maban was taught "\textit{a successoribus discipulorum beati papa Gregorii}'\text{"}. Such a distinction is of course readily explained by the difference in date between the events described: Putta (who was made bishop in 669) could feasibly have been instructed in the chant by clergy sent by Pope Gregory; Maban, on the other hand, was not invited to Hexham until some time after 709 (when Acca succeeded Wilfrid as bishop). But the significance lies in the implication of an unbroken musical tradition, starting with Pope Gregory in Rome, brought to Kent by his disciples (and to Northumbria by James), continued in Kent by their successors (and in Northumbria by Ædde and Æona), and finally brought once more to Northumbria by Maban. It should be stressed that, even in the case of Maban, there is no suggestion of any direct musical contact with Rome since the pontificate of Gregory the Great, over a century previously. Another striking aspect of
these passages is Bede’s repeated association of the chant, not only with its place of origin, Rome, but also with the person of Pope Gregory. It would hardly be an exaggeration to claim that, by making this link between the chant and St Gregory, Bede had coined the idea, if not the actual name, of Gregorian Chant, well before its accepted date of origin.\(^{24}\)

The extract is most useful in the information it provides concerning the transmission of chant. It has been established so far that the teaching of church music was based on an oral tradition perpetuated by individual cantors, whose musical skills were independent of their ecclesiastical status; from the limited information available, it seems to have mattered little whether the cantor were bishop or deacon, monastic or secular, ordained or lay. The common factor linking these cantors is that they represent the chant tradition of Kent in its various stages of development. Any assessment of their respective influence on the formation of a Northumbrian chant tradition must be based on an appraisal both of the level of musical development in Kent, and of the extent to which the Northumbrian churches were able to perpetuate the tradition. In the case of James, whose musical knowledge was probably derived from first-hand experience of Roman chant under Gregory, the Kentish tradition was in its infancy, but for this very reason is likely to have been virtually indistinguishable in style and content from its Roman parent, though perhaps somewhat more limited in scope. In Northumbria, however, the unstable political situation and the lack of a religious community make it unlikely that the process of musical education initiated by James could have survived much beyond his death.\(^{25}\) Ædde and Æona, although farther removed than

\(^{24}\)Peter Wagner, in Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien, was among the first to notice the significance of Bede’s Historia Ecclesiastica in attributing to Gregory the Great the codification of Roman chant. He cites the examples of Putta and Maban having learned the chant from the disciples (or their successors) of blessed Pope Gregory (Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies, Tr. A. Orme & E.G.P. Wyatt (London, 1901), pp.174-5).

\(^{25}\)The influence of James should not be underestimated, given that he lived a very long time; Bede states that he survived until his own days: qui ad nostra usque tempora permansit (Bede, HE ii, 16).
James from the Gregorian-Roman tradition, were evidently more musically specialized, being described specifically as cantores or cantatores, and in the case of Ædde, cantandi magister. Whereas James' primary task as a deacon was to evangelize the northern pagans, reinforced at a later stage by teaching them to sing, Ædde and Hona were employed by Wilfrid solely for the purpose of instructing the monastic communities of Ripon and Hexham in the musical customs of the early church. This task must have been far from easy, involving not only the teaching of the chants themselves, but also the basic principles of choral singing, such as the division into two choirs for the purpose of antiphonal psalmody. In order to achieve a lasting effect, it is obvious that much time would have been required, and indeed Ædde seems to have ended his life as a monk of Ripon, over forty years after first coming north with Wilfrid. The combination of a stable monastic community with the prolonged presence of at least one trained cantor ensured that the knowledge of chant was perpetuated for the duration of Wilfrid's life and beyond, not only at Ripon but also at Hexham. This is evident from the fact that Maban was invited toHexham by Acca, not to teach the chant from scratch to monks who were ignorant of church music, but to enlarge and restore the existing repertory of chants. The former of these tasks, that of "teaching them such church music as they did not know", implies that by the time of Maban's visit there was a difference in content between the chant repertory of Kent and that of Hexham. There are two alternative explanations for such a discrepancy: firstly, that the Northumbrian monks' former instruction had been incomplete, due to imperfect memory on the part of the teacher (presumably Ædde or Hona) or insufficient aptitude on the part of the pupils, whereas the Kentish tradition to which Maban belonged had, by its greater stability and more numerous cantors, preserved a larger body of chants from the time of Gregory the Great than had been possible at Hexham; or alternatively, that in the intervening decades between the respective arrivals of Ædde and Maban, the southern chant tradition had expanded its repertory by the adoption of new chants from Rome or elsewhere, while the northern tradition had remained static. The former of these explanations seems the more plausible, since there is no evidence of
any musical contact between Kent and Rome after the time of Gregory the Great. There is also the matter of Maban’s second task, which was to restore to their original state (priscum renovarentur in statum) those chants "which they once knew and which had begun to deteriorate by long use or by neglect". This deterioration of chants demonstrates the limitations inherent in an oral tradition, especially one operating for many years in isolation from its parent tradition, with few trained cantors to sustain it. But Acca’s desire for such chants to be restored to their original state demonstrates that in early eighth-century Britain there already existed the notion of a fixed archetype of the chant, to which corrupt versions were made to conform. This archetype, faithfully preserved in Kent by successive generations of cantors, is attributed not to contemporary Rome, or even to the early church (as had been the case with Ædde), but to Gregory the Great himself.

Apart from the question of Gregory’s association with the chant, the most significant issue arising from this notion of an archetype is how it affects the idea of improvisation within an oral tradition. It has become widely accepted, largely through the writings of such influential scholars as Leo Treitler26 and Helmut Hucke27, that before the evolution of chant notation, the performance of chant involved a high degree of improvisation, using stereotypical melodic formulae in variable combinations. While it is not proposed to contradict this view, observation of the work of British cantors at the time of Bede does suggest the need for a revision of the widely-accepted time-scale for the crystallization of improvised chants into fixed melodies. The time-scale proposed by Hucke and Treitler has already been challenged in recent articles by Kenneth Levy28 and


David Hughes, who argue that Gregorian Chant was fully fixed with respect to pitch by the time of its dissemination under Charlemagne, and that the Mass propers were fully neumed by the beginning of the ninth century: that is, a century earlier than the first surviving neumed propers, which date from c. 900. Hughes proposes the following model for the transmission of chant under Charlemagne:

1. A body of chants fully fixed with respect to pitch was in use at the Carolingian court or at one of the major Frankish singing schools—Metz, for example—as early as the time of Charlemagne, and was thence propagated to the rest of the Empire and beyond. (How the chant got to the court is not a matter addressed by this study.) At the time of its radiation, it was transmitted orally, but the oral tradition was tightly controlled and hence highly uniform.

2. The process of radiation was effected by court-trained singers going out into the provinces and teaching the singers there (at the expense, of course, of the autochthonous chant of those regions).

[The rest of the model concerns melodic variants and notation]

There is nothing in this model which could not, merely by changing the location and period, be made to apply to the process of chant transmission in Britain during the seventh and early-eighth centuries. Neither Levy nor Hughes attempts to trace the history of chant back to the period preceding the Carolingian diffusion, but Hughes speculates that during this earlier period,

"the chant repertoire—or perhaps repertoires—was still in a fluid state, improvised at least in part, no doubt in ways similar to those described by Professors Treitler and Hücke. Successive generations of singers then grew increasingly hesitant about real improvisation, preferring instead to imitate more or less exactly the improvisations of their predecessors (which they would of course know by heart). These "frozen" improvisations then ultimately became the official versions of the chant.

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30For a list of the more important manuscripts containing neumed propers, see Levy 1987, 4.

31Hughes 1987, 400.

32Hughes 1987, 401.
It is obvious that while the chant was still in a state of flux, there could be no concept of an authentic or authoritative version of any individual chant, and that to attempt to restore a chant "to its original state" (in priscum statum) would be anachronistic. Given that such a restoration was one of the tasks entrusted to Maban at Hexham, it would seem reasonable to conclude that the chant tradition of Kent, to which Maban belonged, was one in which the chant melodies were already "fixed." Moreover, the fact that the monks had once known the chants in their correct form suggests that the fixing of the melodies had already occurred by the time of their earlier transmission from Kent, under Ædde and Æona.

The extracts considered so far have given the impression of a Northumbrian chant tradition dependent almost entirely on that of Kent, with no direct musical contact with Rome (even James the deacon spent twenty-four years in Kent, before going north with Paulinus in 625). However, in the case of the twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, an intimate liturgical and musical connection with Rome was established from the very beginning. This was due to the efforts of the founder, Benedict Biscop, whose achievements are recorded in no fewer than three contemporary sources: Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica and Historia Abbatum, and the anonymous Vita Sancti Ceolfridi. The relevant passages are given below in full, not only to demonstrate the great importance attached to Roman chant by the writers, but also because each account, while describing the same events, reveals a slightly different aspect of the cantor's work.
[Extract 15]
He was untiring in his efforts to see his monastery well provided for: the ornaments and images he could not find in France he sought out in Rome. Once his foundation had settled down to the ordered life of the Rule, he went off on a fourth visit to Rome, returning with a greater variety of spiritual treasures than ever before. In the first place he returned with a great mass of books of every sort. Secondly, he brought back an abundant supply of relics of the blessed apostles and christian martyrs which were to prove such a boon for many churches in the land. Thirdly, he introduced in his monastery the order of chanting and singing the psalms and conducting the liturgy according to the practice in force at Rome. To this end Pope Agatho, at Benedict’s request, offered him the services of the chief cantor of St Peter’s and abbot of the monastery of St Martin, a man called John. Benedict brought him back to Britain to be choirmaster in the monastery. John taught the monks at first hand how things were done in the churches of Rome and also committed a good part of his teaching to writing. This is still preserved in memory of him in the monastery library.  

[Extract 16]
Benedict received this Abbot John and brought him to Britain in order that he might teach the monks of his monastery the mode of chanting throughout the year as it was practised at St Peter’s in Rome. Abbot John carried out the Pope’s instructions and taught the cantors of the monastery the order and manner of singing and reading aloud and also committed to writing all things necessary for the celebration of festal days throughout the whole year; these writings have been preserved to this day in the monastery and copies have now been made by many others elsewhere. Not only did John instruct the brothers in this monastery, but all who had any skill in singing flocked in

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from almost all the monasteries in the kingdom to hear him, and he had many invitations to teach elsewhere.\textsuperscript{34}

[Extract 17]
As soon then as a basilica of exquisite workmanship had been very expeditiously erected and dedicated to the honour of St Peter the Apostle, the most reverend abbot Benedict prepared for a visit to Rome; his intention being to bring back to his country an abundance of sacred books, some sweet memorials of the relics of the blessed martyrs, a delineation of the stories in the canonical scriptures that should be well worthy of reverence, and, as on many previous occasions, other things besides, the gift of the world abroad, but above all else teachers to instruct his people according to the custom of the Roman use in the order of chanting and ministration in the church which he had recently founded.

Ceolfrid went with him on his journey, wishful to school himself more thoroughly at Rome than he could in Britain in the duties of his degree; whilst Eosterwine, a priest, and kinsman of Benedict, was left in charge of the monastery during their absence. So, God working with them, their intention was carried into effect. They acquainted themselves at Rome with many statutes of the church, and brought back with them to Britain John (of blessed memory), arch-cantor of the Roman church and abbot of St Martin’s monastery, who taught us abundantly the systematic rule of chanting, both by the living voice and by writing.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{34}Bede, \textit{HE} iv, 18. 
Acceptit et praefatum Iohannem abbatem Brittaniam perducendum, quatinus in monasterio suo cursum canendi annuum, sicut ad sanctum Petrum Romæ agebatur, edoceret; egitque abba Iohannes ut iussionem acceperat pontificis, et ordinem videlicet ritumque canendi et legendi viva voce praefati monasterii cantores edocendo, et ea quæ totius anni circulus in celebratio dieorum festorum poscebat etiam litteris mandando, quæ hactenus in eodem monasterio servata et a multis iam sunt circumquaque transacta. Non solum autem idem Iohannes ipsius monasterii fratres docebat, verum de omnibus pene eiusdem provincie monasteriis ad audiendum eum, qui cantandi erant periti, confluabant. Sed et ipsum per loca in quibus doceret multi invitare curabant.

\textsuperscript{35}Vita Sancti Ceolfridi, chapter 9.
Facta autem citissime basilica operis eximii, atque in honorem beati Petri apostoli dedicata, reverentissimus abbas Benedictus Romam ire disposit, ut librorum copiam sanctorum, reliquiarum beatorum martyrum memoriam dulcem, historiarum canonicae picturam merito venerandam, sed et alia, quæ consuerat, peregrini orbis dona, patriam referret; maxime magistros, qui iuxta ritum Romanæ institutionis ordinem cantandi et ministrandi in ea, quam nuper fundaverat ecclesia, docerent.

Vita Sancti Ceolfridi, chapter 10.
Comitatus est Ceolfridus euntem, cupiens sui gradus officium plenius Romæ, quam in Brittania poterat, ediscere; relictus vero est ad tuitionem monasterii, donec redirent, Eosterwyne presbiter et cognatus abbatis Benedicti. Cooperanti autem Domino, propositum sequitur

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These three extracts (15-17) leave the reader in no doubt as to the significance attached to Abbot John’s visit to Britain, and its effect on the musical and liturgical life of the newly-founded monastery of Wearmouth. In describing this episode, some partiality might be expected on the part of authors who were themselves monks of Wearmouth’s sister foundation of Jarrow, but equally, the mutual corroboration of their accounts, and the fact that both men must have been directly affected by John’s teaching, make them particularly reliable as historical witnesses. Once again, the special importance of chant is emphasised by the amount of detail given to the account of the arch-cantor’s visit, compared with the otherwise succinct enumerations of Biscop’s achievements.

Turning to the question of the type and provenance of the chants taught by the arch-cantor, there is in this case no room for ambiguity: the clear aim of Benedict Biscop was to reproduce at Wearmouth the liturgy and music of St Peter’s, Rome. Furthermore, the exact date of John’s visit can be determined by the fact that he was present (as Pope Agatho’s representative) at the synod of Hatfield in 680.36 This is the only recorded instance of direct liturgical contact with Rome since the arrival of Augustine’s reinforcements in 601, and although there had been other clergy sent from Rome to Britain (such as Theodore and Hadrian), Abbot John’s was the only case in which the teaching of chant was the primary purpose of the mission. It is particularly noticeable that Biscop adopted a different approach to liturgy from that which he operated with regard to other aspects of ecclesiastical life. Whereas in formulating a Rule for his monastery he had chosen all that was best from the seventeen monasteries he had visited, and in the matter of church building he had imported stone-masons and glass-makers from Gaul, when it came to liturgy and music he insisted on the pure, effectus, et ibi multa discunt æcclesiae statuta, et beate memorie Iohannem archicantorem Romanæ æcclesiae, abbatemque monasterii beati Martyri, secum Brittaniam ducunt, qui nos abundanter ordinem cantandi per ordinem et viva voce simul et litteris edocuit.

36 This detail is included in the chronological summary at the end of Historia Ecclesia (Bede, HE v, 24):
Anno DCLXXX, synodus facta in campo Hæthfeltha de fide catholica, presidente archiepiscopo Theodoro; in quo adfuit Iohannes abba Romanus.
unadulterated Roman Rite. This is in striking contrast with the attitude of Wilfrid, who although just as well travelled as Biscop (they even visited Rome together on one occasion), was content to import singing-masters, stone-masons and other craftsmen from Kent. There are several possible explanations for this serious divergence of approach. Firstly, it might be that in the third quarter of the seventh century the chant tradition of Kent was indistinguishable from that of Rome, making it a matter of indifference whether cantors were chosen from one place or the other. In this case the choice would have reflected the practicalities of the two situations: it was simply more convenient for Wilfrid to use cantors from Kent, while Biscop took up a timely offer of the services of a Roman abbot. Secondly, if the two traditions had become distinct from each other, the choice might have rested on the individual tastes of the two abbots; it is even conceivable that Biscop might have regarded the Roman liturgy as superior precisely because it originated in Rome, thereby ignoring Pope Gregory's advice to Augustine on the same subject (see Extract 2). The problem with the first of these possible explanations is that it is too casual to fit the known facts: one does not procure the services of the chief cantor of St Peter's as a matter of convenience, without a deliberate aim in mind. The second explanation can be dismissed on the grounds that it militates against what is known about Wilfrid's character and circumstances. As a young man he had been extremely keen to visit Rome, and having achieved his goal he studied there for many months under Boniface the archdeacon. If there had been major differences in liturgical chant between Rome and Kent, Wilfrid would surely have shown a preference for the Roman version.\(^\text{37}\)

In seeking to explain the divergence between Wilfrid and Biscop in providing chant for their respective monasteries of Ripon and Wearmouth, there is a third and more plausible explanation, which

\(^{37}\)On Wilfrid's first visit to Rome, see Eddius Stephanus, *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, Chapter 5. Another example of Wilfrid's enthusiasm for Roman customs was his decision, while in Kent, to learn a different version of the Psalter from that which he had previously memorized on Lindisfarne, precisely because it was the version currently in use at Rome; c.f. *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, Chapter 3.
hinges on the dates, frequency and purpose of each man’s visits to Rome. Wilfrid is reported to have visited the Apostolic See three times, the dates of these visits being 653-4, 679 and 703; Benedict Biscop made the journey to Rome on no fewer than six occasions, in 653, c.666, 669, c.671, 679-80, and 685. Given that Wilfrid brought the cantors Ædde and Æona to Ripon in 669, his only experience of Rome thus far was one extended visit made fifteen years previously. Biscop, on the other hand, had travelled to Rome five times before he invited John the arch-cantor to visit Wearmouth. On their first visit (Wilfrid and Biscop having travelled together as far as Lyons), the liturgy and music they encountered in Rome is unlikely to have changed significantly since the death of Pope Gregory fifty years previously. Of the ten popes who had reigned between 604 and 654, the only one responsible for any liturgical innovations was Deusdedit, also known as Adeodatus I (615-18), who is credited with the institution of an evening office corresponding to matins, for the secular clergy. Assuming that in the first half of the seventh century the chant tradition of Kent enjoyed a high degree of stability (made possible by the monastic life in Canterbury), it is quite likely that the visiting Northumbrians perceived no essential difference between the liturgies of Rome and Canterbury. Thus, when Wilfrid needed cantors for his monastery at Ripon he looked no further than Kent, confident that he was reproducing the chant tradition of Rome. Benedict Biscop, however, before founding his monastery at Wearmouth, made three more pilgrimages to Rome as well as spending two years as abbot of the monastery of Saints Peter and Paul (known later as Saint Augustine’s) in Canterbury. The latter might therefore have provided a convenient supply of cantors for his own foundation, had he been satisfied (as Wilfrid evidently was) that the liturgies of Kent and Rome were virtually indistinguishable from each other. Instead, having founded the monastery of Wearmouth in 674, Biscop travelled yet again to Rome with the deliberate aim of supplying his monastery with adornments which he could not find elsewhere, amongst which he evidently counted the Roman liturgy and chant.

This does not imply that the chant tradition of Canterbury had become corrupt or had departed substantially from its Gregorian origins—indeed the example of Maban demonstrates the liveliness of
the tradition well into the eighth century— but rather that between 654 and 679 (the dates of Biscop’s first and fifth visits to Rome), the Roman liturgy itself had undergone radical changes. This conclusion is supported by the fact that Biscop’s second, third and fourth visits all took place during the pontificate of Vitalian (pope from 657 to 672), who was responsible for developing the schola cantorum (the foundation of which is attributed to Gregory the Great) at the Lateran to train singers for a papal liturgy which was being elaborated under the influence of Byzantine customs.38

Before considering the methods of transmission employed in this case, it should be noted that the Roman customs which were to be planted in Northumbria by John the arch-cantor were not confined to the chant melodies alone, but consisted of the three-fold order of chanting, singing the psalms and conducting the liturgy (ordinem cantandi psallendi atque in ecclesia ministrandi) [Extract 15].

A particularly striking feature of John’s visit is the fact that he is reported to have committed his musical and liturgical instruction to writing. Although the resulting document has not survived, it is nevertheless significant as the earliest known example of a liturgical book written in Northumbria, and marks a new departure in the teaching methods adopted by cantors in Britain. Although John’s manuscript is not described in detail, a reconstruction of its contents may be attempted on the basis of circumstantial evidence provided by the three above extracts [15-17]. This evidence may be summarized as follows:

(a) the contents must have conformed with the liturgical and musical practices of Rome, c.680;

(b) the manuscript was, however, not brought by John from Rome, but was written by him at Wearmouth. There is, moreover, no evidence that he copied it from a Roman exemplar;

(c) this strongly implies that no such exemplar existed in Rome, since even if it was unique and not able to be removed, John could

38 On Vitalian’s role in the development of the papal song-school, see S.J.P. Van Dijk, "Gregory the Great, Founder of the Urban Schola cantorum." Ephemerides liturgicae 77 (1963), 345-56.
presumably have copied it before his visit to Northumbria, or arranged for a copy to be sent later;

(d) most, but not all, of John's teaching was committed to writing (sed et non paucá etiam litteris mandata reliquit) [Extract 15];

(e) the document is reported to have contained "all things necessary for the celebration of festal days throughout the year" (ea quæ totius anni circulus in celebratione dierum festorum poscebat) [Extract 16];

(f) John's original manuscript was still preserved in the library of Wearmouth and Jarrow fifty years later when Bede was writing Historia Ecclesiastica (hactenus in eodem monasterio servata), and in the intervening period had acted as an exemplar for many other copies to be used elsewhere (a multís iam sunt circumquaque transcripta) [Extract 16].

This evidence points to a document which was composite, didactic in purpose, and of a type hitherto unknown in Britain. It is even tempting to suggest that it might have contained some primitive form of chant notation (perhaps alphabetic), which would push back even the most radical current dating of chant notation by a century. It could be argued that such a suggestion is supported by the reference to John's teaching the systematic rule of chanting "both by the living voice and by writing" (et viva voce simul et litterís) [Extract 17]. However, in the absence of more concrete evidence, this notion must remain in the realm of pure speculation.

Another possibility is that the arch-cantor's manuscript was none other than the Roman Antiphoner, which Peter Wagner assumed to have been brought to Britain by Augustine. Certainly the date of 680 is not impossibly early for a texted antiphoner without notation; indeed, it is difficult to imagine how such full liturgical provision as that made by John could be enacted without such a document.

Another, more plausible theory is that the document in question was not a book containing only chants, notated or otherwise, but rather some form of liturgical directory after the manner of an ordinal. This would accord well with the arch-cantor's didactic aims, and need not rule out the possible inclusion of partial or complete chant texts.
One highly significant feature of the account of John's teaching in *Historia Ecclesiastica* is the emphasis placed on the yearly liturgical cycle, implying that the proper chants for Mass and Office throughout the year were already fixed by this date. Moreover, the two expressions used by Bede (*cursum canendi annuum* and *ea quae totius anni circulus in celebratione dierum festorum poscebat*) [Extract 16] could be interpreted as referring, in the former case, to ordinary Sundays and ferial days, and in the latter, to festal days such as Christmas, Easter and major saints' days. If *cursum canendi annuum* does indeed refer to the chants for Sundays (and possibly ferias) throughout the year, this lends added significance to the arch-cantor's liturgical mission to Northumbria, since provision of Proper chants for the ordinary or "green" Sundays after Epiphany and Pentecost is usually dated much later than 680. For example, the so-called Gregorian Sacramentary, which is a late-eighth-century conflation of the earlier Leonine Sacramentary with Frankish sources, makes no specific provision for the Sundays in question, other than a common stock of chants from which to choose ad libitum. However, 680 is not an impossibly early date for such a cycle to have been fixed; there survives from Monte Cassino a sacramentary fragment (of the "Gregorian" type), which dates from c.700. It is therefore possible that the "Dominical layer" was fixed at Rome by 680, but had not yet been written down, thus explaining the arch-cantor's need to commit his instructions to writing in Northumbria.

The following two extracts, concerning the death of Benedict Biscop and the appointment of his successor, demonstrate the practice of antiphonal psalmody at Wearmouth, and also the importance of proficiency in church music among the accomplishments of an abbot.

[Extract 18]
As it was impossible for him [Benedict Biscop] to rise from bed to pray and difficult for him even to find sufficient voice to recite the psalms in their appointed order, this prudent man, spurred on by love of his faith, had several of the brethren come to him at every hour of prayer, both day and night. Formed into two small choirs, they sang the usual psalms antiphonally, so that he could join in with them as far as he

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39 For a description of this manuscript, see "Palimpsest fragments of a Gregorian Sacramentary at Monte Cassino", *Revue Benedictine* xxvi (1909), pp.281 seq.
was able and thus fulfil with their assistance what he had not strength to accomplish alone.  

[Extract 19]
And so Hwætberht was duly elected abbot. He had been taught in that same monastery from his earliest childhood to observe the discipline of the rule and had also applied himself there to solid study of the arts of writing, chanting, reading and teaching. In the reign of Pope Sergius of blessed memory he too had hastened to Rome and had stayed there a good long while, learning, copying and bringing back with him all that he thought necessary for his studies. At the time of his election he had been a priest for twelve years.

Of all the sources under consideration, perhaps the most remarkable for its references to liturgy and chant is the anonymous *Vita Sancti Ceolfridi*, written by a monk of Jarrow shortly after Ceolfrid's death in 716. The following account of the foundation of St Paul's, Jarrow as a sister-house to Wearmouth reports the institution of "the same complete canonical method of chanting and reading" as that employed at the older monastery, then goes on to describe exactly what this entailed: to chant the psalms, to read in church, and to recite the antiphons and responsories; in other words, the complete, fully sung Divine Office.

[Extract 20]
Now eight years after they had begun to establish the aforesaid monastery, it pleased King Ecgfrid for the redemption of his soul to grant to the most reverend abbot Benedict yet another estate, of forty hides, that thereon a church and monastery in honour of St Paul might be erected; not indeed cut off from union with the older monastery, but in all respects bound thereto in brotherly concord. This work was committed

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40 Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, chapter 12.  
*Et quia nullatenus ad orandum surgere, non facile ad explendum solitæ psalmodie cursum linguam vocemue poterat leveare, didicit vir prudens, affectu religionis dictante, per singulas diurnæ sive nocturnæ orationis horas aliquos ad se fratrum vocare, quibus psalmos consuetos duobus in chorus resonantibus, et ipse cum eis quatinus poterat psallendo, quod per se solum nequiverat, eorum iuvamine suppleret.*

41 Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, chapter 18.  
*Eligitur itaque abbas Hwætberchtus qui a primis pueritiae temporibus eodem in monasterio non solum regularis observantia disciplinæ institutus, sed et scribendi, cantandi, legendi ac docendi fuerat non parva exercitatus industria. Romam quoque temporibus beatæ memoriae Sergli papa accurens, et non parvo ibidem temporis spatio demoratus, queque sibi necessaria iudicabat, didicit, descripsit, retulit; insuper et duodecim ante hæc annos presbiterii est functus officio.*
to Ceolfrid, and he carried it out with no lack of energy. For taking with him twenty-two of the brethren, ten of them tonsured and twelve yet awaiting the grace of the tonsure, he came to the place, all the buildings which the need of the monastery specially required having first been erected there, and inaugurated the identical discipline of regular observance and the same complete canonical method of chanting and reading which was maintained in the older monastery; and that at a time when by no means all the members of his company knew how to chant the psalms, much less how to read in the church, or to recite the antiphons or responsories. But what helped them was their love of religion, and the example of their zealous ruler, and his tactful persistency. For, in his desire to set deep the roots of monastic observance he was generally wont to attend the church with the brethren at all canonical hours; to refresh himself and rest when they did; that, if anything needed correction, if any lesson had to be taught to the novices, he himself might be there to accomplish it.  

[Extract 21]
Furthermore in the monastery over which Ceolfrid presided all those brethren who could read or preach or recite the antiphons and responsories were taken away [i.e. died of plague], with the exception of the abbot and one little boy, who had been reared and taught by him, and who is at this day still in the same monastery, where he holds the rank of a priest, and both by written and spoken words justly commends his teacher's praiseworthy acts to all who desire to know of them. Now he—I mean the abbot—being much distressed by reason of the aforesaid pestilence, gave command that, their former use being suspended, they should go through all the psalmody, except at vespers and matins, without antiphons. And, when this practice had been followed for the space of one week amid many tears and complaints on his own part, being unable to endure it longer he resolved once again that the

42 Vita Sancti Ceolfridi, chapter 11.
Post octo autem annos quam preæfatum monasterium statuere cœperant, placuit Ecgrvido regi, pro redemptione animæ sua, etiam aliam XL familiarum terram reverentissimo abbati Benedicto donare, in qua æcclesia et monasterium beato Paulo fieret; non quidem a prioris monasterii societate seïunctum, sed eodem in omnibus unanima fraternitate conexum. Quod opus sibi inïunctum Ceolfridus strenuosissime perfecit; namque acceptis secum XXII fratribus, decem quidem attonsis, XII vero tonsurœ adhuc gratiam expectantibus, venit ad locum, primo ibidem constructis omnibus, que maxime necessitas monasterii poscebat, domibus ipsamque regularis custodie disciplinam, eundem cantandi legendique ritum omnem canonicalum, quem in priori monasterio servabant, ibi quoque celebrandum suscipi; dum nequaque omnes, qui cum eo venerant, psalmos cantare, quanto minus legere in æcclesia, vel antifonas sive responsoria dicere nossent. Sed iuvit eos amor religionis, et studiosi rectoris exemplum atque instantia solers, qui donec altum monasterialis observantiae radicem figeret, sepius horis omnibus canonicis cum fratribus æcclesiam frequentaret, refici, et quiescere solebat; quatinus si qua corrigenda, si qua novitios essent docenda, præsens ipse perficeret.
customary order of antiphonal psalmody should be restored; and, with all endeavour, by himself and the help of the boy above mentioned, with no small effort he carried out his resolve, until a sufficient number of associates in the divine service could be trained up by himself or gathered from elsewhere.

[Extract 22]
And coming back to the monastery of St Peter, as soon as day dawned, after mass had been sung at St Peter's and at St Mary's, and those who were present had received communion, he at once with his mind resolved called all the brethren into St Peter's church, asked for their prayers on his own behalf and himself recited a prayer; then he put on incense, and holding the censer in his hand took his stand on the steps from which he had been accustomed to read, and gave the kiss of peace to very many of them, his own grief and theirs preventing him from giving it to all. He went forth censer in hand to the oratory of St Laurence the martyr, which is in the dormitory of the brethren, and they followed in his steps singing the antiphon from the prophet: Via iustorum recta facta est, et iter sanctorum preparatum est, and ambulantes de virtute in virtutum, with the addition of the sixty-sixth psalm, Deus misereatur nobis et benedicit nos: inluminet vultum suum super nos et misereatur nobis. And then, going forth with incense kindled he once more addressed them all...
When his address was ended the antiphon was resumed, and
with it the psalm above mentioned, and they passed out to the
river, leading forth their father with mournful song as one all
but lost to them; and once more he gave to each and all the
kiss of peace, their chanting again and again interrupted by
their tears, and having recited a prayer on the shore he
ascended the vessel and sat down at its prow. The deacons
seated themselves beside him, one of them holding a golden
cross which he had made, the other lighted candles. 45

...The brethren returned to the church, and prayers being
ended, they discussed what was to be done...
...now it was the Thursday before Whitsunday, and it was
resolved that the fast should be observed on the following day
and night, and that on the Saturday they should refresh
themselves at the ninth hour only, because by reason of the
vigil preceding the Sunday's solemnities they could no further
prolong their fasting; they also arranged that at the usual
canonical hours of prayer the number of their psalms should be
in no slight degree augmented. 46

The antiphon Via iustorum recta facta est, et iter sanctorum
preparatum est, which is mentioned in chapter 25 of the Life of
Ceolfrid [Extract 22 above], is described as "the antiphon from the
prophet", since its text is taken from the book of Isaiah, chapter 26,
verse 7. The text of this antiphon does not agree with St Jerome's
translation of the Bible (commonly known as the Vulgate), in which
the verse in question reads: Semita iusti recta est, rectus callis iusti
ad ambulandum. This lack of agreement is somewhat surprising, given
that the Vulgate is known to have been in use at Jarrow and
Wearmouth by the time of Ceolfrid's resignation of his abbacy in

nobis, et benedicat nos, inluminet vultum suum super nos, et
misereatur nobis." Et ibi incenso thure exiens, rursum adloquitur
omnes...

45 Vita Sancti Ceolfridi, chapter 26.
...Completa allocutione, rursus adsumpta antiphona cum psalmo
memorato egrediuntur ad fluvium, lugubre carmine patrem utpote iam
decessurum deducentes, itidemque singulis osculum pacis dat,
intercepto sepius cantu prae lacrimis, et dicta in litore oratione,
ascendit naves, resedit in prora, sederunt iuxta diacones, unus
crucem, quam fecerat, auream, alter caeres tenens ardentem.

46 Vita Sancti Ceolfridi, chapter 28.
...Reversi ad secclesiam fratres completa oratione consilium ineunt quid
faciant...
...erat autem quinta feria ante dominicam Pentecosten, visum est
sequentia die ac nocte leundum, et sabbato tantum ad nonam horam
reficiendum, quia propter vigilias Dominicæ sollemnitatis nequibant
ultra Protelearie ieiuniun; sed et psalmos non paucos per congruas
canonical e orationis horas augendos...

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The most likely explanation for the discrepancy is that the text of the antiphon Via iustorum had become fixed by association with a particular melody at a time when an earlier translation of the Bible was in use. This explanation argues against the idea of an improvised chant tradition at Jarrow and Wearmouth; if the melody of an antiphon was newly improvised for each performance, there would be no reason to perpetuate an archaic version of a biblical text.

Just as the antiphon Via iustorum does not conform with the Vulgate reading, so the sixty-sixth psalm, with which it is linked (in Extract 22), differs from the translation found in the Gallican Psalter. The two readings of the first verse are as follows:

Deus misereatur nobis, et benedicat nos, inluminet vultum suum super nos, et misereatur nobis. (Life of Ceolfrid);
Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat nobis: illuminet vultum suum super nos, et misereatur nostri. (Gallican Psalter).

The reason for this survival of an archaic translation of a psalm is less obvious than in the case of the antiphon previously mentioned. Whereas an antiphon text might become "fixed" by association with its particular melody, the simple melodic formulae used for psalmic recitation could easily be transferred from one translation of the Psalter to another. Of course, in a narrative such as the Life of Ceolfrid, the version used in quoting a psalm is as likely to reflect the usage of the narrator as that of the monastery being described. In this case, however, it is almost certain that the anonymous author was a member of the community which is the subject of his writing, and that the Life was written soon after Ceolfrid's death. Can it therefore be assumed that the Gallican Psalter was not in common use in Northumbria in the early eighth century?

In order to attempt an answer to this question, it will be useful to examine other sources from the same period. There is one such source which, as well as being contemporaneous with the Life of Ceolfrid, was also written at Ceolfrid's own monastery of Jarrow. This

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47 Chapter 20 in the Life of Ceolfrid reports that during his abbacy Ceolfrid caused three pandects (complete Bibles in one volume) to be transcribed; one each for Jarrow and Wearmouth, and one as a gift to the Pope. This latter has since been identified with the Codex Amiatinus in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, and is the earliest complete surviving example of the Vulgate.
is Bede’s *Prose Life of St Cuthbert*, and the relevant passage describes the events immediately following Cuthbert’s death:

[Extract 23]
I immediately went out and announced his death to the brethren who had passed the night in watching and prayers, and they were by chance, according to the order of matins, [Colgrave wrongly translates as lauds] singing the fifty-ninth Psalm, which begins, *Deus reppulisti nos et destruxisti nos, iratus es, et misertus es nobis.* Without delay one of them ran out and lit two torches: and holding one in each hand, he went on to some higher ground to show the brethren who were in the Lindisfarne monastery that his holy soul had gone to be with the Lord: for this was the sign they had agreed upon amongst themselves to notify his most holy death. When the brother had seen it, who had been keeping watch and awaiting the hour of this event far away in the watch-tower of the island of Lindisfarne opposite, he quickly ran to the church where the whole assembly of the brethren were gathered together celebrating the office of the nightly psalm-singing; and it happened that they also, when he entered, were singing the above-mentioned psalm.

Given the similarity of the circumstances under which the two vitae were written, it might be expected that both authors would quote from the same translation of the Psalter. In fact, the beginning of Psalm 59 quoted by Bede in the above extract is taken from the Gallican version, so it is still not clear which version was in use at Jarrow and Wearmouth.

Another contemporary Northumbrian *vita* is that of St Wilfrid, written by Eddius Stephanus in about 720. In chapter 2 it is stated that Wilfrid, while living with the monastic community of Lindisfarne,

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48Bede, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* (Prose Life), chapter 40.

*At ego statim egressus nuntiavi obitum eius fratribus, qui et ipsi noctem vigilando atque orando transegerant, et tunc forte sub ordinarum nocturnarum laudis dicebant psalmum quinquagesimum nonum cuius initium est, "Deus reppulisti nos et destruxisti nos, iratus es, et misertus es nobis." Nec mora currente unus ex eis accusavit duas candelas, et utraque tenens manu ascendit eminentiorem locum ad ostendendum fratribus qui in Lindisfarneensi monasterio maneabant, quia sancta illa anima iam migrasset ad Dominum. Tale namque inter se signum sanctissimi eius obitus condixerant. Quod cum videret frater qui in specula Lindisfarnensi insulae longe de contra eventus eiusdem pervigil expectaverat horam, cucurrerit citius ad ecclesiæ ubi collectus omnis fratum coetus nocturnæ psalmodes solennia celebrabat. Contigitque ut ipsi quoque intrante illo praefatum canerent psalmum.*
"learned the whole Psalter by heart as well as several books."

In the following chapter, which describes Wilfrid's sojourn in Kent before setting out for Rome, there is a more detailed mention of the Psalms:

Now the Psalms which he had first of all read in Jerome's revision he committed to memory from the fifth edition, after the Roman use.

From this it is clear that the Gallican Psalter (referred to here as "Jerome's revision") was the version used on Lindisfarne; but that Wilfrid later learned the Roman version. The use of the word "quintam" to describe this edition is erroneous, since there was no fifth edition at this date; Colgrave (p.152) suggests that it is a scribal error for "antiquam". From the late fourth century onwards, there was widespread acceptance of St Jerome's second translation of the Psalter, known as the Gallican because of its rapid penetration into Gaul. However, Rome itself and the church throughout most of Italy continued to use Jerome's first translation of the Psalter, which was a very cursory revision of the Vetus Itala of c.250, the oldest Latin translation of the Psalter. This first translation of Jerome's came to be known as the Roman Psalter, and from it is taken the first verse of Psalm 66, quoted in the Vita Sancti Ceolfridi.

The Roman Psalter is, therefore, the most likely version to have been in use at Jarrow at the time of Ceolfrid's departure, and when the vita was written down. In this case, it may have been for the sake of historical accuracy that Bede quoted the Lindisfarne monks as using the Gallican version of Psalm 59; he is, indeed, quoting the story in the words of an eye-witness, Herefrith. In conclusion, however, a note of caution should be added. The best-known liturgical survival of a text from the Roman Psalter is the Invitatory (Psalm 94) at Matins; it continued to be sung in this version even in churches which adopted the Gallican Psalter for all of its common psalmody. Since Psalm 66 fulfilled a similar function at Lauds in the

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50 Eddius Stephanus, The Life of Bishop Wilfrid, chapter 3. *Psalmos namque, quos prius secundum Hieronymi emendatione legerat, more Romanorum iuxta quintam editionem memorialiter transmetuit.*
monastic rite as that of Psalm 94 at Matins (i.e., it was invariably sung every day at the beginning of this Office, regardless of the particular day of the week or feast-day), it may likewise have survived in its Roman version even where the rest of the psalmody was sung according to the Gallican Psalter.
CHAPTER TWO
FROM THE DEATH OF CUTHBERT TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST: THE
DECLINE OF NORTHUMBRIAN MONASTICISM

Behold the church of St Cuthbert spattered with the blood of the priests of God, despoiled of all its ornaments; a place more venerable than all in Britain is given as prey to the pagan peoples. And where, after the coming of St Paulinus to York, the Christian religion took its first beginning among our people, there the reign of misery and calamity begins.  

Thus Alcuin described the Viking raid on Lindisfarne in 793. It marked the beginning of a wave of attacks which continued throughout the ninth century and for the first half of the tenth. The Danish invaders eventually adopted Christianity and settled peacefully in Britain, but not before the Northumbrian church had taken a terrible toll of devastation with the sacking and plundering of many churches and monasteries, especially those in exposed places such as Lindisfarne, Jarrow and Wearmouth. Nevertheless, ecclesiastical life was not entirely obliterated, but rather was subject to a slow decline from its former splendour.

In order to identify what liturgy, if any, survived during this period of decline, it will be convenient to outline the history of some of the major Northumbrian institutions from the early eighth century until the Conquest. Inevitably such a history is fraught with obscurities and omissions, caused by the scarcity of source material and the absence of a contemporary chronicler such as Bede. Nevertheless, by an examination of internal evidence provided by surviving books from this period, supplemented by later historical accounts, it is possible to build up a reasonably coherent narrative. The institution with which we are most concerned is the monastery of Lindisfarne, together with its later manifestations at Chester-le-Street and Durham. In addition, it will be necessary to trace the development and survival of the cults of Northumbrian saints during this period.

Our knowledge of the Lindisfarne community at this period is based on two main sets of sources. The first of these is a group of manuscripts, mostly liturgical or quasi-liturgical books, which originated in the Lindisfarne scriptorium, or were acquired elsewhere for use by the community. The second is a group of histories and saints’ lives, some of which are contemporary, but most of which were compiled much later using local sources, both written and oral.

The primary sources are as follows. Firstly, a group of three Gospel-books dating from about the year 700 and almost certainly written in the Lindisfarne scriptorium: The Lindisfarne Gospels (British Library, Cotton MS Nero D.iv); The Durham Gospels (Durham Cathedral Library MS A.II.17); and The Echternach Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat.9389). Next is the Lindisfarne Liber Vitæ (British Library, Cotton MS Domitian A.vii) which is not the original one kept at Lindisfarne, but a copy dating from the mid-ninth century. Finally, from the early tenth century there survive two books acquired by the community during its sojourn at Chester-le-Street: King Athelstan’s Book (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183) which contains the Life of St Cuthbert and a Mass and Office in his honour; and the so-called Durham Ritual (Durham Cathedral Library MS A.IV.19), a copy made in Wessex of a southern-French Collectar which was brought to Chester-le-Street c.970 by Aldred, who at that time was provost of the community.

The earliest of the secondary sources are three Lives of St Cuthbert dating from shortly after his death – one by an anonymous monk of Lindisfarne, and the other two (one in prose, the other metrical) by Bede; next is a Latin poem known as De Abbatibus, which was written at the end of the eighth century by Ethelwulf, a monk of an unknown cell of Lindisfarne; and finally, a group of chronicles dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, headed by Symeon’s Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae and Historia Regum, supplemented by contemporary episcopal charters from Durham.
The death of St Cuthbert on 20 March, 687 marked the beginning of a cult which was to continue almost uninterrupted for the next 850 years until Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries and despoiled the shrines of England. The community responsible for guarding the relics of St Cuthbert and fostering the cult through the centuries originated in St Cuthbert’s own monastery of Lindisfarne, founded in 635 by St Oswald, with St Aidan as its first abbot and bishop. For the first few years after Cuthbert’s death there was probably no proper liturgical material for the saint, but it is almost certain that the annual commemoration of his death would have been observed with a night vigil culminating in Mass in the morning; there are accounts of such yearly observances in the cases of St Oswald at Hexham and St Wilfrid at Ripon. During this period there was a steady increase of miracles of healing associated with prayers at Cuthbert’s tomb, until in 698 it was decided to elevate the corpse to a position of greater prominence at the high altar. (This act of elevation, or translation, was the equivalent of canonisation before the process was abrogated to the papacy in the twelfth century.) Several important events are associated with this first translation. Firstly, a new lead roof was added to the wooden monastic church of Lindisfarne, and a carved oak chest (the remains of which may still be seen in the treasury of Durham Cathedral) was constructed to contain the relics. Secondly, the Lindisfarne Gospels were written at this time by Eadfrith, a monk of the community who became bishop shortly after the translation, and another Gospel book (the Echternach Gospels) was prepared, probably as a gift to St Willibrord, whose new monastery at Echternach was established in 698.

The history of the Lindisfarne Gospels is unusually well documented, thanks largely to an Anglo-Saxon colophon added when the book was at Chester-le-Street in the middle of the tenth century:

Eadfrith, bishop of the Lindisfarne Church, originally wrote this book, for God and for Saint Cuthbert and - jointly - for all the saints whose relics are in the island. And Ethelwald, Bishop of the Lindisfarne islanders, impressed it on the outside and

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2Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, Book 3, chapter 2
3Eddius Stephanus, Life of Bishop Wilfrid, p. 35.

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covered it - as he well knew how to do. And Billfrith, the anchorite, forged the ornaments which are on it on the outside and adorned it with gold and with gems and also with gilded-over silver - pure metal. And Aldred, unworthy and most miserable priest, glossed it in English between the lines with the help of God and Saint Cuthbert...

This book, which is justly famous for its exquisite manuscript painting, may properly be described as a liturgical book. Its extremely high standard of craftsmanship and decoration show that it was not intended merely as a library copy, but for ceremonial use at the altar. This is confirmed by the fact that at the beginning of each of the four Gospels appears a capitula lectionum, which is a list of passages to be read during the liturgy, and also a list of festivals on which such passages should be read.

These lists of festivals unfortunately reveal little or nothing about the liturgical kalendar kept at Lindisfarne, since they were evidently copied directly from Eadfrith's exemplar, but are nevertheless valuable because of the information they impart concerning the provenance of the exemplar, which in turn demonstrates one of the sources of liturgical influence on Lindisfarne.

Of the festivals included in these lists, many were universally observed, such as those of Christ and the apostles, but in the list preceding St Matthew's Gospel are references to the dedication of a basilica of St Stephen, and to a feast of St Januarius, whose name also appears in the list preceding St John's Gospel. These two festivals, taken in conjunction, point unequivocally to Naples, whose cathedral is dedicated to St Stephen, and where the relics of St Januarius were enshrined from the fifth century onwards. It remains to be explained how the monastery of Lindisfarne came to be in possession of a southern Italian Gospel-book, and whether it was acquired directly or through an intermediate channel.

It is not in itself surprising that the exemplar of the Lindisfarne Gospels should be Mediterranean, given the close contacts between Rome and Northumbria described in the preceding chapter. Lindisfarne was however a Celtic monastery in origin, and even after

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the Synod of Whitby's decision in favour of Roman customs in 664, and the resulting departure of Colman with all the Irish, and some English monks, it may be presumed that Celtic influence was not entirely eradicated. Indeed, the Lindisfarne Gospels were once thought to be related by filiation to similar Irish manuscripts, such as the Book of Durrow and the Book of Kells. More recent study of the Latin text of the Irish and Northumbrian books suggests that the latter slightly antedate the former, and that the principal influence is Mediterranean. However, in the absence of any documentary evidence of direct contact between Lindisfarne and southern Italy, there are two equally-likely local intermediaries.

The first is St Wilfrid, who succeeded Cuthbert as bishop of Lindisfarne in 687, and is known to have favoured Roman rather than Celtic liturgical practices. The idea that he might have presented the monastery at Lindisfarne with an illuminated Gospel-book of continental origin is not entirely speculative, since in the 670's Wilfrid had provided just such a book for his monastery at Ripon, as described by Eddius Stephanus:

[He] provided for the adornment of the house of God a marvel of beauty hitherto unheard of in our times. For he had ordered, for the good of his soul, the four gospels to be written out in letters of purest gold on purpled parchment and illuminated. He also ordered jewellers to construct for the books a case made of purest gold set with most precious gems... all these things and others besides are preserved in our church until these times.

The monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow provide the other likely source for the Lindisfarne exemplar, and here the evidence is more concrete, since a Gospel-book from the Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium, known as the Stoneyhurst (or St Cuthbert) Gospel of St John, is known to have been given to the Lindisfarne community, as it accompanied the relics of St Cuthbert on their subsequent travels, and was still in the coffin at the time of the translation to the new shrine at Durham in 1104. The text of the Lindisfarne Gospels is that of the Vulgate, and it was almost certainly Benedict Biscop, abbot of Wearmouth, who introduced the Vulgate to Northumbria. (The best surviving Vulgate text in the world is that of the Codex Amiatinus.  

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5 Backhouse, The Lindisfarne Gospels, p.36.
6 Eddius Stephanus, Life of Bishop Wilfrid, pp. 36-7.
7 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Amatinus I
copied at Wearmouth-Jarrow as a gift for the Pope.) Another manuscript which may have come to Lindisfarne from Wearmouth-Jarrow is the eighth-century copy of the Commentary on the Psalms by Cassiodorus Senator. Its decoration (including two full-page frontispieces of King David as musician and warrior) shows the same Italo-Byzantine influence as that of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

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Two other Gospel-books attributed to the Lindisfarne scriptorium each provide important evidence of routes of liturgical influence. These are the Durham Gospels and the Echternach Gospels, and are closely linked to each other by having been produced by the same scribe. They are roughly contemporary with the Lindisfarne Gospels, and the Durham Gospels has corrections made by a scribe who has been identified as the one who made similar corrections to the Lindisfarne Gospels, as well as providing the rubrics. The Durham Gospels, though now incomplete and badly worn, was evidently intended for liturgical use, and other similarities with the Lindisfarne Gospels include the use of a fine insular majuscule script and magnificent illuminations, notably the initial page of St John's Gospel and a miniature at the end of St Matthew. (It may originally have included decorated carpet pages and evangelist symbols, as well as further initial pages and miniatures.) Like the Lindisfarne Gospels, it shared the later wanderings with the relics of St Cuthbert, and shows evidence of having been used liturgically at Chester-le-Street in the tenth century, in the form of musical notation added to part of St Luke's Gospel. (This will be discussed later in the present chapter.) From the relative states of preservation of the two books, it is tempting to speculate that the Durham Gospels may have been intended for the every-day liturgical use of the Lindisfarne community, while the Lindisfarne Gospels were reserved for the most solemn festivals, such as that of St Cuthbert.

The attribution of the Echternach Gospels to the Lindisfarne scriptorium, and the identification of its scribe as that of the Durham Gospels have only recently been accepted. It was once thought to be of Irish origin, due mainly to the resemblance of some of its

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9 See Backhouse, The Lindisfarne Gospels, p.38.
decoration to that of the Book of Durrow (Dublin, Trinity College MS A.4.5(57)), but indeed the Irish origin of this manuscript itself has been questioned, with Northumbria or Iona suggested as possible places of origin. The fact that the monastery of Echternach certainly possessed the Gospels of that name in the fifteenth century, and probably for many centuries earlier, led some scholars to assume that it had been produced by that monastery's own scriptorium, but the identification of the scribe as that of the Durham Gospels seems to rule this out. The most convincing argument, and the one now generally accepted, is that the Gospel-book was written at Lindisfarne in the last years of the seventh century or early in the eighth, as a fraternal gift to St Willibrord, who was himself a Northumbrian, in honour of some special occasion, such as the elevation of St Cuthbert's relics, or the dedication of Willibrord's monastery at Echternach or cathedral at Utrecht. If this is true it amplifies existing evidence of direct liturgical contact between Northumbria and Frisia. However, this is not the only route of influence revealed by the Echternach Gospels. A colophon copied from the exemplar states that its text had been corrected using a Vulgate manuscript which had once been in the possession of St Jerome. This demonstrates another direct link between Rome and Northumbria, with Benedict Biscop, Ceolfrith or Wilfrid again being the most likely intermediaries. Furthermore, the desire to obtain the best textual exemplars having the closest links with the apostolic age has an obvious counterpart in the musical policy of the Northumbrian abbots discussed in the previous chapter.

So far this discussion has centered on Gospel-books which, despite their function as liturgical books, generally contain little of a localised liturgical nature. It should not be assumed, however, that Gospels were the only books brought from Italy to Northumbria and thence to Frisia. The survival of such early Gospel texts may be largely due to their extremely impressive illumination, and the enduring nature of the text itself: a good Vulgate Gospel could be used for almost any Latin liturgy until the present day (at least in theory), whereas most other types of liturgical books (sacramentaries,

11 cf. Peter Clemoes, The Cult of St Oswald on the Continent. (Jarrow, 1986)
antiphoners, etc.) eventually became obsolete with the introduction of new feasts, the elaboration or simplification of ceremonies, or the composition of new chants. Another possible reason for the relatively good survival of Gospels in Britain is that, being of a purely scriptural nature, they stood a lesser risk of falling prey to the iconoclastic ravages of the Reformation.

There is no direct evidence of liturgical books other than Gospels being sent from Northumbria to the German missions, but the twin monasteries of Tegernsee and Ilmmunster in Bavaria are known to have possessed a Northumbrian kalendar of the mid-eighth century, which may once have belonged to a sacramentary. The grounds for such an assertion are that the liturgy for the patrons of these Bavarian monasteries drew upon the characteristic mass collects for both St Cuthbert and St Oswald, which (at least in the case of St Cuthbert) were almost certainly formulated at Lindisfarne shortly after St Cuthbert's death.

In terms of direct liturgical influence on other British monasteries there is little trace, due to the dearth of surviving insular books from this period, but another German book seems to point to an early diffusion in Wessex of liturgy for St Cuthbert. In 744 the monastery of Fulda was founded by St Boniface, a native of Wessex who had previously assisted St Willibrord in the evangelisation of Frisia. In the earliest surviving sacramentary of Fulda (dating from the tenth century) is found the whole of the early form of the Mass of St Cuthbert (Collect, Secret, Postcommunion, Preface and Super Populum), and the most likely agent to have brought this Mass to Fulda is Boniface himself, who is known to have ordered manuscripts from Wessex for use in his mission; one such book was a copy of the Epistle of St Peter written in letters of gold, which he ordered from the abbey of Minster-in-Thanet in 735/6. An alternative explanation for the presence of St Cuthbert's Mass in the sacramentary of Fulda is that St Boniface found it already in use in St Willibrord's monastery of Echternach, with which Boniface

12cf. Hohler, *The Durham Services in Honour of St Cuthbert*, p.158. The kalendar in question (which Hohler does not identify) is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 10837 (see Gneuss, "Preliminary list of MSS").

13Printed as *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X*, edited by G. Richter & A. Schonfelder (Fulda, 1912).
maintained close contact throughout his life. If this were true it would weaken the case for the early diffusion of Cuthbertian liturgy in Wessex, but reinforce the case already presented for contacts between Northumbria and Frisia. In any case, the relatively late date of the sacramentary of Fulda should not be seen as an insuperable obstacle to placing the date of transmission in the eighth century: the early date is supported by a further piece of circumstantial evidence, in the form of a chapel in the crypt at Fulda which was dedicated to St Cuthbert when the magnificent Romanesque church was consecrated in 819, suggesting that the cult of St Cuthbert at Fulda was already well established at that time.

The next well-documented occurrence in the history of Lindisfarne was the first Danish invasion of 793, and Alcuin's graphic description of this event is quoted at the beginning of the present chapter. The raid must have had a profoundly unsettling effect on the Lindisfarne community, bringing the realisation that their island site, whilst affording them a welcome degree of seclusion from the mainland, rendered them doubly vulnerable to attack from the sea. On a spiritual level too, it must have been enormously tempting for the monks to interpret such a disaster as a manifestation of the wrath of God, in punishment of real or imagined corruption or laxity in their monastic observance.

Whether the despoiling of ornaments to which Alcuin refers included the destruction of liturgical books we cannot tell, but at least the Gospel-books have survived as witnesses to the skill of earlier Lindisfarne scribes. There is certainly an almost total lack of surviving books from ninth-century Northumbria, but whether this should be attributed to the massive destruction of books incurred in this and subsequent Viking raids, or a virtual cessation of scribal activity, is open to question. Nevertheless, one book, which might be described as being of a "quasi-liturgical" nature, amply demonstrates that the Lindisfarne scriptorium did not immediately cease to function, and that the scribal and decorative skills of previous generations were not entirely eradicated.

The manuscript in question is the Liber Vitae of Lindisfarne\textsuperscript{14}, a ninth-century copy of an earlier book which is itself well

\textsuperscript{14}British Library, Cotton MS Domitian A.vii.
documented. When Eadfrith asked Bede to compose the Prose Life of St Cuthbert in the early eighth century, he promised in return that Bede's name should be inscribed in the *Liber Vitae* by the sacrist, Guthfrith. The basic purpose of this type of book was to record the names of friends and benefactors of a particular institution, but it also had a ceremonial function. Originally, the names inscribed in the *Liber Vitae* would be read out during the Canon of the Mass, at the *memento* of the living or the dead, whichever was appropriate (Bede records an example of a name of a man recently deceased being added to the list of names read out during Mass). In the course of time, the proliferation of names rendered impracticable their individual mention, so instead the book was placed on the altar during the celebration of Mass. (This has a more recent counterpart in the practice of placing on the altar the names of deceased relatives and benefactors during Mass on All Souls' Day, when the number would be too great to mention individually during the Canon.) Although the original book kept by Guthfrith has not survived, a copy made at Lindisfarne in the middle of the ninth century is the sole surviving witness to the activity of the Lindisfarne scriptorium at that time. The reason for having the copy made is not known: perhaps the original was damaged during a Viking raid or was too small to accommodate the growing list of names, but whatever the reason, the result was a splendid book written in letters of gold and silver, and a worthy descendant of the Lindisfarne Gospels. Its usefulness to the historian is obvious, in that it enables him to name the early members of the Lindisfarne community, to trace the line of episcopal succession, and to identify fraternal links with other monasteries. One such link which is significant for the present discussion is that between Lindisfarne and Wearmouth-Jarrow: as well as Bede's name (folio 18v), the names of Benedict Biscop (f.17) and Ceolfrith (f.15v) are also included. Another function of the *Liber Vitae* is that it enables the historian to check the veracity of statements made in later sources concerning members of the early community. For instance, when Aldred states in his colophon to the Lindisfarne Gospels that the book was written by Bishop Eadfrith, bound by Bishop Ethelwald and ornamented by Billfrith the Anchorite, it is possible to check these names against the appropriate lists in the
Liber Vitae. The three names do indeed appear in their correct categories, and although this does not prove beyond doubt that Aldred's statement is true (Durham Cathedral Priory later produced a plethora of forged documents which preserved a high degree of historical accuracy), it does at least increase the likelihood of its veracity.

The next source to be considered is a secondary one, Ethelwulf's poem De Abbatibus. The date at which the poem was written is indicated by its apparent dedication to Egbert, who was bishop of Lindisfarne from 803 to 821. Although it concerns an unspecified cell of Lindisfarne (the abbots mentioned in the poem- Eanmund, Eorpwine, Aldwine, Sigbald, Sigwine & Wulfwig- do not correspond to any of the abbots listed in the Liber Vitae) it may be assumed that its liturgical practices would closely reflect those of the mother house. The poem states that during the reign of King Osred (705-716), Eanmund, a Northumbrian monastic founder who had already gathered around him a sizeable number of monks, consulted Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne (and scribe of the Lindisfarne Gospels) about the composition of a rule and instruction of his monks. Eadfrith sent him a priest of his own community to carry out these tasks, which is one reason for assuming uniformity of practice between the two monasteries. The poem's chief relevance to the present chapter lies in its reference to the building of a Lady Chapel, and to the introduction of new Marian festivals; also its mention of sung mass and matins.

Having described how Eanmund obtained assistance from Lindisfarne in composing a Rule and instructing the monks, the poem goes on to tell the story of the construction of the church, dedicated to St Peter (as indeed was the church at Lindisfarne). There is

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15 Thomas Arnold, editor of the poem for the Rolls Series under the title Carmen Edelwulfi, makes out a persuasive case that the cell concerned is that of Crayke, north of York. He uses internal evidence from the poem itself, the main argument being that a reference to the clerus in urbe (chapter xv, line 33) indicates the secular canons of nearby York Minster. (Symeonis Monachi Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols. (London, 1882), vol. 1, pp. xxxii-xxxix. [hereafter Symeon]
evidence of a devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the description of the interior decoration of the church:

On the right the Virgin and mother of the Ruler is seen to stand and at the Divine command supports the heavens and the earth.  

Ethelwulf later describes the building of a magnificent Lady Chapel by the fourth abbot, Sigbald (who died in 771), and states that on festivals of the Blessed Virgin, Sigbald used to sing Mass in this chapel. Four such festivals are described in the poem, but not without a certain ambiguity as to which are meant:

Whenever he kept a holy day in which the Virgin Mary merited to enter, flying, into the high heavens,
Or when she was made mother of the redeemer of the world,
Or when she gave birth to the joys of the most beautiful life,
Or when she merited to bring forth the high-throned thunderer...

Three scholars who have most recently examined this text have reached different conclusions concerning the Marian feasts in question. A. Campbell, who edited the poem in 1967, considered the feasts to be the Assumption, the Nativity of Mary, the Annunciation and the Nativity of Christ. Henry Mayr-Harting in 1972 interpreted them as the Assumption, the Nativity of Mary, the Purification and the Annunciation. Finally, Mary Clayton disagreed with both, offering the suggestion of the Assumption, the Nativity of Mary, the Sunday before Christmas (feast of the divine maternity), and the Annunciation. The most likely reading seems to be Clayton's, since none of the descriptions seems to fit that of the Purification, and Christmas was never considered to be a feast of Mary. In this case it demonstrates that the feasts which had reached Rome from the East

16 A dextris Virgo et genitrix adstare videtur
17 sanctam cumque diem sacravit virgo Maria,
qua volitans cælos meruit penetrare per altos,
vel qua presenti generata redditur orbi,
vel qua prepulchrae susceptat gaudia vitae,
vel qua celis thronum meruit generare tonantem.
in the middle of the seventh century were known in Northumbria in the later eighth century. It is perhaps surprising, however, that Ethelwulf suggests that these feasts had been hitherto unknown in his monastery, and thus by implication in Lindisfarne too. The relevant passage says that Sigbald "pressed the monks gently with prayers to celebrate solemn festivals for joyfully honouring the pious mother". This may mean that the contact with Italy which Lindisfarne undoubtedly had (albeit through the medium of Wearmouth-Jarrow), may have reflected a stage of the Roman liturgy before the introduction of these Marian feasts (though Bede seems to have been aware of them earlier in the seventh century); or simply that they were unknown at Lindisfarne at the time when Eanmund founded his cell. An alternative interpretation of this passage in *De Abbatibus* is that the feasts were previously known to Sigbald's community, but that he had acquired books which actually made liturgical provision for them.

Not long after the monks of Lindisfarne had returned to the island to rebuild their monastery following the Viking raid of 793, they were again forced to flee to the mainland by the threat of further attacks. This time, Ecgred the bishop took the decisive step of taking with them their most treasured relics, amongst which the body of St Cuthbert was the most important. This first flight from Lindisfarne was largely ignored by the later Durham chroniclers (notably Symeon of Durham), but despite its temporary nature, it included at least one significant element. This was a translation of the relics of St Cuthbert to Norham on 4 September, 830, and it seems that from this time onwards, a new feast of translation was kept on 4 September. Moreover, this was the date chosen for subsequent, more important translations of the relics (culminating in the solemn translation to the shrine in the Durham Cathedral Priory in 1104). It is worth noting that despite its being ignored by Symeon, this episode was evidently known to the author of a forged diploma of Bishop William of St Calais concerning the foundation and endowment of the monastery of Durham, which otherwise follows Symeon very closely. The relevant passage is as follows:
After this episode the monks again returned to Lindisfarne, but it was not long before the next wave of sacking and pillaging began. This time the Danish victories were more decisive, and one by one the kingdoms of England fell under their power: York in 867, East Anglia in 870, Wessex in 871, and finally Northumbria in 873. By the year 875, every church in Bernicia had been pillaged by the invaders, and rather than remaining to face such an attack, the monks of Lindisfarne under their bishop Eardwulf once more took flight with the body of St Cuthbert. For the next eight years their wanderings took them as far as Whithorn, Huddom and Melrose in the north, and Crayke in the south. At one stage there was even a plan to flee to Ireland, but this was frustrated by storms (and by divine intervention according to Symeon’s account). Finally, in 883 Eardwulf established his see at Chester-le-Street (Kuncacester), where it was to remain until 995. This settlement at Chester-le-Street marked a period of relative stability amid the turbulence of the political situation. The Danes were beginning to adopt Anglo-Saxon customs, including Christianity in some cases: King Alfred in 878 had driven the Danes from Wessex (an achievement which he attributed to the powerful intercession of St Cuthbert), and led Guthrum their leader to baptism. In Northumbria, the Danish leader Halfdan, who had been responsible for plundering all the churches, was succeeded by Guthred, who actually granted lands between the Tyne and Wear to the community of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street.

When the remnant of the monastic community of Lindisfarne fled with the relics of St Cuthbert and other Northumbrian saints, as well as perpetuating the cult of these saints, they also preserved the line of episcopal succession from Lindisfarne, thus enabling later bishops of Durham to claim direct descent from St Aidan. One inevitable result of many years of nomadic wandering with the relics was that conventual monastic life gradually disappeared, since one of its essential requirements is stability of place. However, there is a remarkable piece of evidence which suggests that the Community of

St Cuthbert preserved intact the monastic *cursus* of psalmody. The evidence in question is found in Symeon of Durham's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, and is all the more reliable because Symeon seems to have had a vested interest in denigrating the Community of St Cuthbert by stressing their un-monastic way of life, in order to justify their enforced removal in 1083 to be replaced by Benedictine monks. The relevant passage is as follows:

They were called clerics, but neither in habit nor in conversation did they lay claim to the clerical state. In singing the hours they held to the order of psalms instituted according to the Rule of St Benedict, observing in this alone the paternal tradition transmitted to them from the first by the institutions of monks.22

Following the reign of Alfred the Great, the kingdom of Wessex was in the ascendant, and in 927 King Athelstan came north to Penrith to obtain acknowledgement of his overlordship from the kings of Scotland and Strathclyde, and from the Lord of Bamburgh, exacting from them also a promise to eradicate idolatry. When in 934 it became necessary for Athelstan to return in order to quell a Scottish uprising, he visited the Community of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, and made rich offerings at the shrine. The original document recording these gifts is not extant, but they were listed in detail by a twelfth-century Durham chronicler who must have had access to the original:

[Athelstan's gifts to St Cuthbert]
In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, I, Athelstan the king, give to St Cuthbert this text of the Gospels, two chasubles, and one alb, and one stole, with a maniple, and one girdle, and three altar cloths, and one silver chalice, and two pattens, one gilded, the other wrought with Greek work, and one silver thurible, and one cross skilfully wrought in gold and ivory, and one skull-cap woven with gold, and two tablets made of gold and silver, and two silver candelabra, gilded, and one missal, and two texts of the Gospels decorated with gold and silver, and one Life of St Cuthbert, written in verse and in prose, and seven palls, and three basins, and three tapestries, and two cups covered with silver, and four great bells, and three horns, wrought of gold and silver, and two banners, and one lance, and two gold

bracelets, and my beloved town of South Wearmouth with its appurtenances...etc.  

This list is of great interest for several reasons. Firstly it gives a detailed picture of the books, vestments and altar furniture associated with the celebration of Mass in the early tenth century. Secondly it provides concrete evidence for the migration of liturgical books from Wessex to Northumbria. Finally, the present-day survival of some of the articles listed not only reinforces the authenticity of the list, but also, by an examination of their later history, proves that the articles were actually used by the community to whom they were given.

The fact that King Athelstan’s gifts were almost all associated directly or indirectly with the celebration of Mass might be taken to imply that the liturgical provision before this time was in some way deficient. At first sight this does indeed seem likely, given that the community had left their monastery in haste more than fifty years previously, not knowing if they would ever return, and taking with them only what they considered the most precious treasures (yet it could be argued that these would be precisely those things pertaining most closely to the Mass). Of the four liturgical books included in the list, three are Gospel-books (compared with only one missal), and this demonstrates once more the high regard in which decorated Gospel-books were held. Perhaps the most interesting item, however, is one which from its description in the list might not appear to be a liturgical book at all: this is the Life of St Cuthbert, which fortunately survives as the manuscript known today as King

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Athelstan's Book (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183)\textsuperscript{24}. As well as Bede's prose and metrical versions of the Life of St Cuthbert, it also contains a liturgical supplement written in the main scribal hand (and therefore contemporary with it), which consists of a Mass and Office for St Cuthbert, without musical notation. It might seem rather strange that the community responsible for fostering the cult of St Cuthbert should be the recipient of such a gift, rather than the donor, since the main centre of a cult is the obvious place at which Proper liturgy might be expected to be composed. Can we indeed assume, as previous scholars have done (notably Christopher Hohler\textsuperscript{25} and Susan Rankin\textsuperscript{26}), that the Office contained in King Athelstan’s Book was a product of Wessex, and was definitely not composed by the community of St Cuthbert? And even if this particular Office was not of northern origin, can we be sure that there was not already an earlier Northumbrian Office of St Cuthbert in use at Chester-le-Street?

Before attempting to answer these questions, it will be expedient to define what we mean by the term "Office", and to summarise what is known of the composition of Offices during the period in question. In the case of the Office of St Cuthbert contained in King Athelstan’s Book, the term means the full provision of Proper lessons, responsories, antiphons and hymns for all the liturgical hours of the feast of St Cuthbert, beginning with First Vespers and ending with Second Vespers. Furthermore, the texts of the antiphons and responsories are rhymed, and their melodies organised in ascending modal order. This type of rhymed or versified Office in modal order became increasingly popular throughout the Middle Ages, until by the time of the Council of Trent something in excess of five thousand such Offices had been composed, but at the beginning of the tenth century they were an exceedingly new and rare phenomenon. The earliest examples date from about the year 900, and are Frankish in origin. Of these, the best known are those attributed to Stephen of

\textsuperscript{24}A detailed description of this manuscript is given by Susan Rankin in Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700, edited by Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1982), pp.2-6.
\textsuperscript{25}"The Durham Services in Honour of St Cuthbert," p.157
\textsuperscript{26}Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700, p.5
In answer to the first question posed above, as to whether the Cuthbert Office could have been composed by the community at Chester-le-Street, it must be admitted that this seems unlikely in the light of existing evidence. On the other hand, just because a copy of the Office was donated to the community by King Athelstan, this does not necessarily mean that the Office was previously unknown to them. If we examine the other items in the list of Athelstan’s donations, we know for instance that the community possessed at least two other fine copies of the Gospels (namely the Lindisfarne and the Durham Gospels), yet Athelstan gave three further copies. Likewise it is almost inconceivable that they possessed neither a missal nor a copy of Bede’s Lives of St Cuthbert (which a previous bishop of Lindisfarne had commissioned). In developing this argument further, I am aware of the pitfalls of speculation which is based on scanty manuscript evidence. But it can sometimes be just as dangerous to make negative assumptions based on the quite arbitrary survival of one or two manuscripts. Hohler’s argument concerning the Office of St Cuthbert is that, because a copy of it was given by King Athelstan, it probably originated in the Wessex court chapel of Athelstan or his father; because the first examples of such Offices are found in the Low Countries, it was probably written for Athelstan by a Frankish clerk; and because the copy is defective and lacks music, the Office is unlikely to have been sung in the north until after the Conquest. These conclusions were accepted by Susan Rankin, who moreover stated that the manuscript “was probably never used as a liturgical book.”

This goes one step further than Hohler, who says that “King Athelstan’s book appears to have been rescued from obscurity and its services tried out by the first Norman bishop [of Durham], Walcher.” It is true that Hohler had circumstantial evidence to support his argument: the earliest surviving notated version of the Office of St Cuthbert, dating from

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29Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900-1700, p.5.
30London, British Library MS 1117
the last years of the tenth century, was thought by Hohler to be from a monastery in Wessex, possibly Sherborne (this manuscript has more recently been attributed to Christ Church, Canterbury\textsuperscript{31}), whereas the earliest surviving copy known to have been written in Northumbria dates from the middle of the twelfth century.

As an alternative to Hohler’s view of the composition and dissemination of the Office of St Cuthbert, the following theory is suggested. It seems reasonable to assume that, after the settlement in Chester-le-Street in 883, the traditions of liturgy and chant practised on Lindisfarne had not been altogether lost, and that a high priority for the Community of St Cuthbert would have been to honour their patron with more elaborate music and liturgy. There is no reason to believe that Northumbria was entirely isolated from ecclesiastical developments on the Continent at the beginning of the tenth century, and it is not impossible that the Office of St Cuthbert was composed at Chester-le-Street, using one of the new Frankish Rhymed Offices as a model. This immediately raises a number of general questions concerning the manner in which such Offices were composed. For instance, did the composition of the text always precede that of the music, or were words and music conceived simultaneously as a single entity? Were Rhymed Offices always associated with neumatic notation from the beginning, or was there a period of oral transmission?

Concerning the composition of the text, we know that the necessary source material was available to the Community in the form of Bede’s Lives of St Cuthbert and the Anonymous Life. It might be expected that the most obvious source for a Rhymed Office would have been Bede’s Metrical Life, but in fact the text of the Cuthbert Office as contained in King Athelstan’s Book and subsequent manuscripts is not borrowed wholesale from this or either of the other Lives, but is rather an original composition freely based on these sources. (In the case of the lessons for matins, these are indeed drawn directly from the Lives of St Cuthbert, but the lessons are not usually included in the metrical part of the Office.) As to whether the music was composed separately from the text, the most useful guide is the internal evidence provided by analysis of the text

and music themselves. In the present case, the close connection which is evident between words and music suggests that the entire Office may have been conceived as a single entity (and therefore composed by only one person).

The question of musical notation is particularly relevant in the present case, precisely because the earliest source of the Office of St Cuthbert (i.e. King Athelstan's Book) lacks notation, whereas another source of the same Office from Christ Church, Canterbury (London, British Library Harley MS 1117), which dates from the end of the tenth century, is fully notated. As was stated above, Hohler and Rankin argued that King Athelstan's Book was unlikely to have been used liturgically because of its lack of notation. In order to assess the validity of this argument, we must consider the present state of knowledge about English musical notation in the tenth century. Susan Rankin has stated that "The history of insular notation before 980 is totally obscure; we are confronted not only by a lack of examples of notated music, but worse, by an almost total lack of insular service-books." Since the earliest extant insular notation dates from the end of the tenth century, any theories concerning notation earlier in the tenth century must remain tentative. Susan Rankin concluded from her study of insular neumes, that the musical hands of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries were quite individual and clearly insular, and that this makes it very difficult to establish a definite link between place of origin and style. Concerning the Continental models for insular notation, Rankin is of the opinion that these are undoubtedly northern French, and that the most likely period of transmission was during the Benedictine revival of the mid-tenth century. She further concludes that musical notation may not have been used in England before this time.

In the case of the Northumbrian sources, it is noteworthy that all the earliest examples of notation are associated with the Community of St Cuthbert, and occur as additions to manuscripts of an earlier date. The sources in question are as follows: Durham, Cathedral Library MS A.II.17 (the Durham Gospels, described earlier in the present chapter), to which inter-linear adiastematic neumes

\[\text{References:}\]

\[^32\text{Rankin, "Neumatic Notations," p. 131.}\]
\[^33\text{Rankin, "Neumatic Notations," pp.130, 132.}\]
were added to f.74v in the late tenth century, while the book was at Chester-le-Street; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 183 (King Athelstan's Book), to which a sequence for St Cuthbert was added to f.96v in the late tenth or early eleventh century (probably at Durham, since the Community of St Cuthbert moved there from Chester-le-Street in 995); and Durham, Cathedral Library MS A.IV.19 (the "Durham Ritual", a Collectar brought to Chester-le-Street from Wessex in the mid-tenth century), in which inter-linear adiastematic neumes were added in the margin of p.94 in the mid-eleventh century.

Several conclusions may be drawn from the circumstances surrounding the addition of neumes to these manuscripts. Firstly, the Community of St Cuthbert had acquired the ability to write neumatic notation by the end of the tenth century. Secondly, although the second and third of the sources listed above were brought to Chester-le-Street from Wessex, they were not the means of transmitting knowledge of notation to Northumbria, since they contained no notation at the time of their migration. Thirdly, these sources show no direct evidence of systematic or comprehensive notation. In fact, the neumes here are almost literally marginal, but it must be remembered that the survival of these sources is arbitrary, and that they cannot be considered as representative of Northumbrian service-books of the tenth century.

Returning to the question of the liturgical use of King Athelstan's Book, it is obviously possible for a source lacking notation to be used liturgically, since this is what must have happened for many centuries before the development of notation. Furthermore, the survival of a copy without notation does not necessarily rule out the possibility of a lost manuscript which did contain neumes. However, until more is known about the origins of notation, it would be rash to derive anything more than the most tentative conclusions from the presence or absence of neumes in a particular manuscript. In the case of King Athelstan's Book, we have seen that notation was provided for a sequence for St Cuthbert, added c.1000, but this knowledge of notation was evidently not used to provide notation for the Office of St Cuthbert contained in the same manuscript. There are several possible explanations for this
omission: firstly, that the music of the Cuthbert Office was not known at this time, and therefore could not be notated; secondly, that the Office was fully notated elsewhere, and thus there was no reason to add neumes to King Athelstan's Book, which may have been regarded more as a secondary relic of St Cuthbert than as a liturgical book; or finally, that the music of the Cuthbert Office was so well-known through memory and oral transmission, that there was no perceived need to write it down at this stage. In attempting to assess which of these theories is most plausible, it should be held in consideration that in the case of adiastematic neumes, the process of memorising (or improvising) chants had not yet been eliminated, since the neumes could not be accurately read without a prior knowledge of the melody represented (this becomes obvious from any attempt to transcribe such neumes without the help of a later version in staff notation, or at least in accurately heighted neumes). Thus it may be anachronistic to talk of liturgical use or otherwise when discussing early notation, if its purpose was to create an "archive copy" by committing to record a particular version of a living oral tradition.

Regarding the three possible explanations, given above, for the lack of contemporary notation in King Athelstan's Book, the most unlikely seems to be the idea that the music for the Office remained unknown throughout the tenth century (and most of the eleventh) by the very community for whom it was most relevant. The second theory, that the book needed no notation since it was a royal gift intended to be kept with the relics of St Cuthbert, is more plausible, but if this were the case, why should a sequence with notation have been added at the end of the tenth century? The idea that there existed a contemporary, fully-notated version of the Office is tempting, but fails to stand up under scrutiny. If such a copy was among King Athelstan's gifts, why was it not included in the list of donations? Or if the notated copy already existed at Chester-le-Street and was lent to Athelstan as the exemplar for his gift, why should the notation have been omitted from his copy? There is a further detail which is of relevance to this argument. Hohler demonstrated that several later (notated) copies of the Office of St Cuthbert are textually dependent on the version in King Athelstan's Book, since they all perpetuate a scribal error contained in that manuscript. It
seems unlikely that a defective copy without music would be used as an exemplar for later copies if another notated version was in existence. The most likely proposition, therefore, is that the early history of the Office of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street was one of oral transmission, and the lack of notation in King Athelstan’s Book does not necessarily exclude the possibility that it may have been used liturgically during the tenth century.

An intriguing question which arises from the foregoing discussion is this: how did the Community of St Cuthbert acquire their knowledge of notation in the tenth century? Unfortunately, there is no external evidence which might provide an answer to this question. It is possible to trace the routes by which the three notated service-books came to Chester-le-Street (King Athelstan’s Book and the Durham Ritual both from Wessex, and the Durham Gospels from Lindisfarne, and previously from Wearmouth-Jarrow), but none were notated until they were in the possession of the Community of St Cuthbert. Hence, as was stated above, these books were not the means by which notation was brought to Northumbria. This leaves three possibilities: that notation was imported by means of notated manuscripts, now lost; that the ability to write neumes was taught by a visiting cantor, in ways similar to those described in Chapter One; or that knowledge of notation was acquired by a member of the Chester-le-Street community while travelling abroad or in England. It is impossible to prove which of these is the true explanation, but one piece of circumstantial evidence seems to point to the last of the three possibilities. This evidence comes from the Durham Ritual, in the form of a note added to f. 167 of the manuscript by Aldred, the glossator of the Lindisfarne Gospels. The note accompanies four collects for St Cuthbert, and reveals that the collects were written by Aldred the Provost for Bishop Ælfsgige, on the feast of St Laurence, at a place named Oakley, when the moon was in its fifth night. This information enabled Lindelöf to date the inscription to the year 970, on the basis that this was the only year during Ælfsgige’s episcopate (968–990) in which the feast of St
Laurence (10 August) coincided with the fifth night of the moon. Lindelöf also identified Oakley as a place in Wessex between Salisbury and Blandford. Thus, from Aldred's seemingly insignificant note, it is possible to learn that the two most senior members of the Community of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, that is, the Bishop and the Provost, made a journey to Wessex, taking with them at least one liturgical book, to which further liturgical additions were made while on their journey. Furthermore, it may be noted that the date in question coincides almost exactly with the earliest surviving examples of musical notation in insular sources.

Finally, there remains the possibility that the internal evidence of the notation will enable the neumes to be traced to a particular scriptorium, or school of notation. The neumes added to f.74v of the Durham Gospels in the late tenth century, were examined by David Hiley, who describes them as being inter-linear adiastematic neumes of an unusual type, in that they were not identifiable with any of the known insular types (such as those of the Winchester scriptorium), but rather exhibited a combination of German and French characteristics. In describing the notation of the sequence, which was added to King Athelstan's Book in c.1000, Susan Rankin notes that the upward stroke of the neumes has a slope to the right which is unlike any other examples of insular notation from the same period. The only possible exception is a part of one of the Winchester Tropers (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 473), but even here the neumes never reach the same degree of inclination. Furthermore, the litteræ significativæ (letters added to neumes in order to clarify melodic or rhythmic details) used in King Athelstan's Book differ in meaning from those used in the Winchester books. Other clues as to the provenance of the notation are given by the text and melody of Hodiernus sacratior, the sequence added to King Athelstan's Book. The text, although unique in England, was used in French and Italian sources for other saints, and is almost certainly of

34 See U. Lindelöf (ed.), The Durham Ritual (Surtees Society CXL; 1927), especially the introduction.
36 Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700, p.5.
Italian origin. The melody is the well-known Iustus ut palma, maior, which was used for at least twenty-six different sequence texts, mainly in Italian and German sources. Hohler and Rankin both concluded, on the strength of this evidence, that the text and music of the sequence were probably of Italian origin. If this is true, it implies that the links between Northumbria and Italy, which were forged by Northumbrian monastic founders in the seventh century, may have continued, or at least have been re-established, in the tenth century, and may have provided one of the routes by which notation was brought to Northumbria.

The final resting-place of the relics of St Cuthbert was reached in 995, when the guardians of the shrine were once again forced to move, this time from Chester-le-Street to Durham, under the threat of Danish raids. The shrine was re-established at Durham, at first in a wooden church, and later in a more permanent stone structure (this Anglo-Saxon church was eventually demolished to make way for the present Romanesque building, which was begun in 1093). Throughout the eleventh century, the members of the Community of St Cuthbert evidently maintained the musical and liturgical customs of their ancestors from Lindisfarne, as the following passage from Symeon's Historia Dunelmensis relates:

And they, having themselves been taught by monks, always exactly preserved, in the offices of the diurnal and nocturnal praises, the custom which was handed down. Whence the whole succession of their descendants maintained the custom of singing the hours according to the tradition of monks, rather than that of seculars, up to the time of Bishop Walcher, just as we have often heard them, and as we are wont to hear not a few of those descendants constantly narrating.


It is evident from this passage that Symeon, although writing at the beginning of the twelfth century, had not only the full authority of oral tradition behind him, but also, apparently, his own first-hand experience.
KALENDAR EVIDENCE FOR THE SURVIVAL OF NORTHUMBRIAN SAINTS' CULTS

Another way in which Northumbrian liturgy was kept alive through the years of Viking raids was in the observance of feasts of Northumbrian saints. A major factor in the promotion of these feasts was the writing of Bede—Historia Ecclesiastica, Historia Abbatum and the two versions of Vita Sancti Cuthberti—whose extensive circulation throughout Britain and on the Continent ensured that seventh-century Northumbrian saints were widely revered, even when their own centres of devotion had been destroyed. Evidence for the observance of Northumbrian feasts is found in pre-Conquest liturgical kalendars from all over Britain.

The use of kalendar evidence in a liturgical study must be treated with due caution, since the entry of a saint’s name in a calendar is not in itself conclusive proof of liturgical observance. However, in the absence of more concrete evidence from liturgical books, a comparison of kalendars from different times and places can at least give an accurate impression of the rate of growth of particular saints’ cults, and also reveal lines of liturgical influence, since affinity between kalendars is often a sign of liturgical affinity. The usefulness of kalendars is greatly increased in the case of those which are graded, since the relative status accorded to particular saints is frequently the only accurate means of assigning a provenance to a calendar, especially where it is largely made up of feasts of widespread observance. Because the kalendars of individual religious houses were never absolutely identical, even where one house was directly dependent on or founded from another, they can sometimes be the only means of determining whether a liturgical book is from a parent house or one of its dependent priories. For the purposes of the present study, the fairly large survival of kalendars from pre-Conquest Britain affords the opportunity of tracing the continuity of cults of Northumbrian saints throughout Britain at a time when the main centres of these cults had been almost completely destroyed by Danish invasions.
The following comparison shows the occurrence of twelve feasts relating to Northumbrian saints in the twenty calendars which were published by the Henry Bradshaw Society under the editorship of Francis Wormald.\(^3\)

The twelve feasts in question are as follows:

A. 12 January: St Benedict Biscop, abbot of Wearmouth  
B. 20 March: St Cuthbert, bp. of Lindisfarne  
C. 24 April: St Wilfrid, bp. of Ripon  
D. 7 May: St John of Beverley, archbp. of York  
E. 26 May: St Bede the Venerable  
F. 5 August: St Oswald, king and martyr  
G. 31 August: St Aidan, bp. of Lindisfarne  
H. 4 September: Translation of St Cuthbert  
I. 25 September: St Ceolfrid, abbot of Jarrow  
J. 8 October: Translation of SS Ceolfrith and Aidan  
K. 10 October: St Paulinus, archbp. of York  
L. 10 October: Translation of St Wilfrid

The provenance, date and siglum of each calendar are given below:

2. [West country] 969-978. Salisbury, Cathedral Library MS 150 (ff.3-8v)  
3. [Wessex] s.xi. London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero A II (ff.3-8v)  
5. [Canterbury, St Augustine's] 988-1012. London, British Library, Add. MS 37517 (ff.2-3) "The Bosworth Psalter"  
6. [West Country] s.xi, late. Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.v.32 (ff.50-55v)  
7. [Exeter] s.xi, late. London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius A.xii (ff.65v-71)  
10. [Winchester, New Minster] c.1025. Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.15.32 (pp.15-26)  
11. [Winchester] c.1060. London, British Library, Arundel MS 60 (ff.2-7v)  
13. [Canterbury, Christ Church] 1012-1023. London, British Library, Arundel MS 155 (ff.2-7v)  
14. [Sherborne] c.1061. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422 (pp.29-40)

\(^3\)English Kalendars before A.D. 1100, Henry Bradshaw Society LXXII, (London, 1934). One of the calendars (no.15: Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS Y.6) was omitted from Wormald's edition, but the relevant details have been supplied from HBS XI, The Missal of Robert of Jumièges, ed. H.A. Wilson, pp. 9-20.
The occurrence of Northumbrian feasts in these kalendars is shown in the following table:

(A letter "h" indicates that the feast is highly graded; "i" indicates an intermediate grading; "l" signifies a low or unspecified grading; italics indicate that the feast has been added to the kalendar at some later date, and an asterisk indicates that the kalendar concerned is ungraded throughout.)
The table reveals several striking patterns in the occurrence of feasts. The feast of the Deposition of St Cuthbert (B) is not only present in all twenty kalendars, but is also highly graded in all but two of those which contain gradings.

St Cuthbert’s feast of Translation (H), though not so universally observed as the Deposition, is found in all but five of the kalendars.

40 Even in the case of one of these exceptions, no.16 from Evesham, the lack of high grading may be a mere oversight on the part of the scribe, since the feast of the Translation of St Cuthbert (usually of lower grade than that of the Deposition) is indeed highly graded. Another possible reason for this reversal of the usual gradings may be the fact that the feast of Deposition (20 March) invariably fell during Lent. Such a conjecture is supported by the fact that the adjacent feast of St Benedict (21 March) is also of low grading in this kalendar compared with his feasts of Translation (11 July and 4 December).
(the exceptions being 2,3,4,5 and 17, the feast having been added to
the last of these during the twelfth century). Since the translation
commemorated on this date (4 September) was a fairly ignominious one
from Lindisfarne to Norham-on-Tweed (c.830) occasioned by a Danish
raid on Lindisfarne, its presence in three-quarters of the kalendars
shows a surprisingly rapid dissemination of the feast. It is also an
indication that the occurrence of feasts of Northumbrian saints in
southern English kalendars cannot in all cases be explained by the
availability of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and *vitae* of northern
saints by Bede and others. Such documents almost invariably supply
the date of a saint's death, and in the case of Cuthbert also describe
the translation which took place eleven years after his death, at
which time (698) the incorrupt state of the saint's corpse was
discovered. This translation, however, did not result in a new feast,
since it had been deliberately carried out on the anniversary of
Cuthbert's death (20 March). Thus the presence of St Cuthbert's
feast of Deposition in a southern English kalendar of the tenth or
eleventh century could be explained merely by a knowledge of the
works of Bede, and would not in itself constitute proof of the
unbroken continuity of a cult of St Cuthbert, nor of any direct
liturgical contact with Northumbria. However, the added presence of
the feast of Translation in such a kalendar implies the recent (i.e.
post-830) receipt of some form of documentary material from the
centre of the cult, giving details of the translation. Such
documentary material might take the form of a service book or
liturgical kalendar, but could equally well be a chronicle, or a copy
of Bede's *Historia* to which a continuator had added a list of events
subsequent to the death of Bede. An example of such movement of a
kalendar from north to south is found in no. 1 above (Obl Digby MS
63), whose Northumbrian origin is shown by the high grading
assigned to the feasts of Cuthbert, Wilfrid, John of Beverley and
Oswald, but whose later migration to Winchester is suggested by the
addition of two highly-graded feasts of St Swithun (2 and 15 July)
sometime during the eleventh century. A final point concerning the
feasts of St Cuthbert is that their presence in southern English
ekalendars cannot be attributed to the acquisition of relics, since
Cuthbert's body was preserved in its (incorrupt) entirety throughout
the years of wandering following the flight from Lindisfarne and prior to the final settlement at Durham. Furthermore, so far as is known from existing relic-lists, no other church ever claimed to possess relics of St Cuthbert: this fact alone is powerful evidence for the unbroken continuity of a cult surrounding Cuthbert’s body, since as soon as a corpse was temporarily lost sight of, perhaps as a result of Danish raids, the opportunity was created for the "invention" (literally "finding") of relics, whose authenticity was subsequently difficult to prove (or indeed to disprove).

The next most frequently-occurring feast is that of St Oswald, king of Northumbria and martyr, which is absent only from kalendar no. 4 (from Glastonbury), and is highly graded in six of the kalanders. The cult of St Oswald differs in several important respects from that of St Cuthbert, and indeed from all of the other cults under consideration. Most obviously, Oswald is the only member of the group to have been martyred, a fact which ensured his immediate veneration as a saint. Furthermore, after the battle in which the saint met his death, the corpse was dismembered in order to be displayed by his victorious enemies, and a long-term effect of this barbarous act was the wide dispersal of Oswald’s relics, both throughout Britain and on the Continent. Another difference is that of ecclesiastical status: whereas Oswald was a royal layman, all the others were either bishops or monks (or both, as in the cases of

The story of the dispersal of Oswald’s relics is told in great detail in the twelfth-century *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* by Reginald of Durham (printed in Symeon, vol. 1, pp. 326-385.) The main centres of the cult in Britain were (a) Lindisfarne, which possessed the head; this relic was eventually enshrined with the body of St Cuthbert, and shared in the various perambulations following the flight from Lindisfarne in 875. Because of this, Oswald’s cult at Durham was inextricably linked with that of St Cuthbert; (b) Gloucester, which acquired the body in 909; it had originally been buried in Oswestry, then translated to Bardney; (c) Bamburgh, where both arms were initially enshrined; (d) Peterborough, which acquired an arm by theft from Bamburgh; (e) Ely, to which the Peterborough arm was later transferred; and (f) Hexham, which although it did not claim major relics of Oswald, played an important part in the early growth of the cult (c.f. Bede, *H.E.* iv,14).

On the continent Oswald’s cult was encouraged by St Willibrord: the head was claimed by Echternach, and relics by several other Frisian churches (c.f. Peter Clemoes, *The Cult of St Oswald on the Continent*, Jarrow, 1986). The whole body was also claimed by the monastery of St Winnoc’s at Bergue in Flanders.
Aidan, Cuthbert, Wilfrid and John of Beverley). This meant that, while there was no single diocese or religious community with a vested interest in perpetuating Oswald’s cult, his status as king and martyr gave him an appeal which transcended the merely local. Another way in which the cult of St Oswald differs from those of Cuthbert, Wilfrid, Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith is in the lack of a contemporary vita. This deficiency is, however, amply compensated by Bede’s Historia Ecclesiastica, which contains detailed accounts of Oswald’s life, death, and miracles attributed to his intercession and relics.

The widespread cult of Paulinus (K), whose feast is found in 15 of the 20 kalendars and added to another, is largely due to Bede’s description of him as first apostle of the north. The fact that he went out from Canterbury, became the first bishop of York and returned to be bishop of Rochester ensured his popularity in both Northumbria and Kent, and his relics were claimed by Canterbury.

The cult of St Wilfrid was initially centered at Ripon, the place of his burial, and Hexham, where his disciple Acca succeeded him as bishop and abbot. In the tenth century, however, it was claimed that his relics had been translated to Canterbury (by Oda), and also to Worcester (by St Oswald of Worcester), which greatly increased the diffusion of the cult.

The feast of St John of Beverley occurs in 8 of the kalendars, including a high grading in the earliest one (1). Accounts of his miracles were provided by both Bede and Alcuin, and it may be due to the popularity of Bede’s works that King Athelstan of Wessex invoked his intercession for victory in battle.

Aidan (G), Ceolfrid (I) and Bede (E) each have a total of 7 kalendar entries, but the distribution of the first two feasts is quite different from the last. The intermediate grading of both Aidan and Ceolfrid in the kalendars of Glastonbury (4) and St Augustine’s,

There were two much later Lives, by Drogo (Acta Sanctorum Aug. II (1735), 94-103) and Reginald of Durham (Symeon, vol. 1, pp. 326-85)

An example of Bede’s Historia Ecclesiastica being used as a substitute vita of St Oswald in order to provide lessons for Matins on his feast is found in the copy of HE in the National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh, NLS, Advocates MS 18.5.1), where references to the selected passages are given at the end. Also in the twelfth-century, Durham-produced libelli of SS Cuthbert, Oswald and Aidan (eg. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.3.55), passages from Bede were combined to form continuous Lives of Oswald and Aidan.
Canterbury (5) is due to the fact that Glastonbury (which strongly influenced the kalendar of St Augustine’s) claimed relics of both these saints from the tenth century onwards. This translation was itself celebrated at Glastonbury (and possibly Evesham, through Glastonbury influence) by a feast on 8 October (J). Durham later claimed (with greater credibility) to possess relics of Aidan, and the main centre of the cult moved back to Northumbria. It is not at first clear why the feast of St Bede was not more widespread, given the importance of his contribution to church history, the availability of his works, and the fact that Alcuin described miracles worked by his relics within 50 years of his death. One reason may be the lack of a vita; Cuthbert, the monk of Lindisfarne who wrote the Letter on the death of Bede, expressed his intention of writing a vita, but no such work survives. Another reason may be the coincidence of Bede’s date of death with the feast of St Augustine of Canterbury on 26 May; in order to avoid this clash it was later changed to 27 May.

The early cult of Benedict Biscop is attested by Bede’s Homily 17 for the feast, but the presence of the feast in 5 of the above kalanders is more likely to be due to the translation of the relics to Thorney Abbey in 980, and also to Glastonbury at about the same date.
The main conclusion which may be drawn from this chapter is that, although the Northumbrian monasteries were physically destroyed by repeated Danish raids from 793 onwards, certain important elements of the monastic tradition survived, largely due to the heroic efforts of the small group of Lindisfarne monks who came to be known as the Community of St Cuthbert. Without them, some of the finest treasures of the Northumbrian manuscript tradition, notably the Lindisfarne Gospels, would almost certainly have been lost, and Durham Cathedral Priory would probably never have been built, since its main purpose was to house the relics of St Cuthbert. Despite the fact that members of the Community of St Cuthbert seem to have lapsed from some aspects of monastic discipline after their flight from Lindisfarne, they did nevertheless continue the monastic form of singing the Divine Office, and maintained the episcopal succession of Lindisfarne. They also perpetuated some scribal skills in the writing of the Liber vitae, and scholastic traditions in the Anglo-Saxon glossing of Latin texts. Perhaps most surprisingly of all, they acquired a knowledge of musical notation at a time when their very survival was under threat, in ways which suggest that they established contacts on the Continent as well as in southern England. The rapid growth of the cult of St Cuthbert is another development which can be attributed principally to the community which maintained his shrine, and this same community either composed, or at least commissioned the composition of the earliest known rhymed office for an insular saint.

The third chapter will explore how these traditions were renewed, and in some cases swept away, amid the resurgence of regular monastic life in Northern Britain after the Conquest.
CHAPTER THREE
AFTER THE CONQUEST: THE REVIVAL OF NORTHERN MONASTICISM

By the time of the Norman Conquest, there were no religious foundations north of the Humber which could properly be called monastic, in the sense of a group of celibates living and worshipping together under a common rule of life. There had been no northern counterpart to the monastic revival which had taken place in the south and west of England during the tenth century under the leadership of Ethelwold and Dunstan. The closest approximation to a Northumbrian monastery was the Community of St Cuthbert then established at Durham, but according to Symeon of Durham this applied exclusively to some of their liturgical customs, and not to their habit or way of life. By the early years of the twelfth century, however, there were thriving Benedictine monasteries at Durham, Whitby, York, Dunfermline and Coldingham, and the first of the reformed Benedictines at Selkirk (later Kelso). It is the purpose of the present chapter to examine how these houses were founded or revived, and to trace the various strands of influence on their liturgy. The main focus will be on Durham Cathedral Priory, since this incorporated the unbroken line of descent from Lindisfarne, both in its episcopal succession and in the cult of St Cuthbert, and also happens to have left the greatest heritage in terms of primary liturgical sources.

It will be convenient to begin by outlining the historical details leading to the revival of Bede's monastery of Jarrow, since this led on directly to the refounding of Durham, Whitby and St Mary's, York. The main sources for this section of the narrative are the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae and Historia Regum, both by Symeon of Durham. Although written some forty years after the events in question, their reliability is of a high order, since Symeon himself seems to have been closely involved in the monastic revival.

In 1069, Ethelwine, the last Anglo-Saxon bishop of Durham, fled to Lindisfarne with the relics of St Cuthbert, fearing an assault on Durham by William the Conqueror. There ensued a period of confusion when the see of Durham was effectively vacant, until the appointment of Walcher as bishop of Durham in 1071. He was not himself a Norman,
but a Lotharingian, and was a secular cleric rather than a monk. Symeon describes how Walcher read in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and *Life of St Cuthbert* that his see of Durham took its origins from the monastic community of Lindisfarne, founded by St Oswald and St Aidan. As a result, he wished to restore monastic life at Durham, despite being a secular himself. As if in answer to his prayers, in about 1073 certain monks "in the southern parts of England" decided to travel northwards in order to restore regular life in Northumbria. These monks were Aldwin, prior of Winchcombe, and two companions from Evesham Abbey, Elfwig and Reinfrid. Again, it is likely that they had had access to the works of Bede, and had read of the former splendours of the Northumbrian monasteries. Coming to Bishop Walcher, they asked if he would settle them somewhere in his diocese so that they could fulfil their chosen task. The place allotted to them by Walcher was the ruined monastery of Jarrow, and they set about restoring the monastic life there in spite of poverty and great hardships. Other companions soon joined them, as Symeon relates:

Meantime many, fired by their example, renouncing the world, received from them the monk's habit, and learned under the training of regular discipline to be Christ's soldiers. A few of these belonged to Northumbria, but a larger number were from the southern parts of England, men who, going forth after the example of Abraham from their country, and from their kindred, and from their fathers' house, desired to enter the land of promise, that is, their country on high, having Aldwin as their master in the religious life.¹

After about three years at Jarrow, Aldwin made a brief attempt to revive regular life at Melrose (where St Cuthbert had been educated), before returning to recolonise the monastery of St Peter at Wearmouth, which Walcher granted to Aldwin and Turgot (both later priors of Durham) between 1076 and 1078. At about this time Whitby Abbey was refounded by Reinfrid, and it was from here that St Mary's Abbey at York was founded in 1088, with Stephen, a disciple of Reinfrid's, as first abbot.

Meanwhile, Walcher had been assassinated in 1080 before he had had a chance to put into operation his plan to restore monastic life at his Cathedral in Durham. This task fell to his Norman successor, William of St Carilef, who in 1083 brought twenty-three monks from

¹Symeon, vol. 1, p.108
Jarrow and Wearmouth, and installed them in Durham Cathedral Priory with Aldwin as prior.

Before examining how the monastic liturgy of Durham evolved after 1083, it is worth considering what form it might have taken during the transitional period under bishop Walcher, that is, from 1071-1080. We have Symeon’s testimony that the Community of St Cuthbert had preserved the monastic cursus of psalms when singing the Office, but that in all other respects they were unworthy even to be called clerics. Despite Walcher’s reported enthusiasm for restoring monastic life at Durham, he perhaps despaired of making good monks out of the community he had inherited (it is likely that many of them would have been married, or at least living with a woman). In any case, he seems to have attempted to bring them into conformity with a secular manner of worshipping:

Who, when he found seculars in that same place, taught them to observe the custom of seculars in the Day and Night Offices.

This extract is useful in that it refers unequivocally to the Divine Office, but unfortunately it gives no clue as to where Walcher might have looked for a model for the secular liturgy, nor does it specify how his teaching was carried out. There is one piece of manuscript evidence, however, which might provide tentative answers to both of these questions. The manuscript concerned is part of an eleventh-century antiphoner, noted with adiastematic neumes, which is bound in with a collection of homilies by Gregory the Great and others, in the Chapter Library of Durham Cathedral (MS B.III.11). The antiphoner, which is thought to have been kept at Durham throughout the Middle Ages, was written in northern France, and is typical of the secular Gallican use. These facts are consistent with its having been brought by Walcher from his native Lorraine, and used to teach the Community of St Cuthbert the secular manner of singing the Office. That some at least of the community were already conversant with musical notation in adiastematic neumes, is

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2 Symeon, vol. 1, p.105
3 This manuscript has been twice edited: Pars Antiphonarii, ed. W.H. Frere (facsimile by Plainsong and Medieval Music Society; London, 1923); Corpus Antiphonalium Officii, vol. 1, ed. R.-J. Hesbert (Rome, 1963).
demonstrated by the surviving pre-Conquest manuscripts described in the previous chapter.

It was the opinion of Christopher Hohler that the rhymed Office of St Cuthbert contained in King Athelstan's Book was first tried out under bishop Walcher. Whether this was the case, or whether (as was argued in the previous chapter) it had been used before the Conquest, it was already in secular form, and would thus need no adaptation for use in the secular manner of performing the Day and Night Office. Furthermore, we know that King Athelstan's Book was actually in use and not hidden away during Walcher's episcopate, since on folio 96 verso of that manuscript is recorded in Anglo-Saxon a memorandum to the effect that Bishop Walcher and St Cuthbert's community granted to Ealdgyth the land at Thornley on certain stipulated conditions.

A further proposition concerning the liturgy at Durham under Bishop Walcher is that the rhymed Office of St Oswald, found in monastic form in later Durham manuscripts, may originally have been composed in a secular form during Walcher's episcopate. One reason for suspecting this metamorphosis from secular to monastic office is that a stylistic change in both music and text is detectable at the crucial point between the ninth and tenth antiphons of matins (cf.p.206).

In order to reconstruct a composite model of liturgy and chant in Northumbria from the Conquest until the early years of the twelfth century, one possible approach is to build a hypothetical model based on what we might expect from the known historical facts concerning movements of books and personnel, then to examine the evidence of liturgical books to see how far this corresponds to the hypothetical model. A use of this method on a small scale can be seen in the above discussion of the liturgy at Durham under Bishop Walcher. Another method, and perhaps a more orthodox one, is to examine and codify the manuscript evidence first, then to attempt to explain these results in the light of historical data. This second method works best when there are a large number of manuscripts to be compared, all of which are of a comparable type and within a reasonable date-range (for example, Hesbert's study of regional variations in the temporal
Office by comparing the order and selection of Advent responsories). In the present study, I intend to use the first approach outlined above, since the sources are few, their survival arbitrary, and although there is at least one extant liturgical manuscript from most of the institutions concerned, these differ so widely in type and date as to make direct comparison either impossible or meaningless.

In the case of Aldwin’s priory at Jarrow, any reconstruction must remain entirely theoretical, since no manuscript evidence survives from Jarrow at that period. It is reported by Symeon that Aldwin and his companions, when they set out for Northumbria, took with them the necessary books and vestments for the celebration of the liturgy\(^4\). It would be logical to assume that such books would conform to the usage of Aldwin’s native monastery of Winchcombe, particularly since he had held the senior position of prior. The other possible source for these liturgical books is the abbey of Evesham, where Elfwig and Reinfrid had been monks. The next step in this process is to establish what type of liturgy we would expect to have been in use at Winchcombe and Evesham at the time when the pioneers set out, then to check this using any surviving sources from the two abbeys concerned.

The date at which Aldwin and his two companions set out from their respective abbeys is a crucial one, since it falls within a decade of the Norman Conquest, a time of great change and instability for the older Anglo-Saxon monasteries. Episcopal and abbatial preferments were now controlled by King William and Lanfranc, the Norman Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Norman colleagues whom they appointed were expected to introduce Norman customs to their monasteries. In 1073, Winchcombe was still ruled by an Anglo-Saxon abbot, Godric, at least in theory; in practice, he had fallen foul of the new king, and was under restraint at the nearby abbey of Evesham. Ethelwig, abbot of Evesham, had probably undertaken this restraint for Godric’s own protection rather than to render service to the Crown, since Ethelwig himself was an Anglo-Saxon. In any case, the relevance of this information to the liturgy of Jarrow is that

\(^4\)Symeon, vol. 1, p.108. Symeon adds the detail that, as Aldwin and his companions travelled north on foot, they took only such books and vestments as could be carried on the back of an ass.
neither Winchcombe nor Evesham had yet come under Norman liturgical influence at the time when Aldwin and his companions set out, so the books they took with them must be presumed to have conformed to the pre-Conquest, Anglo-Saxon usage of those monasteries. This is important to bear in mind when considering the surviving liturgical books of Winchcombe and Evesham, as will be seen below.

Among the extant liturgical manuscripts from Winchcombe and Evesham, none dates from the period under discussion. From Winchcombe there is a sacramentary dating from the tenth century (Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 127), and a twelfth-century breviary (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 116). From Evesham there is a breviary dating from the thirteenth century (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow MS. 41), of which only the winter part survives. These two breviaries were included by Hesbert in Corpus Antiphonalium Officii which sought to demonstrate liturgical affinities between monastic breviaries by comparing their Advent responsory series. From this study it was clear that the breviaries of Winchcombe and Evesham formed a sub-group amongst insular breviaries, in that the two, while being closely similar to each other, showed an even closer affinity to a group of manuscripts from the Norman monasteries of Fécamp, Jumièges, Conches, Troarn, St-Évroult and Mont St-Michel. Thus it is highly unlikely that the surviving breviaries of Winchcombe and Evesham reflect the manner in which the Office was carried out under the Anglo-Saxon abbots Godric and Ethelwig, but rather represent later changes made under Norman influence. At Winchcombe, such influence may have taken effect as late as the middle of the twelfth century, when Henry, formerly prior of Gloucester, was elected abbot of Winchcombe. The first abbot of Gloucester had been Serlo, who had introduced liturgical books directly from Mont St-Michel to his own abbey. It seems therefore impossible by this method to reconstruct the Office as it was performed at Aldwin's house at Jarrow. This leaves only the

Winchcombe sacramentary, which because of its early date seems more likely to represent the type of book taken north by Aldwin. In the absence of Jarrow books with which to compare it, this idea must remain conjectural, but if it could be shown that one or all of the later missals of Durham, Whitby or St Mary’s, York, closely resembled the Winchcombe sacramentary, this would provide circumstantial evidence that a sacramentary was brought from Winchcombe to Jarrow and used there by Aldwin and his companions.

In searching for evidence of liturgical affinity, it must be borne in mind that the Black Benedictine houses, even after the Cluny-influenced reforms of the eleventh century, were not part of a centralised order following a strictly uniform observance. One result of Hesbert’s study was to reveal the extent of liturgical divergence between Benedictine monasteries, even in a relatively small and isolated geographical area such as Britain. Liturgical books evidently did circulate between monasteries, but were not necessarily reproduced in a slavish manner, but rather used in a process of selection and compilation. Thus, even if a liturgical affinity between two or more particular houses can be demonstrated using a method such as Hesbert’s, it must be remembered that this applies only to a limited sphere such as the Temporal Office, and does not necessarily imply affinity in chant melodies, Mass prayers, or the Sanctorale. Particularly when considering the foundation of new monasteries, or the refounding of old ones, as is the case in the present chapter, we must entertain the possibility that liturgical books were compiled for the new foundations from composite sources, rather than following exclusively the exemplars of one particular monastery.

Since the monasteries of Durham, Whitby and St Mary’s, York, were all founded directly or indirectly from Aldwin’s house at Jarrow, it is reasonable to expect that the liturgical practices adopted in these three houses might have much in common, and might also reflect the pre-Conquest usage of Winchcombe and Evesham. There are other factors, however, which must be taken into consideration, particularly in the case of Durham. This was not a foundation de novo, but rather a reform of an older community with already-established liturgical customs, which might be expected to influence the new order. Also Lanfranc, the new Norman Archbishop of
Canterbury, took a keen interest in the re-foundation, which suggests the possibility of influence from Normandy or Canterbury. In the case of St Mary's, York, the secular Use of that city should be considered as a possible liturgical influence.

The next task is to examine the surviving liturgical books of Whitby, St Mary's York, and Durham, and comparing them with each other, and also with manuscripts from Canterbury, York and Winchcombe, to see how far they conform to the expectations set out above. The manuscripts relevant to the Mass are listed below:

Whitby Abbey: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson liturg. b.1 (fourteenth-century missal);
St Mary's Abbey, York: Cambridge, St John's College, MS D.27 (Ordinal and Customary, c.1400);
Durham Cathedral Priory: London, British Library, Harley MS 5289 (Missal, early fourteenth century);
Winchcombe Abbey: Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 127 (Sacramentary, tenth century);
Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury: Durham, Cosin Library MS V.V.6 (Gradual, late eleventh century);

It will be seen from this list that the scope for comparison is limited, but nevertheless possible. The only two books which cannot be compared with each other are the Winchcombe Sacramentary, which contains only prayers for the Mass, and the Cosin Gradual, which contains only the chants of the Mass, without even cues for the prayers. The Ordinal of St Mary's, York, includes incipits for prayers and chants of the Mass (and also for the Office), but for the temporale only.

The starting point for this comparison is the collation of insular and continental missals which was included by J. Wickham Legg in Volume III of Missale Westmonasteriensis. Of the six manuscripts listed above, four are included in Wickham Legg's collation: those from Whitby, Durham, Winchcombe and York (secular). Appendix I is an extrapolation from this collation, with particular reference to the Durham Missal, showing which chants and prayers
were unique to Durham, or shared between it and one, two, three or four other sources. The main pattern to emerge from this comparison is a significant similarity between the missals of Durham and Whitby, particularly in their choice of collects, secrets, postcommunions, graduals and sequences.

The following items (first from the temporale, then the sanctorale) are common to Durham and Whitby, but not found in any of the other manuscripts collated by Wickham Legg:

- the collect for Sexagesima Sunday;
- the sequence for Wednesday in Easter Week (Psalle lirica);
- the lack of a sequence for Friday and Saturday of Easter Week;
- the gradual for the Fourth Sunday after Easter (In die resurrectionis);
- the lack of a collect following the fourth lesson in the Vigil of Pentecost;
- the gradual for Tuesday in the Octave of Pentecost (Veni sancte spiritus. Spiritus sanctus procedens);
- the offertory for Wednesday in the Octave of Pentecost (Emite spiritum);
- the gradual for Thursday in the Octave of Pentecost (Emite spiritum. Repleti); also, no sequence for this day;
- the sequence for St Vincent on 22 January (Precelsa seclis colitur dies);
- the secret and postcommunion for St Dunstan on 19 May (Hostiam tibi domine and Assit nobis omnipotens deus);
- the collect and secret for St German on 31 July (Beati confessoris tui and Respicie domine propicius);
- the sequence for St Oswald on 5 August (Regis Oswalde inclita);
- the introit psalm verse for the Vigil of the Assumption on 14 August (Et gaudium);
- the gradual for the Beheading of St John the Baptist on 29 August (Domine prevenisti), and the sequence for the same feast (Organicus).

This list is considerably augmented if those cases are included where an item is found only in Durham, Whitby and one other use:

- the sequence for Christmas Day (Celica resonent);
- the gradual for the Vigil of the Epiphany (Tecum principium. Dixit dominus. Dominus regnavit) and the communion for the same day (In splendoribus sanctorum);
- the alleluia verse for Thursday in Easter Week (Surrexit altissimus);
- the gradual for the Sunday after Ascension (Ascendit deus in iubilacione) and the sequence for the same day (Victime paschali);
- the gradual for Monday in the Octave of Pentecost (Veni sancte spiritus. Spiritus domini replevit);
- the sequence for Wednesday in the Octave of Pentecost (Almiphona);
the postcommunion for Friday in the Octave of Pentecost
(Sumpsimus domine);
the collect for the Saturday after Pentecost (Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut salutaribus ieiuniis);

the secret for St Maurus on 15 January (Oblatis domine ob honorem beati mauri);
the secret and postcommunion for St Augustine of Canterbury on 26 May (Sit tibi quesumus domine nostre devocionis oblacio... and Misteriis divinis refecti quesumus);
the introit verse for the Vigil of SS Peter and Paul on 28 June (Symon iohannis);
the communion for the Assumption on 15 August (Dilexisti iusticiam);
the postcommunion for SS Cornelius and Cyprian on 14 September (Saciati sumus domine muneribus sacris);
the secret and postcommunion for St Brice on 13 November (Hostiam nostre quesumus domine... and Da quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui beati bricii);
the secret for St Edmund on 20 November (Sacrificium devotionis nostre).
The most common means of determining liturgical affinity between missals or graduals is to compare the series of *alleluia* versicles for the Sundays after Pentecost. Perhaps because specific chants were assigned to these "Green" Sundays much later than was the case for the rest of the *temporale*, the choice of chants differed between each Use and each individual monastery, unless it belonged to one of the orders which imposed a centralised liturgy. Of the six manuscripts listed above, only the Winchcombe Sacramentary was excluded from the comparison, since it does not contain the chants of the Mass.

The patterns of affiliation for each Sunday after Pentecost are shown below. Where two or more of the five Uses are grouped in brackets, this indicates that their choice of *alleluia* versicle is identical for that particular Sunday. The following abbreviations are employed: C=Canterbury, D=Durham, W=Whitby, M=St Mary's, York, and Y=Secular Use of York.

1st Sunday: [C D W M Y]
2nd Sunday: [C D W M] Y
3rd Sunday: [C D W M] Y
4th Sunday: [C D Y] [W M]
5th Sunday: [C D Y] [W M]
6th Sunday: [C D] [W M] Y
7th Sunday: [C D] W M Y
8th Sunday: [C D W] [M Y]
9th Sunday: [C D W] [M Y]
10th Sunday: [C D W] [M Y]
11th Sunday: [C D W] [M Y]
12th Sunday: [C D W] [M Y]
13th Sunday: [C D W] [M Y]
14th Sunday: [C D W] [M Y]
15th Sunday: [C D W] [M Y]
16th Sunday: [C D W] M Y
17th Sunday: [C D W] M Y
18th Sunday: [C D W] M Y
19th Sunday: [C D W] M Y
20th Sunday: [C D W] M Y
21st Sunday: [C D W] M Y
22nd Sunday: [C D W] M Y
23rd Sunday: [C D W] M Y
24th Sunday: - - W [M Y]
25th Sunday: - - W [M Y]

(This tabulation does not take account of those cases where one of the Uses has more than one *alleluia* verse for a particular Sunday. These cases will be discussed below.)
Several interesting features are apparent from this table. Most noticeable is the fact that the Durham Missal is identical with the Canterbury gradual in its choice of verses. Since the Canterbury gradual is known to have been sent to Durham at the end of the eleventh century, probably as a gift from Lanfranc, it is almost certain that this book was used as an exemplar from which to compile the mass chants of the Durham Missal. The copying of these chants was not slavish, however. Although not indicated in the table above, the Canterbury gradual sometimes indicates more than one alleluia verse, and in these cases the Durham Missal does not always follow this practice, but selects one of the verses indicated in the Canterbury book. Two interesting examples of this are the 18th and 22nd Sundays, where Canterbury indicates two verses, and in each case, Durham chooses one verse, and Whitby the other. Thus, although the Durham and Whitby missals do not accord with each other for these Sundays, they both accord with Canterbury (hence the double brackets). Thus although Whitby coincides with Durham in all but 8 cases, Whitby and Canterbury agree in all but 6. While this is not enough to show dependence of Whitby on either of the other books, it makes it likely that they shared a common ancestor. The degree of accord between St Mary's York and the secular use is sufficient to imply that the monastery came under the liturgical influence of the secular use of the diocese to which it belonged.

If, instead of mass chants, we examine mass prayers, the results are even more interesting. At the point where the choice of secrets and postcommunions begins to diverge between all the uses, that is, from the 18th Sunday after Pentecost onwards, a distinct sub-group emerges amongst all the missals collated by Wickham Legg (with my addition of St Mary's York, which Wickham Legg did not include). This group consists of Winchcombe, Durham, Whitby and St Mary's York (and sometimes includes St Augustine's, Canterbury or St Alban's), the Canterbury gradual being excluded because it does not include mass prayers. This fits very well with the idea that Aldwin and his companions brought with them a sacramentary from Winchcombe, which was used at Jarrow, and eventually copied for use at all the daughter foundations, i.e. Durham, Whitby, and St Mary's York. A similar pattern emerges with regard to sequences, at least in
the cases of Durham and Whitby. The choice of sequence for a given feast is often unique to Durham and Whitby (see Appendix I and above), and this choice rarely coincides with sequences indicated on the Canterbury gradual. It would seem that a repertory of sequences was already in use at Durham and Whitby before the arrival of Canterbury books, and this is proved by the fact that sequences were added, complete with notation, to the Canterbury gradual soon after it reached Durham at the end of the 11th century, and it was these additional sequences which were indicated to be used for the appropriate feasts in the Durham Missal, rather than those contained in the Canterbury gradual.

The sequences added to the Canterbury gradual (Cosin MS V.V.6) are as follows:

f.2: *Alme concrepent sonore* for the Translation of St Cuthbert on 4 September (this was erroneously assigned to the feast of St Aidan by K.D. Hartzell, because of the mention of Aidan's soul ascending into heaven);
f.2v: *Christo regi cantica* for St Nicholas on 6 December;
f.3: *O alma trinitas* for the Holy Trinity (again, wrongly assigned by Hartzell to the feast of St Cuthbert, because of the mention of Cuthbert on f.3v, "Cum quibus & rutilat coronatus in are CUTHBERTUS pontifex candidatus purpura preclara," etc.);
f.3v: *Precelsa seclis colitur* for St Vincent on 22 January;
f.4v: *Sollemnitas sancti pauli* for the Conversion of St Paul on 25 January;
f.5: *Regis oswalde inclita* for St Oswald on 5 August;
f.5v: *Post partum virgo* for the Assumption of St Mary on 15 August;
f.6: *Ave preclara maris stella* for the Nativity of St Mary on 8 September;
f.6v: *Ave maria gracia plena* for St Mary;
f.7: *Laudes crucis attollamus* for the Exaltation of the Holy Cross on 14 September;
f.7v: *Verbi dei parens* for St Mary.

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These sequences are of particular interest, as they are initially notated with the same type of adiastematic neumes which had been used almost a century earlier in the notation of the sequence which was added to King Athelstan’s Book (see Chapter 2). On f.6, however, the style of notation changes to that which was to become associated with the Durham scriptorium in the twelfth century: square notation on three red lines, using a variety of clefs (see Susan Rankin’s description of Trinity College, MS 0.3.55 in Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700, pp.33-36).

The addition of these sequences to the Canterbury gradual, and subsequently to the Durham Missal, also shows how local compositions, such as those for Cuthbert and Oswald, were incorporated into the post-Conquest liturgy of Durham Cathedral Priory.

A further stage in the compilation of a liturgical book was the addition of rubrics. In general, earlier liturgical books had included a minimum of rubrics, but the complexity of these liturgical directions grew steadily throughout the Middle Ages, until separate books of directions became necessary (the ordinale of St Mary's, York, is an example of such a book). In the case of the Durham Missal, rubrics could not simply be copied from the Canterbury gradual, as it contains only very terse rubrics. The comparison which forms Appendix II aims to show the similarities between the rubrics of the Durham Missal (London, British Library, MS Harley 5289) and the Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc, of which the earliest surviving copy (Durham, Cathedral Library MS B.IV.24) was sent to Durham by Lanfranc in the late eleventh century. The particular rubrics chosen for comparison are those of Holy Week, beginning with Palm Sunday, since this part of the Liturgical Year is most richly rubricated. The fact that many passages are common to both manuscripts seems to demonstrate that many of Lanfranc’s detailed liturgical directions were incorporated into the Durham Missal (although it is possible that they both derive from a common exemplar).

The Office also provides fertile ground for examining the process of liturgical compilation, and also for determining liturgical affinity
and routes of liturgical influence. A thirteenth-century breviary survives from Coldingham Priory, which was a dependent priory of Durham. This manuscript (London, British Library, MS Harley 4664), is one of thirteen insular monastic sources which were collated by Hesbert in CAO. These sources are listed below:

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 369 (Missal-breviary of Lewes Priory, c. 1300)
Cambridge, St John's College, MS D. 27 (Ordinale of St Mary's, York, c.1400)
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 1359 (Breviary of Battle Abbey, 15th century)
Cambridge, University Library, MS II.IV.20 (Ely Breviary, 1275)
London, British Library, MS Harley 4664 (Coldingham Breviary, c.1270)
London, British Library, MS Add. 43405 (Muchelney Breviary, late 13th century)
London, British Library, MS Add. 49363 (Pontefract Breviary, c. 1300)
Mount Melleray MS (Cistercian Breviary, 12th century)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barlow 41 (Evesham Breviary, 13th century)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. lit. e 1 (Hyde Breviary, c. 1300)
Oxford, University College, MS 101 (Pontefract Breviary, 13th century)
Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 116 (Winchcombe Breviary, 12th century)
Worcester, Chapter Library, MS F.160 (Worcester Antiphoner, 13th century).

The method used by Hesbert to determine the liturgical affinity of the manuscripts is to compare their choice of matins responsories for the four Sundays of Advent, making 48 points of comparison in all (12 for each Sunday). The reason for choosing this method is that, as well as comparing the MSS with each other, they can also be compared with a primitive Roman "archetype," whose responsories Hesbert numbers 11-19 for the 1st Sunday, 21-29 for the 2nd, 31-39 for the 3rd, and 41-49 for the 4th (the archetype is a "secular" office, having 9 responsories for each Sunday). Thus for each MS, it is possible to see at a glance how closely it conforms to the archetype, whether the archetypal order of responsories is preserved, and which additional items are chosen in order to bring the total to 12 for each Sunday. As a secondary means of comparison, the responsory verses for the same four Sundays are compared. By
applying these methods to virtually all surviving European breviaries, Hesbert is able to identify distinct groups of manuscripts, beginning with those which have identical responsory series, then enlarging each group by the attachment of MSS which are nearly identical, then those which are more remotely connected, and so on.

The results for the insular MSS listed above may be summarised as follows. Under the first classification (that of the responsories), four of the MSS are found to belong to orders which had a completely centralised liturgy: one Cistercian (the Mount Melloray MS), and three Cluniac (one from Lewes and two from Pontefract). The remaining nine MSS fall into three distinct groups. The first group consists of the breviaries of Winchcombe and Evesham, which form part of a larger group termed Saint-Bénigne by Hesbert. This group, headed by breviaries from Saint-Bénigne and Saint-Germain-des-Prés, also includes an important sub-group of Norman MSS, from Fécamp, Jumièges, Conches, Troarn, Saint-Évroult and Mont Saint-Michel. This grouping is confirmed by Hesbert's second classification (that of the responsory verses). The next group is termed France-Nord by Hesbert, and consists of the MSS from Hyde, Ely, Battle, Coldingham and Worcester. Under the second classification, this group is further broken down into three sub-groups: the Hyde Breviary attaches itself to the Saint-Bénigne group; the Ely Breviary is attached to Fleury; and the MSS from Battle, Coldingham and Worcester are attached to le Bec. The final group is termed insulaire by Hesbert, since its two MSS (from Muchelney and St Mary's, York) are similar to each other, but quite remote from any other group, either insular or Continental.

Having thus demonstrated the liturgical affinity of the insular manuscripts, and revealed the likely routes of transmission, Hesbert concludes that the MSS of Muchelney and St Mary's, York, may represent an autonomous insular monastic tradition which was developed in Britain, and independent from Continental influence. He does not seek to interpret these findings in the light of the historical narrative of the insular monasteries, but leaves this task for other scholars. One such scholar, who had in fact anticipated many of Hesbert's results, was Dame Laurentia McLaughlin, Abbess of

\(^7\)cf. p.80 above, where these two MSS were discussed in relation to the liturgy of Jarrow under Aldwin.
Stanbrook. In an appendix to her edition of the Ordinale of St Mary's, York,\(^8\) she pointed out the close affinity between Muchelney and St Mary’s, York, and also the affinity of the Winchcombe and Evesham breviaries to that of Mont Saint-Michel.

For our present purposes, the fact that the Coldingham Breviary (representing the use of Durham) is unrelated to the use of St Mary’s, York, and that neither is similar to the MSS from Evesham or Winchcombe, seems at odds with what might be expected from the historical facts. However, the late date of all the books involved (none is earlier than the twelfth century) must be taken into account: it has already been demonstrated above\(^9\) that the breviaries of Evesham and Winchcombe do not represent the Anglo-Saxon usage of their respective monasteries. Furthermore, the close affinity between Coldingham and Battle Abbey becomes more explicable when it is realised that Battle was the first Abbey to be founded (in 1069) by William the Conqueror, under the guidance of Lanfranc, formerly abbot of le Bec in Normandy, and that Durham came under the influence of Lanfranc when it was re-founded in 1083. It should therefore be no surprise to find that both foundations reflect the liturgical usage of le Bec, more closely than that of other insular monasteries. This leaves the curious affinity between Muchelney and St Mary’s York. The Abbess of Stanbrook discovered a piece of circumstantial evidence suggesting that both books represent the Anglo-Saxon monastic usage of Wessex or Mercia. The evidence consists of the fact that the Magnificat antiphon, *Quare detraxistis*, which is found only in these two books and not in other insular sources, is quoted in full in the Life of St Dunstan, written c.1000 by an Anglo-Saxon priest, as being sung by the monks of Glastonbury during Dunstan’s lifetime (he died in 998). The Abbess of Stanbrook concludes that

Although the indications are but slight they support the theory that the Muchelney breviary may represent the old books of Glastonbury and other Anglo-Saxon monasteries more closely than any others now extant and that the liturgical usage of St Mary’s, York, may be directly descended from them, breaking off

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\(^9\) cf. p.80.
at a date before Norman influences apparent at Evesham and Winchcombe at a later date had succeeded in obliterating at least this unusual detail. (op. cit., p. iv)

If this theory is correct, it leads to a further conclusion which seems to have eluded scholars up to now, but which is not entirely unexpected. This is based on the fact that the Advent responsory series of St Mary’s, York conforms more closely to the Roman archetype than that of any other insular MS. For the 3rd and 4th Sundays, the series of the archetype are preserved in their entirety; for the 1st Sunday, the order of the last two responsories of the archetype is inverted, and for the 2nd Sunday, two are missing, one of which is however used as the 11th responsory for the 1st Sunday. This degree of affinity with the archetype is most unusual among monastic uses, and may mean that the Anglo-Saxon monasteries, which had come under direct Roman influence at an early date, and had maintained this connection at least until the Danish invasions began at the end of the eighth century, preserved this Roman influence in their liturgy until the tenth-century reforms in the south, and to a much greater extent the Norman Conquest, introduced French and Norman practices almost without exception. By an accident of history, however, St Mary’s Abbey at York seems to have preserved elements of the earlier, Roman-influenced liturgy throughout the Middle Ages until the Reformation.

The Coldingham Breviary is particularly notable for its inclusion of full monastic rhymed offices for three seventh-century Northumbrian saints: Cuthbert, Oswald and Ebba, and these are given in Appendix III, with music for the antiphons and responsories transcribed from Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.3.55\(^1\), a *libellus* containing Lives of Cuthbert, Oswald and Aidan, and liturgy for Cuthbert and Oswald.\(^2\) A study of these offices, particularly that of

\(^1\)This manuscript is described by Susan Rankin in *Cambridge Music Manuscripts*, pp. 33–36.

\(^2\)Several later examples of similar *libelli* from the Durham scriptorium are extant:
- Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 657 (396), early 13th century. Its contents, including the music, are almost identical to those of Ctc 0.3.55;
St Cuthbert, will demonstrate how earlier material (in this case, the secular Office of St Cuthbert whose text is contained in King Athelstan’s Book) was adapted and augmented to suit the needs of the new Benedictine monastery, chiefly by the composition of new antiphons and responsories for matins, to bring their number from the nine required by the secular office, to the twelve demanded by the monastic.

"Composition" is a contentious word when used in the context of liturgical chant. Because of the long period of oral transmission which preceded the development of musical notation, terms such as "improvisation", "centonisation" or "adaptation" are more frequently used in describing how the oldest (or "Gregorian") layer of chants came into being. It seems clear, however, that from the tenth century onwards there emerged a more consciously creative process, which approximated to the modern concept of composition in that the resulting pieces could be notated immediately. In other ways, however, particularly the way in which music was matched with words, the creative process was very different: instead of the modern idea of a specific musical response to the meaning of the text, it was the sound of the words and the formal structure of the text which were more important, and general matters of musical style—such as whether a chant was syllabic, neumatic or melismatic—were determined by the genre and intended liturgical function of the piece.

In the case of the Mass, such creative energy was largely expended in the creation of new forms of paraliturgical chant, such as tropes and sequences, or the adaptation of new texts to existing chants, since the ancient Gregorian melodies were considered too sacrosanct to be displaced by entirely new compositions.

In the Office, on the other hand, although no new forms of chant emerged, there was an enormous proliferation of new pieces within the traditional forms of antiphon, responsory and hymn. For this reason, the Office chants are ideal material for tracing changes

London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius D XX, early 13th century. This MS is badly damaged by fire, but the little which remains of the liturgy for St Cuthbert accords with Ctc 0.3.55;
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 491, third quarter of the twelfth century. Almost identical to Ctc 0.3.55 in content, but omitting liturgy for Cuthbert and Oswald.
in musical style over a period of time. Whereas a sequence has no Gregorian equivalent either in its poetic structure or its syllabic style of word-setting, a matins responsory— even one from a late medieval rhymed Office— is recognizably the same type of piece as a responsory dating from several centuries earlier, since at least the overall structure and melismatic style are common to both.

The most detailed and comprehensive study of matins responsories is W.H. Frere’s introduction to the Sarum Antiphonal. Frere’s dissertation is primarily concerned with identifying the distinctive melodic formulae which in various combinations form the “typical" responsories in each of the eight modes. His justification for adopting this approach is as follows:

It may seem, if merely these lists and the formulas attached to them are considered, that the composition of responds of this type was a very mechanical affair, being simply the combination of certain clichés. But this is not the case; and in order to see the skill of composition it is necessary to examine the different component phrases, and see how each is skilfully handled, being delicately and skilfully adjusted to the words...

By judging the responsories solely on these grounds, Frere dismisses most pieces which depart radically from the typical means of construction— and thus, nearly all the later compositions— as decadent and corrupt. He also fails to take into account the liturgical context and performance practice of the chants in question. No chant can be defined purely in terms of its melody and text; it must also be considered in the light of its genre and function in the liturgy. An antiphon, for example, is intended to link the psalm which follows it with the particular feast being celebrated; on a musical level, it determines the tone to which the psalm is sung. A responsory, on the other hand, is usually a static, meditative chant, which may reflect upon the preceding lesson. Other factors which might affect the style or length of a chant are its position in a particular nocturn, and in the Office as a whole; the number of cantors employed for each piece, and the contrast resulting from alternating cantors and choir; the inclusion or otherwise of a gloria patri, and whether repeats are partial or complete. The following discussion explores how these

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issues might have affected the composition of antiphons and responsories for the two rhymed offices most closely associated with Durham: those of St Cuthbert and St Oswald.

Although these two saints were closely linked in time and location, their rhymed Offices were composed under widely differing circumstances. St Cuthbert’s was originally a secular Office, and was written in the early tenth century in Wessex or Chester-le-Street. The Office of St Oswald is known only in monastic form, and seems to have been written in Durham at the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. Durham Cathedral Priory forms the link between the two Offices, since this was where relics of both saints were eventually enshrined, after sharing the wanderings of the Community of St Cuthbert. Here also the secular Office of St Cuthbert was adapted for monastic use by the addition of extra antiphons and responsories.

In 1083, the Community of St Cuthbert were ejected from their church at Durham by the new Norman bishop, William of St Carilef, and were replaced by a community of twenty-three Benedictine monks, from the monastery which Aldwin had recently re-founded at Jarrow. The church at Durham was elevated to the status of a Cathedral Priory, with Aldwin as the first prior. Soon afterwards, in 1093, Bishop William initiated the construction of the splendid Romanesque church which still stands today. One of the main purposes of this new building was to create a worthy setting for the shrine of St Cuthbert, and another important way of honouring the saint was the provision of Proper chants for the patronal feast-days and commemorations. The monastic official entrusted with this task did not have to start from scratch. Among the various treasures which had been added to St Cuthbert’s relics during the years of wandering was the manuscript known as King Athelstan’s Book (described in the previous chapter), which contained the tenth-century secular Office of St Cuthbert, and this formed the basis of the new monastic Office. The first requirement would have been the provision of extra lessons and chants to bring the secular Office into line with monastic usage. The simplest way of adapting an Office from

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13This may well have been Symeon, author of the Historia Dunelmensis and Historia Regum, since he held the position of Precentor (chief cantor) of Durham.
secular to monastic use would have been to supply the extra items from the appropriate part of the *commune sanctorum* (in this case, from the Common of Confessor Bishops), and this was indeed the method adopted in several monastic versions of the Office of St Cuthbert. At Durham itself, however, this solution was evidently deemed to be unsatisfactory, perhaps for the following reasons. Firstly, the antiphons and responsories of the secular Office are in ascending modal order, whereas the common items are arbitrary in their choice of modes, and would thus upset the overall structure of the Office. Secondly, each nocturn of matins moves towards a climax, effected by increasing numbers of cantors, the addition of the *gloria patri*, and greater length of responsories. For example, the *Monastic Constitutions* of Lanfranc, which almost certainly influenced liturgical practice at Durham (see Appendix II), direct that on feasts of the highest rank (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption, and the feast of the principal patron of the church, i.e. St Cuthbert in the case of Durham), the first three responsories in each nocturn of matins should be sung by two cantors, whereas the last responsory in each nocturn (i.e. the fourth, eighth and twelfth) should be sung by four, five and six cantors respectively. Furthermore, the eighth and twelfth are directed to be repeated from the beginning after the *gloria patri*, instead of the usual repetition of the second section of the respond only. It would have been anti-climactic to introduce at the end of the third nocturn items which were not even proper to the saint in whose honour the Office was composed. For this reason, proper antiphons and responsories were composed at Durham, in order to sustain the momentum and sense of climax to the end of matins for the feast of St Cuthbert. This climactic effect is further enhanced by the fact that the newly-composed twelfth responsory, *Athleta Domini Cuthbertus*, is longer and more elaborate than any of the preceding ones.

The following comparison of second-mode responsories from the Offices of SS Cuthbert and Oswald is intended to show some of the ways in which the later chants, presumably composed at Durham in the late eleventh century, differ from the earlier Cuthbert Office, and

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14 For details of these manuscripts and the Common items used, see Hohler, *The Durham Services in Honour of St. Cuthbert*, pp. 188-90.
15 See Appendix III, pp. 184-5.
thereby shed some light on the method of composition of the later pieces. These are the responsories which are to be compared:

*In sanctis crescent*[^16], Matins Responsory 2 from the Secular Office of St Cuthbert (hereafter referred to as C-MR2);

*Prenunciante cuthberto*[^17], Matins Responsory 10 from the Monastic Office of St Cuthbert (C-MR10);

*Hec crux oswaldi*[^18], Matins Responsory 2 from the Office of St Oswald (O-MR2).

As the first point of comparison, let us consider the tones used for the verses. There is an obvious difference between the earlier example, C-MR2, whose verse uses the standard responsorial tone of Mode 2, and the later pair, C=MR10 and O-MR2, whose verses depart from the norm. The responsorial tones, being the most complex of psalmodic recitations, have not just one, but two reciting notes (in the case of Mode 2, F in the first half of the verse, and D in the second half). They also have elaborate melodic formulae for the intonation, mediation and termination[^19]. Although the verses of C-MR10 and O-MR2 may appear to be freely composed, many of the melodic units from which they are constructed are in fact derived from the standard verse tone of Mode 2. Thus, in terms of the standard tone, the verse of C-MR10 could be described as follows: intonation; termination; recitation on F; mediation; free ending. Similarly, the verse of O-MR2 consists of the following standard components: intonation; termination; recitation on F; termination; short free ending.

This process of re-ordering standard melodic units may reveal something of the creative intentions of the composer (or compiler). If it is assumed that he was a member of the monastic community at Durham, it may also be assumed that he was familiar with the standard responsorial tones from the daily singing of matins in choir. This being the case, the decision to depart from these tones must have been a conscious one. The fact that these "free" responsorial tones rely heavily on the standard tone for their melodic material suggests two possible methods of composition: either the re-ordering

[^16]: Appendix III, p. 173.
[^17]: Appendix III, p. 182.
of standard phrases was the unconscious result of an attempt to compose freely; or it was a deliberate and conscious decision. The first of these possibilities seems unlikely to be true, since other "free" verses in the Offices of Cuthbert and Oswald are entirely unrelated to the standard tones. If, on the other hand, the re-ordering was deliberate, there must have been some reason for it, such as to make the verses accord with prevailing trends in modality.

An example of how a change in modal aesthetics might result in melodic modification may be seen in the termination of the verse of C-MR2. Whereas the standard verse tone in Mode 2 ends on the subfinal, in this case it is altered so as to end on the final of the mode, suggesting that at the time of its composition, it had become unacceptable for a second-mode responsory verse to terminate on the subfinal. In both of the later responsories, the standard termination formula is used in its original form ending on the subfinal, but its function is changed to that of mediation. The actual termination in each case is on the final. In the verse of O-MR2, the standard termination formula is used in both halves of the verse, but in the second half, four notes are added, making the verse end on the final, and also creating a musical rhyme with the end of the respond. The overall result of such modifications is a verse which, although based on standard phrases, conforms them closely to the rhyming couplet of the text: the first line is marked by an ouvert cadence on the subfinal, and the second is melodically similar but with clos cadence on the final. This plan is seen most clearly in O-MR2, whose text has the simplest rhyme scheme. It seems reasonable, therefore, to view the rejection of the standard responsorial verse tones in late responsories such as C-MR10 and O-MR2, not as a sign of decadence, but as evidence of musical development and modal sensitivity.

Further comparison of C-MR2 with C-MR10 shows that the later composer was concerned to make the new responsories harmonize stylistically with the earlier Office. For instance, they both share the same melodic range (A-a), the same number of lines (7 in the respond, 4 in the verse), and are of similar overall length. Both are similarly melismatic in style, and have longer melismas in the final line of the respond (C-MR2 on est, with 15 notes and a range of a 5th, and C-MR10 on migraret, with 14 notes and a range of a 5th).
The two chants differ mainly in the cadence structure of their responds. In C-MR2, the cadences vary between the final and subfinal, whereas in C-MR10 all the cadences are on the final. In C-MR2, no cadence formula is exactly the same as any other, but in C-MR10, 5 of the total 7 are virtually identical. The creator of the later chant seems to show more awareness of the overall structure of the responsory in performance, both in the text and melody: the rhymes are arranged so that each section of the responsory has the same verbal rhyme (*eum, dominum, exauditum, dominum*); the two halves of the respond have almost identical opening melodies, with the result that the beginnings of the four sections in performance take the form AABA, even the B section (verse intonation) having its first four notes in common with the other sections; finally, the important second section of the respond (from *ut pariter*), which is repeated after the verse, consists of two well balanced lines, with similar cadences, and which cover the full octave range between them. The respond of C-MR2, on the other hand, has only a short second section of one line, whose range is only a fifth. Another striking feature of C-MR10 is that, in almost every case, the verbal accent (i.e. the stressed syllable) of each word has a corresponding musical accent, usually provided by the use of a longer melisma for that syllable.

If any conclusion may be drawn from this limited comparison, it is that the later chants are much more modally stable, having a tendency to end each line on the final of the mode, whereas the earlier responsories are more likely to use standard melodic formulae associated with responsories in a particular mode. The later chants have a tendency to adapt the older style to meet the demands imposed by a rhyming text, and emphasise the rhyme scheme by clear cadences and the verbal accent by melismas.  

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20 These general points, while based on the comparison of second-mode responsories, are borne out by comparing responsories of the other seven modes.
THE ROLE OF THE SCOTTISH MONARCHY IN THE RESTORATION OF NORTHERN MONASTICISM

Although Lanfranc, in his position as first Norman archbishop of Canterbury, exerted a major influence over the restored monasteries of northern Britain, the initial impulse for the foundation of one of the most important of these monasteries came from the saintly Queen Margaret of Scotland. Before her reign, as consort to Malcolm Canmore, monasticism of the Benedictine type was entirely absent from the Scottish kingdom. Such religious life as there was consisted of the Culdees, either living the eremitical life in cells, or living in community in a manner resembling that of the later secular colleges. Of their liturgy virtually nothing survives, but it is likely that it closely resembled that of the early Irish missionaries to Scotland. St Margaret is often said to have "anglicised" or "romanised" the Church in Scotland, but in fact she was tolerant of the Culdees, and even bestowed gifts on the community at Loch Leven. She did however choose as her confessor Turgot, Prior of Durham (and later Bishop of St Andrew's), and it was probably at his suggestion that she asked Lanfranc to send three monks from Canterbury to form a Benedictine community at Dunfermline. Evidence for this is found in the reply sent by Lanfranc to Queen Margaret's request to be sent monks from Canterbury:

I am sending your glorious husband and yourself our very dear brother Dom Goldwin as you asked me to, and two other brothers with him; for he could not accomplish single-handed what is required in God's service and your own. I do most urgently entreat you to strive to complete the work that you have begun for God and your souls’ welfare as quickly and effectively as you can. Should you be able to achieve it with the help of others, or wish to do so, we most fervently desire that our own monks should return to us, for in the positions they held they were really indispensable to our church. But let it be your decision: in all respects we entirely desire to render you obedience.²¹

²¹Mitto glorioso viro tuo et tibi carissimum fratrem nostrum domnum Goldevvinum secundum petitionem tuam, alios quoque duos fratres; quia quod de servitio Dei et vestro fieri oportet solus ipse per se explere non posset. Et rogo multumque rogo quatinus quod pro Deo et pro animabus vestris coepistis instanter et efficaciter perficere studeatis. Et si possetis aut velletis opus vestrum per alios adimplere,
This letter can be dated between 1070 and 1089, and the "work...begun" at that time was the foundation of Dunfermline Abbey, which under the royal patronage of Queen Margaret and her sons became one of the most prestigious Scottish monasteries. It is not known how long Prior Goldwin and his companions stayed at the new house, but from their presence it seems reasonable to assume that the main liturgical influence on Dunfermline would have been that of the mother house, Lanfranc's own monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury. In the absence of concrete evidence, such speculation would be of limited value, but the necessary proof does indeed exist, in the form of a fifteenth-century psalter now in the municipal library of Boulogne-sur-Mer (MS 92). From an inscription at the base of the first folio, this book appears to have been made for Richard Bothwel, Abbot of Dunfermline from 1445-1468, and although incomplete, there is sufficient material amongst the kalendar entries and litanies to identify its liturgical provenance as Dunfermline Abbey. The relevant kalendar entries are as follows:

[1 February] Brigide virg. In Albis (red letters)
[3 February] Blasii ep. et mart. XII lect. (red letters)
[10 February] Scolastice virg. VIII lect.
Austroberte virg. IIII lect.

[March-August lacking]

[4 September] Cuthberti ep. In Albis (red letters)
[9 October] Dionisi sociorumque eius. XII lect. (red letters)
[10 October] Paulini ep. et conf. XII lect. (red letters)
[21 October] Ordinacio s. Dunstani XII lect.
[16 November] Transitus sancte Margarite, Scotorum regine (red letters)
[20 November] Edmundi regis et mart. XII lect.
[29 December] S. Thome mart. Cantuariensis archiep. (red letters)

The gradings of four, eight and twelve lessons, and In Albis all indicate a Benedictine monastery; the inclusion of Kentigern and Ninian point to Scotland, and the Transitus of St Margaret, Queen of

multo desiderio vellemus hos fratres nostros ad nos redire, quia valde in officiis suis necessarii erant ecclesiae nostrae. Fiat tamen voluntas vestra, quia in omnibus et per omnia desideramus oboedire vobis.

Scots suggests Dunfermline, the only foundation dedicated to her (as well as to the Holy Trinity). These conclusions are further supported by the litanies: the double invocations of Benedict and Margaret indicate a Benedictine house dedicated to Margaret, and in addition to Ninian and Kentigern, there are the Scottish saints Columba, Duthac, Serf, Mován, Ebba, and a rare invocation of St Margaret’s youngest son David, King of Scots, whose tomb was also at Dunfermline. Even more interesting, however, are the strong signs of affinity with Christ Church, Canterbury, preserved in this psalter written nearly four centuries after the original foundation. Some of the kalendar entries suggestive of Canterbury are common to most insular monastic kalendars, and for this reason their presence alone would not be sufficient to show Canterbury affinity. The obvious example is St Thomas of Canterbury, whose main feast on 29 December was so universally observed as to be inconclusive with regard to provenance. Two other examples are Wilfrid and Paulinus, whose high grading at Canterbury reflects the fact that their relics were claimed by Christ Church. As can be seen, they are also highly graded (with twelve lessons) in the Dunfermline kalendar. Two other feasts, however, are unequivocally characteristic of Christ Church, Canterbury. These are the Ordination of St Dunstan on 21 October (his widely-kept feast of deposition fell on 19 May), and St Austroberta (whose relics were possessed by Christ Church) on 10 February. Thus it can be seen that Dunfermline Abbey retained, at least until the middle of the fifteenth century, some trace of the liturgy which must have been brought from Christ Church, Canterbury, by Goldwin and his companions in the late eleventh century.

It was not until 1128, in the reign of Queen Margaret’s sixth son, David I, that Dunfermline took on the status of a Benedictine Abbey. By this time there was also another Benedictine house in Scotland, Coldingham Priory, which had been founded as a dependent priory of Durham some time after 1098, when lands at Coldingham were granted to Durham Cathedral Priory by King Edgar of Scotland. It is likely that this small foundation would have conformed to the liturgical use of its mother house of Durham, and indeed the thirteenth-century breviary which survives from Coldingham Priory
(Lbl Harley 4664) seems to have been used not only at Coldingham, but also at Durham Cathedral Priory and even Durham College, Oxford, during the course of its active life. One unique feature of this manuscript is the inclusion of a full Rhymed Office for St Ebba, in whose honour Coldingham Priory was dedicated. (See Appendix III, p. 217.)

Further expansion of the unreformed "Black" Benedictines was limited to one other abbey (Iona, refounded c.1203) and three small dependent priories. The reason for this sluggish growth was almost certainly the huge influx into Scotland of the newly-founded "reformed" orders, either directly from France, or in some cases via England. Many of these new religious houses were founded and endowed by David I (1084-1153) before his accession to the Scottish throne, while he was still Earl of Northumbria. The first of any of the new orders to be introduced to Britain were the Tironensians, to whom David granted lands at Selkirk in 1113. The Order of Tiron had been founded only shortly before this date (in 1109) by St Bernard of Tiron, as a congregation of reformed Benedictines at a place named Tiron in the Province of Perches, and the diocese of Chartres. Its main aim, which was to interpret the Rule of St Benedict in a more primitive and ascetic manner than was commonly the case among Black Benedictines and Cluniacs, was similar to that of the Savignacs and Cistercians. In its hierarchical structure, the Order of Tiron more closely resembled the Cluniac Order, with the mother house maintaining a certain degree of control by means of general chapter meetings, but allowing greater autonomy to individual abbeys than in the Cistercian Order.

Although the Tironensians never possessed more than about a hundred houses throughout Europe, they maintained their independence in France until the French Revolution, and in Scotland until the Reformation. In England, the order had virtually no influence, its presence being restricted to two small cells (Andwell and Hamble) which were dependent on the mother house, and later suppressed as alien priories. In Wales, there was an abbey (St Dogmael's) and two dependent priories (Caldey and Pill), but in Scotland the Tironensians achieved a disproportionately high influence. By 1285 seven houses had been founded, including four
abbeys, two of which (Kelso and Arbroath) came to be ranked among the foremost abbeys of the country. The Abbot of Kelso was the first Scottish abbot to be granted the mitre and episcopal ornaments by the pope in 1165, and this gave him precedence among the abbots in parliament. King David seems to have had a particular affinity for the order, as demonstrated by the fact that, on his accession to the throne, he moved Selkirk Abbey to Kelso, which was adjacent to his royal palace at Roxburgh. He also made gifts in perpetuity to the mother house of Tiron, as well as bestowing rich endowments on the order in Scotland.

In order to assess the influence which the Order of Tiron exerted upon monastic liturgy in Scotland, the method adopted will be the same as that previously used in the present chapter, that is, to construct a likely model from the known historical facts, then to test this model against the surviving liturgical manuscripts.

The first task will be to investigate the circumstances leading to the creation of the Order of Tiron, and the monastic background of its founder, St Bernard of Tiron. This task is facilitated by the existence of a contemporary vita by Geoffrey le Gros, who was a monk (and eventually Chancellor) of the Abbey of Tiron, and a disciple of St Bernard. The vita can be dated between 1137 and 1149, since it was commissioned by Geoffrey de Leves, Bishop of Chartres from 1115 to 1149, and mentions the death of Louis VI le Gros, which took place in 1137.

From Geoffrey's account, we learn that St Bernard was born in Ponthieu, near Abbeville. At the age of twenty, in about 1073, he entered the abbey of S.-Cyprien de Poitiers. After ten years he was sent by Raynaud, abbot of S.-Cyprien, to re-establish monastic observance at S.-Savin, along with another monk named Gervais. The latter became abbot of S.-Savin, and appointed Bernard as prior. Later, a dispute arose between abbot

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22 The original manuscript of Geoffrey le Gros' vita of St Bernard of Tiron does not survive, the earliest version being a thirteenth-century copy made by a monk of Tiron for the archives of Tiron Abbey. It is printed in Acta Sanctorum, vol. Aprilis II, pp. 220-254. (St Bernard's feast was kept on 14 April.)

23 For a discussion of the vita and the life of St Bernard, see Jacques de Bascher, "La "Vita" de S. Bernard d'Abbeville, Abbé de S.-Cyprien de Poitiers et de Tiron." in Revue Mabillon 59 (1979-80), pp. 411-450.
and prior concerning a chapel which Gervais wished to buy for the profit of the abbey. Bernard, who considered this transaction to be tainted with simony, succeeded in having the abbot expelled, and took control of the abbey. In 1100, Bernard was elected abbot of S.-Cyprien de Poitiers in succession to abbot Raynaud, but his election was contested by Cluny, who claimed that they had the right to be consulted in the appointment. Bernard went to Rome to appeal directly to Pope Pascal II, but the pope upheld the rights of Cluny, and Bernard was suspended from his abbatial functions. It was perhaps this experience which made him feel increasingly that he was called to the eremitical life. Consequently, in 1108 or 1109 he sought permission from Rotrou III, Count of Perche, to establish a hermitage in his domains. Rotrou granted him a site at Tiron, on the edge of the vast Forest of Perche, and it was here that Bernard, with the help of a few devoted disciples, erected a small chapel where he first celebrated Mass on Easter Day, 1109. Bernard’s reputation for holiness spread rapidly throughout the surrounding region, and soon many other monks joined the first pioneers in their austere monastic observance. Thus began the Abbey of Tiron, and before his death in 1116, Bernard was able to initiate the construction in stone of monastic buildings and the abbey church, dedicated to St Mary and the Holy Trinity.

Whether or not St Bernard actually intended to create a new religious order when he departed from S.-Cyprien de Poitiers, almost immediately priories began to spread from the abbey of Tiron, not only in the surrounding area of Perche, but throughout Europe. This rapid expansion has a bearing on the liturgical development of the order, because the new priories began to be formed at a time when there was scarcely any opportunity for a distinctive liturgy to have evolved at the mother house. This fact is especially pertinent in the case of Selkirk, which was founded in 1113, only four years after the foundation of Tiron itself. Thus, where it would usually be reasonable to assume that a daughter foundation would perpetuate the liturgical customs of its mother house, here such an assumption is less reliable. Furthermore, even if it could be shown that a distinctive Tironensian liturgy did eventually develop at Tiron, it is only the liturgy used during the first four years which is likely to have influenced the
liturgy of Selkirk Abbey. Of course, one should not rule out the possibility that subsequent developments at the mother house could have been passed on to daughter foundations, but this would depend on the frequency of contact between the two monasteries, and the degree of autonomy granted to the newer house.

It seems almost inevitable that the liturgy of Tiron, at least during the years of St Bernard’s abbacy, must have been heavily influenced by that of S.-Cyprien de Poitiers, where Bernard had spent all his previous monastic life, except for his sojourn as prior of S.-Savin. It is worth noting that S.-Cyprien de Poitiers had come under the influence of Cluny from the beginning of the eleventh century, and by the time of St Bernard’s association with the abbey, it was considered as a dependent of Cluny. Therefore a certain Cluniac influence might be expected in the liturgy of the Order of Tiron.

It now remains to examine the relevant manuscripts, in order to establish the extent to which they confirm the expectations outlined above. There are, to my knowledge, only two surviving manuscripts from Tironensian houses in Scotland: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 16495, a thirteenth-century missal from Lesmahagow Priory (a dependent priory of Kelso Abbey); and London, British Library, Add. MS 8930, a kalendar fragment from Arbroath Abbey. This last manuscript, while being of limited value in that it consists only of a portion of a kalendar from January to April, accords almost exactly in its choice of feasts with the sanctorale of the Lesmahagow Missal, thus showing that a high degree of uniformity existed, at least as far as the kalendar is concerned, between the different Tironensian monasteries of Scotland.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE LESMAHAGOW MISSAL (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 16495)

The Lesmahagow Missal was first brought to the attention of liturgical scholars by Monsignor David McRoberts in his Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments (Glasgow, 1953). It is a manuscript missal of 166 folios, written on vellum in a
thirteenth-century gothic hand (and rebound in calf skin in the present century). It was formerly in the private collection of Sir Sydney Cockerell, who acquired it at a Sotheby’s auction in 1946.

On the strength of the votive masses of St Kentigern (ff. 115 and 161v), McRoberts assigned the missal to the diocese of Glasgow (whose patron was St Kentigern), and from the votive mass of St Machutus, concluded that it was written for the Tironensian Priory of Lesmahagow (a daughter house of Kelso Abbey), which possessed relics of St Machutus.

The contents of the missal are as follows:

ff. 1–98v: Temporale beginning with dominica prima in adventu domini and ending with dominica xxiv post pentecostes (Scribe I)
(ff. 45v: Added in margin in fourteenth-century court hand, the mass for the feast of Corpus Christi)

ff. 99–100: Missa pro defunctis and missa pro pace (Scribe I)
ff. 100v: Various additions in court hand (Nicene Creed, forms of excommunication and confession)

ff. 101–107v: Canon Missæ (Scribe II)

ff. 108–115v: Missæ votivæ beginning with de sancta trinitate and ending with de sancto thome (Scribe I)

ff. 115v–157v: Sanctorale beginning with missa in vigilia sancto andreæ and ending with de sancti saturnini, martyræs (Scribe I)

ff. 157v–166: Commune sanctorum (Scribe I)

ff. 166–166v: In purificazione sancte marie, benedictio ignis (Scribe III)

There are also four leaves, of a later date than the main text, bound in at the beginning of the missal (foliation A–D), and of paper rather than vellum. They contain musical intonations for the gloria in excelsis and credo, and proper prefaces for the liturgical year. The music is written in square notation on four red lines, and probably dates from the early fourteenth century.

McRoberts noticed several unusual features in the sanctorale, and concluded that

"the curious mixture of English and Scottish local feasts in this manuscript... points to an early period in the adaptation of the Sarum Use to Scotland and perhaps indicates that it was through these newly-founded religious houses that the Sarum Use was made popular in Scotland." 24

Neil Ker, however, having examined the missal when compiling the second volume of Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries (Oxford,

24 McRoberts, Catalogue, p.4.
1975), discovered that the Alleluia versicles for the Sundays after Pentecost were in the order which is characteristic of the Cluniac missal. This connection with Cluny is not unexpected in a Tironensian missal, since the founder of the Order of Tiron underwent a Cluniac formation at S.-Cyprien de Poitiers. Comparison of these Alleluia versicles is the normal means of distinguishing the liturgical affinity of missals, but in order to reveal the various stages of evolution of a particular missal, a more detailed study is necessary.

THE SANCTORALE OF THE LESMAHAGOW MISSAL

One of the most common ways of distinguishing between manuscripts and assigning their provenance is by a study of the liturgical kalendar, which is usually incorporated at the beginning of a liturgical book. The Lesmahagow Missal contains no such kalendar, so any discussion of saints’ feasts must be based on the sanctorale. This is no great disadvantage, and indeed has a positive advantage, in that we can certainly equate the inclusion of a feast with provision of liturgy. Such an equation is not always reliable when considering liturgical kalendars, since kalendars were often prepared separately from the main text of a manuscript, and usually include many more feasts than the sanctorale, partly because liturgy for minor feasts would presumably have been supplied from the commune sanctorum, and partly because kalendars were often updated with new feasts, which were not necessarily incorporated into the main body of the text. The most immediately striking feature of the Lesmahagow sanctorale is not its inclusion of unusual feasts, but rather its omission of feasts which might be expected. For instance, in a missal which is demonstrably of Cluniac affinity, it is surprising to encounter a complete absence of distinctive Cluniac saints, such as Odo and Odilo (early abbots of Cluny). The omission of Odo and Odilo from the Lesmahagow Missal cannot be explained by suggesting that the period of contact with a Cluniac foundation must have pre-dated the promulgation of these feasts, since they were introduced into the Cluniac kalendar by central authority in 942 and 1049 respectively.

and as we have already seen, St Bernard of Tiron was a Cluniac monk from c.1073 until he left to become a hermit at Tiron in 1109. The only feasible explanation is that Cluniac saints were "edited out" of the Tironensian kalendar, either immediately following the foundation of the Order, or later on in Scotland.

The next surprising feature in a missal written for use in a Scottish priory, is the absence of Scottish feasts. Despite McRoberts' comment (quoted above) about "the curious mixture of English and Scottish local feasts", there is in fact only one Scottish feast included in the missal. Moreover, the saint in question, St Kentigern, is represented not by an appropriate entry in the sanctorale at January 13th, but by a votive mass. The omission of Scottish feasts is the more surprising, given that the likely date of the missal is over a century after the Tironensians came to Scotland: adequate time, it might be thought, for even a new French order to have assimilated some local features.

The English feasts, although more numerous than the Scottish, are very few in comparison with even the most basic Sarum kalendar. They are listed below:

St Cuthbert (20 March)
St Guthlac (11 April)
St Dunstan (19 May)
St Augustine (26 May)
St Alban (22 June)
St Oswald (5 August)
Translation of St Cuthbert (4 September)
St Edmund (20 November)
St Thomas of Canterbury (29 December)

It seems reasonable to assume that the liturgy for these feasts would have been copied from an English source. Since the Tironensians were Benedictines (albeit reformed ones), and all the above feasts were highly graded in English Benedictine kalendar\(^{26}\), the most likely exemplar would have been an English Benedictine missal. However, on comparing the collects, secrets and postcommunions for the English feasts in the Lesmahagow Missal with those in other insular manuscripts\(^{27}\), it is found that only those for St Cuthbert

\(^{27}\)The manuscripts used for this comparison are those collated by J. Wickham Legg in *Missale Westmonasteriensis*, vol. III.
(the Deposition) and St Thomas of Canterbury agree with the insular uses. Five of the remaining seven feasts adapt from the Gregorian Sacramentary proper prayers originally used for other feasts, leaving the masses for St Augustine of Canterbury and the Translation of St Cuthbert apparently unique to the Lesmahagow Missal. The identity of the prayers for St Cuthbert and St Thomas of Canterbury with those found in English manuscripts does not prove any direct connection with an insular source, since these are the only two insular saints whose feasts are almost universally included in continental kalendars.

If, then, an insular missal is ruled out as an exemplar for the Lesmahagow Missal, or even for the insular feasts included in it, what are the remaining possibilities? On the strength of the Gregorian adaptations for English feasts, the Gregorian Sacramentary seems a likely candidate for the earliest layer of the manuscript. Upon comparison of the Lesmahagow Missal with the Gregorian Sacramentary, it is apparent that all the distinctively Gregorian feasts (i.e. those of the early Roman martyrs) are present, and that for all these feasts, the Gregorian collects, secrets and postcommunions are employed. Thus it may be stated that the fundamental layer of influence on the missal is certainly the Gregorian Sacramentary. This statement, however, is limited in its usefulness, since many contemporary uses shared such influence (though not the Sarum Use, whose proper prayers, particularly postcommunions, differed substantially from the Gregorian, even for distinctively Gregorian feasts). The remaining layer of the sanctorale, that is, those parts which are neither English nor Gregorian, must then provide the most enlightening evidence of the origins of the missal. This layer consists primarily of feasts associated with the Gelasian Sacramentary, such as feasts of the apostles; a group of Church Fathers:

St Benedict (21 March)
Translation of St Benedict (11 July)
St Augustine of Hippo (28 August)
St Jerome (30 September);

and some important French feasts:

St Hilary (13 January)
St Maur (15 January)
Translation of St Martin (4 July)
St German (31 July)
St Martin (11 November)
St Brice (13 November).

Up to this point, the combination of these feasts with those of the Gregorian Sacramentary is compatible with the earliest surviving Cluniac manuscripts, such as Breviarium lectionum per annum secundum Cluniacum, which dates from the tenth century.  

Comparison with a slightly later Cluniac manuscript shows an even closer affinity, and explains the presence in the Lesmahagow Missal of certain feasts of early French martyrs which are very rarely found in insular manuscripts. These are as follows:

SS Felix, Fortunatus & Achilles (23 April), martyred at Valence, c.212;
SS Donation & Rogation (24 May), martyred at Nantes, c.286; [also found in Cistercian kalendars, e.g. that of Culross]
St Reverian (1 June), martyred at Autun, c.272;
St Julian (28 August), martyred at Brivat, Auvergne, c.304;
SS Vitalis & Agricola (27 November), martyred at Florence, fourth century; [also in Cistercian kalendars]

While this kalendar evidence seems to indicate that the Lesmahagow Missal has a significant affinity with Cluniac books, this must be weighed against the complete absence of Cluniac saints.

The next stage in analysing the Lesmahagow Missal is to collate it with other insular and continental missals. A starting point in this process is to compare it with those missals collated by Wickham Legg in Missale Westmonasteriensis, volume III. Although this reveals striking differences between the Lesmahagow book and other insular missals, the comparison is of limited value, since Wickham Legg included no Cluniac missal, insular or continental, in his analysis. The next logical step, therefore, is to make a detailed comparison between the Lesmahagow Missal and a thirteenth-century Cluniac missal-

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31 Ordo Cluniacensi Monachi Bernardi. See de Valou, Le Monachisme clunisien, p.396.
32 For places and dates of martyrdom, see S. Baring-Gould, Lives of the Saints, 15 vols. (Oxford, 1915)
33 cf. A.P. Forbes, Kalendars of Scottish Saints (Edinburgh, 1872)
breviary (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 369), from Lewes Priory in Sussex. The main fact to emerge from this comparison is the high degree of correspondence between the two manuscripts. For example, of the 157 masses contained in the Lesmahagow sanctorale, only the eight listed below are absent from the Lewes missal-breviary:

- St Prisca (18 January)
- St Julian (27 January)
- St Brigid (1 February)
- St Guthlac (11 April)
- St Tyburtius and companions (14 April)
- Translation of St Cuthbert (4 September)
- SS Pelagia & Demetrius (8 October)
- St Machutus (15 November).

The unusual occurrence of SS Machutus, Pelagia and Demetrius in the Lesmahagow Missal is readily explained by the fact that Lesmahagow Priory possessed relics of these three saints.

On the other hand, the Lewes sanctorale contains a large number of feasts (mainly of distinctively Cluniac saints) which are not found in the Lesmahagow Missal.

It would not be sufficient only to compare the names of saints included in the sanctorale, since it would be possible for the two books to have similar kalendars, but a very different choice of chants and prayers for each feast. In fact, the choice of mass chants in the Lesmahagow Missal coincides with that of the Lewes Missal-breviary in a remarkably high number of cases, and the few exceptions can mostly be explained by a different choice having been made from the commune sanctorum at the time the sanctorale for each book was compiled. The same high degree of concordance is found in the prayers of the sanctorale, and this fact, taken in conjunction with the identical post-Pentecost alleluia series, means that the Lesmahagow book must have been very closely based on a Cluniac exemplar.

34 There are two masses for St Tyburtius in the Lesmahagow Missal, the first for Eastertide, and another in case the feast falls before Eastertide. The missal-breviary of Lewes has the mass for Eastertide, but not the other.
In conclusion, it may be said that although the first Cluniac foundation in Scotland (Paisley Abbey) did not take place until 1163, the Cluniac liturgy had in fact been in use for half a century before this in the monasteries of the Order of Tiron, first at Selkirk from 1113 to 1128, then at Kelso and its daughter house of Lesmahagow, which had been founded by David I in 1144. This fact was obscured by the removal of all traces of Cluniac saints from the Tironensian kalendar, a move which perhaps reflects the austerity of the founder, or the personal dispute which St Bernard had had with Cluny over his appointment as abbot of S.-Cyprien de Poitiers. Whatever the reason, it is clear that Cluny was rivalled only by Christ Church, Canterbury, in its liturgical influence on the post-Conquest monastic revival in Northern Britain.
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

One of the aims of the present study was to discover whether there was any form of liturgical continuity between the early period of Northumbrian monasticism in the seventh and eighth centuries, and the period of renewal following the Norman Conquest. During the course of the previous chapters, evidence has been introduced which suggests that certain elements from the early period did indeed survive into the eleventh century and beyond.

Among the most significant findings which have emerged from the study is the fact that, despite the complete physical destruction of the Northumbrian monasteries during the eighth and ninth centuries, it is almost certain that the daily singing of the divine office, in the form outlined in the Rule of St Benedict, continued without interruption from the first introduction of the Rule by St Wilfrid in the second half of the seventh century, until it was given new impetus by the resurgence of Benedictine monasticism after the Conquest. Moreover, at the very time when the divine office at Durham was temporarily changed to a secular use under Bishop Walcher, the monastic rite was brought back to Jarrow by Aldwin and his companions, and soon spread to Whitby, Durham and St Mary's, York.

Similarly, the archetypal Roman order of matins responsories, which was almost certainly absorbed into the monastic liturgy of Jarrow and Wearmouth, Ripon, Hexham and Lindisfarne, seems to have survived by equally precarious means. When its survival was threatened, in this case by the introduction of Norman liturgical customs and books at Durham under the influence of Lanfranc, it was perpetuated in the office books of St Mary's, York, in a form probably imported by Aldwin from the Mercian monasteries of Evesham and Winchcombe.

Finally, it can be stated without too high a degree of audacity, that from the day of St Cuthbert's death in 687, no subsequent day passed without his name being invoked and his prayers asked, until the suppression of the cult at the Reformation. This cult of St Cuthbert, the growth of which was due largely to the devotion and courage of the Lindisfarne monks and their successors, brought forth
much artistic fruit, most notably the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Rhymed Office of St Cuthbert, and the Cathedral Priory of Durham, built as a fitting shrine for the incorrupt body of the saint.

In the eighty years which elapsed between Aldwin’s initially modest revival of monastic life amid the ruins of Jarrow, and the death of King David of Scotland in 1153, Benedictine monasticism regained its former splendour in the lands north of the Humber. After this period, which was characterised by an intense creativity, in terms of both liturgy and architecture, the Benedictine monasteries continued to prosper, but never regained their initial creative impetus. By the end of the twelfth century, the supremacy of the autonomous houses of Black Monks was already beginning to be challenged by the new reformed Benedictine orders, particularly the Tironensians and Cistercians, which both derived ultimately from Cluny. The centralised authority of these orders was reflected in greater uniformity of liturgy, so that liturgical books became much more standardised and less influenced by local characteristics (and consequently, of less interest to the liturgiologist). Alongside the reformed Benedictines, however, the orders of Canons Regular were gaining steadily in power and influence. This was particularly true in Scotland, where in addition to the possession of many priories, they controlled two of the Cathedrals (Augustinians at St Andrews, and Premonstratensians at Whithorn), which also housed two of the most important shrines, those of St Andrew and St Ninian. While the liturgy of the northern Canons Regular lies outside the scope of the present study— in fact it properly belongs within a study of secular uses, since the Augustinians and the Premonstratensians both used a secular form of the office —this field would undoubtedly provide fertile ground for further study.
APPENDIX I

LITURGICAL AFFINITY OF THE DURHAM MISSAL (London, British Library, MS Harley 5289)

(Extrapolated from J. Wickham Legg’s collation of missals in *Missale ad Usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, vol.III (Henry Bradshaw Society, London, 1897)

Abbreviations used:

Abin= Abingdon Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 227; 15th century)
Alb=St Alban’s Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 279; 14th century)
Aug=The Missal of St Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury, ed. Martin Rule (Cambridge, 1896)
Chart=Missale Carthusiense (Paris, 1541)
Cisterc=Missale ad usum sacri ordinis Cisterciensis (Paris, 1617)
Cout=Coutance: Missale cunctis sacerdotibus iuxta Constancien. dioeceses institutum (Rouen, 1557)
D=Durham Missal (London, British Library, MS Harley 5289; 14th century)
Dom=Dominican (Missale predatorum, Venice, 1504)
G=Gelasian Sacramentary in *Liturgia Romana Vetus* (Venice, 1748) [LRV]
Gr=Gregorian Sacramentary. LRV
H=Hereford (Missale ad usum percelebris Ecclesie Herfordensis, Leeds, 1874)
L=Leonine Sacramentary in LRV
Leo=The Leofric Missal, ed. F. Warren (Oxford, 1883)
Rom=Roman Missal (Missale iuxta morem Romane ecclesie (Venice, 1490)
S=Sarum Missal (Missale ad usum insignis et præclaræ ecclesiae Sarum, ed. F.H. Dickinson (Burntisland, 1861-83)
Sherb=Sherborne Missal, Alnwick Castle, c. 1400
Twk=Tewksbury Missal (Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.iii.21)
Vit=London, British Library, MS Vitellius A. xviii
W=Westminster Missal of Nicholas Lytlington
Whc=Winchcombe Sacramentary (Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 127; 10th century)
Whit=Whitby Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawl. Lit. b.1; 14th century)
Y=York (Secular Use) Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis, ed. W.G. Henderson (Gateshead, 1875).

(For further details, see Wickham Legg, pp. 1442-4)
A. LITURGY UNIQUE TO DURHAM: TEMPORALE

fr. vi post dca. in passione
coll' for graciam tuam D reads spiritum sanctum

Dca. in oct. pasche (Quasimodo)
all'a v Gavisi sunt. Post dies octo. Angelus

Dca. iii post pasche
Gr Oportebat

In die pentecostes
Int. ps. Omnium... prospeciens. Iste psalmus dicatur per hanc
ebdomadam. Item psalmus Exurgat deus et dicatur in
commemorationibus spiritus sancti per annum.

fr. iv in hebd. pentecostes. De ieiunio
Gr 1 Veni sancte spiritus
Gr 2 Loquebantur

fr. vi in hebd. pent.
(D has no mass De ieiunio)
Gr Cum essent discipuli. Factus est
Off Emitte spiritum tuum

Sabato post pent. De ieiunio
Gr 2 Spiritus domini replevit
coll 5 Deus qui tribus: common (after ut, D has adveniente
spiritu sancto)

Dca. prima post oct. pent.
D: Usque ad adventum dicantur in dominicis diebus
alternatim he prose:
Veni spiritus eternorum [Kehrein 131]
Alma chorus [Kehrein 140]
Laudes deo [?Kehrein 122]
Voce iubilantes [Kehrein 148]

Dca. xiii p.o.p.
all'a Item v Priusquam montes

Dca. xiv p.o.p.
all'a Item v Preocupemus faciem

Dca. xviii p.o.p.
all'a v Redemptorem misit

Dca. xxii p.o.p.
all'a v Qui sanat or Lauda iherusalem

Dca. xxiii p.o.p.
all'a v Qui posuit. Laudate dominum

Dca. xxiv p.o.p.
off. & comm. not specified in D

In anniversario dedicacionis ecclesie
all'a v O quam metuendus. Adorabo. Fundata. Vox exultacionis (Rouen: sequitur tempore paschale: all'a v Vox exultacionis)
Tr Qui confidunt. Montes in circuitu. Item alius tractus. Laudate dominum. Quoniam confirmata

A. LITURGY UNIQUE TO DURHAM: SANCORALE

Feb 6 SS Vedasti & Amandi
coll' Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui es sanctorum tuorum splendor mirabilis (Vit: Common of 1 Confessor not a bishop)
 pco' Tua domine sacramenta suppliciter sumentes deprecamur; ut qui beatorum confessorum tuorum atque pontificum vedasti atque amandi veneramur confessionem presidia senciamus. per.
(c.f. Sarum 821 for St Wandregesilus)

Apr 11 S. Guthlaci

118
coll' Adesto domine precibus nostris (coll' only)
(c.f. S.712* Common of a Confessor)

May 1 SS Philippi & Iacobi
Gr Per manus

May 2 S. Athanasii
Omnia in communi
(Only W. & Sherb. have this feast, besides Durham)

May 3 In inventione s. crucis
Gr Salva nos. Dulce lignum
(Several others have Dulce lignum only, or Dicite in gentibus. Dulce lignum)

May 19 S. Dunstani
coll' Deus perhennis glorie rex et dator piissime dignare presentis
diei gaudia tuo munere illustrare in quo beatissimus pontifex
dunstanus eterne lucis gaudia meruit introire. Per.

May 26 S. Bede presbytcri (Durh. W. Sherb. Abin. only)
coll' Deus qui sanctissimi sacerdotis tui bede templum cordis sancti
spiritus illustracione irradiasti; concede nobis quesumus illius
obtinentibus meritis. gaudenter pervenire ad gaudia eterne felicitatis.
Per. In unitate.
secr' Iubilacionis hostias servitutis per interventum beatissimi bede
confessoris tui benigno quesumus omnipotens pater intuitu benedictio.
et ad presentis et future vite concede prodesse prosperitatem cuncte
familie. Per.
 pco' Salutis nostre moneribus sollemniter suffulti. tue deus immense
pietatis exoramus clementiam; ut de cuius obitur gloriamur in terris.
de eius pia intercessione gratulemur in celis. Per.

May 31 S. Petronille v.
coll' Concede quesumus domine fidelibus tuis digne sancte virginis
tue petronille celebrare sollemnbia ut eius quam fideliter execuntur
hic experiantur auxilium et eternis affectibus apprehendant. Per.
June 23 Etheldrithe v.
coll' Exaudi nos (coll' only)

July 6 In oct. ap'li petri et pauli
Gr v Venite ad me

July 11 In Tr. S. Benedicti abbatis
Gr v Iustus germinabit

July 15 In Tr. S. Swithuni ep.
coll' Exaudi domine (coll' only)

July 22 S. Wandrasesili conf.
coll' Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui anime famuli tui Wandrangesili
abbatis eternae beatitudinis premia contulisti. da quesumus; ut qui
eius sollemnia colimus in terris eius meritis adiu vemur in celis. Per.
(Sherb. has a variant of this coll' for the same feast; W. has a
similar collect for St Philibert MW ii, 918)

July 24 S. Christine v.
coll' Concede nobis quesumus omnipotens deus (coll' only)
(c.f. G.643 for St Euphemia)

July 27 SS Septem Dormientium
coll' Deus qui sanctorum Maximiani (Gr. 181) (coll' only)

July 31 S. Germani ep. & conf.
pco' Plebs tua domine letetur tui semper (L. 401)

Aug 3 In inventione S. Stephani
pco' Quesumus domine salutaria repleti mysteriis (Gr. 18 for St Felix)

Sept 3 In ordinatione S. Gregorii pape
coll' Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui sancte gregorio summi
pontificatus officium contulisti. concede propicius ut illius suffragio a
delictorum nostrorum nexibus absoluamur et graciam tue opitulacionis adipisci mereamur. Per.

secr' Purifica quesumus omnipotens deus mentem familie (Arbuthnot 394 for St Maurice)

pco' Redempcionis eterne poculo satiati (Arbuthnot 394 for St Maurice)

Oct 2 S. Leodegarii ep. & mr.

secr' Hostiam nostram quesumus domine (L. 301 for St Laurence)

pco' Sacri altaris participacione refecti (S. 927)

Oct 10 S. Paulini ep. 7 conf.

secr' Sancti tui nos domine ubique letificent (Gr. 15 for St Sylvester)

pco' Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut de perceptis (Gr. 15 for St Sylvester)

Nov 1 In die omnium sanctorum

prosa O alma [trinitas]

Nov 23 S. Felicitatis mr.

l'c Domine deus meus (only D., W. & Alb. specify lesson)

Dec 8 In concepcione s. marie

Omnia sicut in nativitate preter prosam. Hodierne lux diei

B. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM AND ONE OTHER USE. TEMPORALE

In vigilia epiphanie

prosa Letabundus: Y, D (if Sunday)

Dca. in LX

coll' (line 4) D & Whit read: adversa omnia tua semper protectione muniamur

Dca. in L

Gr Iacob et Ioseph: D & Rosslyn
(Most have Israel & Ioseph, S. has Israel Iacob & Ioseph)

sabbato post dca. in L
Gr Domine refugium: D & Alb

fr vi parascheves
Prayer for Jews: D & S have oracio (i.e. omit non dicitur hic flectamus genua. Sherb has flectamus genua)

fr iv in hebdomada pasche
prosa Psalle lirica: D & Whit (H fr vi)

fr v in hebd. pasche
prosa Victime paschali: D & W (Whit: none?)

fr vi in hebd. pasche
prosa Of those Uses which provide proses for this week, only D & Whit have none for Friday.

sabbato in albis
prosa As fr vi

Dca. iii post pascha
pco’ Sacramenta. line 2: D & Cout read "deus noster" for "domine"
line 3: D & Paris read "repleant" for "instruant"

Dca. iv post pascha
Gr In die resurreccionis. Vado ad eum: D & Whit

sabbato in vigilia pentecostes
D & Whit have no coll' following l’c iv
coll’ after Tr Sicut cervus: Deus qui in sacramento festivitatis: D & Alb (Gr. 88)

fr iii in hebd. pent.
Gr Veni sancte spiritus. Spiritus sanctus procedens: D & Whit
fr iv in hebd. pent.
De ieiunio
coll' 1 Mentes nostras: D & Sherb
l'c 1 Stans petrus: D & Sherb
coll' 2 Presta quesumus omnipotens et misericors: D & Sherb
l'c 2 Per manus apostolorum: D & Sherb
ew Nemo potest: D & Sherb
(off Emitte: D & Whit(in margin))
secr' Suscipe quesumus domine: D & Sherb
pco' Sumentes domine: D & Sherb (Gr.93 for this day)

fr v in hebd. pent.
Gr Emitte spiritum. Repleti: D & Whit
prosa none in D or Whit

fr vi in hebd. pent.
com' Spiritus ubi vult: D & Alb

sabbato post pentecosten
(The mass de sollemnitate at D & Sherb is sicut in die)

De ieiunio
coll' 1 Mentibus nostris: D & Sherb
Gr 1 Veni: D & Alb
coll' 2 Deus qui ob animarum medelam: D & Sherb (Gr.94)
Gr 3 Verbo domini: D & Alb
coll' 4 Presta quesumus omnipotens deus sic nos ab epulis: D & Sherb (Gr.94)
ep Convenit universa: D & Sherb
off Benedictus qui venit: D & Sherb

In anniversario dedicationis ecclesie
Int ps Suscepimus deus misericordiam (as an alternative)
prosa Psallat ecclesia mater: D & H
B. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM & ONE OTHER USE. SANCTORALE

Jan 22 S. Vincentii
all'a v Letabitur: D & W
prosa Precelsa seclis colitur dies: D & Whit (Analecta liturgica II i 138)

Jan 23 S. Emerentianae
secr' Munera tibi domine dicanda meritis beate emerenciane martiris
tue placatus intende; et eius salutari deprecatione nosmetipsos
sancticare dignare. Per: D & Alb
pco' Supplices te rogamus: D & Alb (c.f. S.834)

Feb 3 S. Blasii
secr' Maiestati tue domine: D & S
pco' Mysteria quesumus domine: D & S

Feb 6 S. Vedasti & Amandi
secr' Propiciare domine supplicacionibus: D & H

April 4 S. Ambrosii
coll' Deus qui beatum ambrosium: D & H

April 19 S. Elphegi
coll' Deus qui beatum archipresulem elphegum die hodierna dira
passione occurrat et transtulisti ad gloriae. presto
quesumus; ut illius adiuve et oracionibus qui tui nominis extitit
predicatore gloriosus. per: D & Aug
secr' Mensis sacris quesumus domine hostiam sacrare digneris
impositam; ut interventu beati archipresulis ac martyris elphegi vite
nobis prospera presentis. et gaudium future beatitudinis optineat.
per: D & Aug
pco' Sumptis quesumus domine muneribus sacris intercedente beato
elphego archipresule ac martyre tuo a cunctis adversitatibus eruamur;
et gaudiiis mansuris inseramur. per: D & Aug
(Grouping is as follows for all 3 prayers: D & Aug; Alb & Sherb & Vit; W; S.)
April 25 S. Marci ew.
l'c Lingua sapientium: D & Alb

May 6 S. Iohannis ante portam latinam
ew D & Rom

May 19 S. Dunstani
secr' Hostiam tibi domine deus nostre devocionis offerimus quam tanto benignius quesumus suscipias. quanto eam ecclesia tua in veneracione pontificis tui dunstani diligencius commendat. per: D & Whit
pco' Assit nobis omnipotens deus beatissimi pontificis tui dunstani iugis oracio que nos illius misterii participacione dignos efficiat. in quo tocius humane salutis summa consistit. per: D & Whit

May 31 S. Petronille v.
secr' Hec dona petimus domine placatus intende quibus summum sacrificium continetur et morte preciosa virginis tue petronille hostia tibi placita consecratur. per: D & Cout
pco' Hec nos gracia tua petimus domine: D & Cout (G.673 for St Cecilia)

June 14 S. Basilii ep.
coll' Exaudi domine: D & Paris (D: coll' only)

June 17 S. Botulphi abb'
coll' Intercessio: D & Y (coll' only)

June 22 S. Albani mr.
coll' Deus qui gentem anglorum primitis: D & Aug

June 29 Apl' Petri & Pauli
all'a v Tu es pastor: D & W

July 21 S. Praxedis v.
secr' Preces nostras quesumus domine propiciatus admitte: D & Paris (G.640)

July 22 S. Marie Magdalene
prosa Laus tibi christe qui es creator: D & Y (Y.ii.66)

July 22 S. Wandrangesili conf.
coll' Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui anime famuli tui wandrangesili abbatis eterne beatitudinis premia contulisti. da quesumus; ut qui eius sollemnia colimus in terris eius meritis adiuvemur in celis. per: D & Sherb (var.)

July 25 Christofori & Cucufatis
coll' Deus qui nos concedis: D & Abin (Gr.109 for SS Felicissimus & Agapitus)

July 31 S. Germani ep. & conf.
coll' Beati confessoris tui atque pontificis germani intercessione ab omni: D & Whit
secr' Respice domine propicius super hec munera: D & Whit (L.312)

Aug 5 S. Oswaldi regis & mr.
prosa Regis oswalde inclita christo: D & Whit
secr' Benediccio tua domine larga descendat: D & Vit (G.644 for St Euphemia)

Aug 9 S. Romani mr.
pco' Da quesumus domine deus noster ut sicut: D (var) & S (Gr.110 for St Laurence)

Aug 14 Vig. assumptionis beate marie
Int. ps. Et gaudium: D & Whit

Aug 29 In decollacione s. iohannis baptiste
Gr Domine prevenisti: D & Whit
prosa Organicis: D & Whit (Y.ii.203)
Oct 10 S. Paulini ep. & conf.  
coll' Da quesumus omnipotens deus ut beati: D & Y (Gr.180)

Nov 17 S. Hilde v.  
coll' Exaudi nos deus salutaris noster: D & W (coll' only)

Nov 20 S. Edmundi regis & mr.  
secr' Sacrificium devotionis nostre: for "pro... assume" D & Aug  
read: "per hoc nobis salutem mentis et corporis benignus impende".

Nov 23 S. Clementis pp & mr.  
1’c Omnis pontifex: D & Rouen

C. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM & TWO OTHER USES: TEMPORALE

Missa in die nativitatis  
prosa Celica resonent: D Whit W  
(H Y Sherb By Rouen have: Christi hodierna celica resonent)

In vigilia epiphanie  
Gr Tecum principium. Dixit dominus. Dominus regnavit: D Whit Alb  
com In splendoribus sanctorum: D Whit Alb

sabbato post dca. prima quadragesime  
Gr 1 Protector noster. Domine deus virtutum: D Y Alb  
Gr 2 Propicius esto. Adiuva nos: D Y Alb

Sabbato sancto  
Tr Sicut cervus: D Ev Alb immediately follows 1’c v

fr iii in hebd. pasche  
prosa Concinat orbis cunctus: D H Rouen

fr v in hebd. pasche  
all’a v Surrexit altissimus de sepulchro: D Whit Alb
Dca. in oct. pasche
D Sherb Alb have two masses: Quasimodo for *missa matutinalis* and Resurrexi for *missa maior*

Dca. infra oct. ascensionis
Gr Ascendit deus in iubilacione. Non vos: D Whit Sherb
prosa Victime paschali: D Whit Sherb

*fr ii in hebd. pent.*
Gr Veni sancte. Spiritus domine replevit: D Whit Alb

*fr iii in hebd. pent.*
prosa Eya musa: D S Rouen

*fr iv in hebd. pent. In sollemnitate*
prosa Almiphona: D Whit W (Analecta liturgica II.i.135)

*fr vi in hebd. pent. In sollemnitate*
Int Repleatur: D Aug Alb
pco' Sumpsimus domine sacri dona: D Whit Aug (Gr.93)

*sabbato post pentecost. De ieiunio*
coll' Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut salutaribus ieiuniis: D Whit Sherb (Gr.94)
cw Surgens: D Sherb Abin
secr' Ut accepta tibi: D Sherb Aug (Gr.94)
pco' Prebeant nobis domine: D Sherb Aug (Gr.95)

Dca. viii post oct. pent.
all'a v Te decet. Replebimur: D Whit Sherb

Dca. xv post oct. pent.
all'a v Quoniam deus magnus dominus: D Alb Cout

Dca. xix post oct. pent.
all'a v Laudate dominum: D Whit Alb
C. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM & TWO OTHER USES: SANCTORALE

Jan 13 S. Hilarii  
"coll' Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris: D Aug S"

Jan 15 S. Mauri abb'  
"secr' Oblatis domine ob honorem beati maurai: D Whit Aug (c.f. Rob.168)"

Feb 3 S. Blasii  
"coll' Beatus martyr tuus bladius: D Sherb S"

April 4 S. Ambrosii  
"secr' Presentis oblationis nostre: D H W  
"pco' Huius domine perceptione: D H W"

May 26 Augustini anglorum apostoli  
"secr' Sit tibi quesumus domine nostro devocionis oblacio: D Whit Aug (in margin)  
"pco' Misteriis divinis refecti quesumus: D Whit Aug (in margin)"

June 28 In vig. Petri & Pauli  
"Int ps. Symon iohannis: D Whit Alb"

June 30 Comm. S. Pauli  
"Int ps. Reposita est mihi corona: D Sherb Alb"

July 7 In tr. s. thome archiepi. & mr.  
"coll' Deus qui nobis transulationem: D Sherb Alb  
(all others have "nos" for nobis (ex. Whit: S.762 for St Edmund))"

July 10 SS. septem fratrum  
"pco' Quesumus omnipotens deus ut [intercedentibus sanctis tuis] illius salutaris capiamus effectum: all ex. D Aug Vit omit [...]

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Aug 9 S. Romani mr.
coll’ Intercessio quesumus domine beati romani martiris tui et tuam nobis non desinat placare iusticiam; et nostrum tibi devotum iugiter efficiat famulatum. per: D Sherb Cout
secr’ Muneribus nostris quesumus domine precibusque: D S Cist (L.449)

Aug 15 Assumptio beate marie v.
com Dilexisti iusticiam: D Whit Chart

Sept 1 S. Egidii abb’
coll’ Deus qui hodierna die beatum egidium: D (f.493) S 11414 (in margin)
pco’ Protege domine populum tuum de tua misericordia: D (f.493) S 11414 (in margin)

Sept 14 SS. MM. Cornelii & Cypriani
pco’ Saciati sumus domine muneribus sacris: D Whit Alb
(c.f. Abin pco’ for St Agapitus)

Oct 1 SS. Episcoporum Germani Remigii & Vedasti
secr’ Tibi nos quesumus domine hec hostia reddat: D Aug Alb

secr’ Hostiam nostrae quesumus domine: D Whit Aug (L.301)
pco’ Da quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui beati bricii: D Whit Aug (Gr.180 coll’)

Nov 20 S. Edmundi regis & mr.
secr’ Sacrificium devotionis nostre: all, but many variants; only D Whit Aug begin exactly as above

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D. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM & THREE OTHER USES: TEMPORALE

In natali SS. innocencium
all'a v Hodie sancti innocentes: D Whit Sherb Abin

fr iv post dca. iv quadragesime
coll' preceded by "oremus" without "dominus vobiscum": D H Y S

fr v in cena domini
Benedicamus domino: D H S Cout if bishop did not celebrate (Ite missa est if he did)

sabbato sancto
l'c v Audi israel: D Alb Ev W

fr ii in hebd. pasche
prosa D H Rouen W

Dca. v post pascha
Gr Surrexit christus qui. Usque modo: D Whit Alb Sherb

Sabbato in vigilia pentecostes
coll' iii Deus incommutabilis virtus: D Whit Aug Alb

In die pentecostes
Int ps Omnum... prospiciens. Exurgat deus: D Whit W CCCO have both psalm verses

fr ii in hebd. pent.
prosa Resonet sacrata: D Sherb Rouen S

fr iv in hebd. pent.
D Whit Sherb Alb have two masses: in sollemnitate & in ieiunio

Sabbato post pent. De ieiunio
Gr (in mass) Laudate dominum: D Whit Abin W
Non vos relinquam: D Whit Alb W

Dca. vi post oct. pent.
all'a v Magnus deus et laudabilis: D Aug Alb Cout

fr iv in legitimo ieiunio (September Ember Day)
Int ps Ego enim sum dominus: D Whit Sherb Y

Dca. xviii post oct. pent.
secr' Sacrificiis presentibus: D Whit Alb Whc (Gr.124)
 pco' Quesumus omnipotens deus ut illius: D Whit Alb Whc

Dca. xix post oct. pent.
coll' Tua nos quesumus domine: D Aug Alb Paris (as W col.435)

D. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM & THREE OTHER USES: SANCTORALE

Jan 15 S. Mauri abb'
pco' Supplices te rogamus: D Whit Aug S

Jan 25 In conversione s. pauli
Gr Domine prevenisti. Magnus sanctus paulus: D Aug W Twk

Mar 7 SS. perpetue & felicitatis
 pco' Beatarum perpetue et felicitatis: D Aug Alb Cout

Mar 25 Annunciacione
prosa Ave maria gracia plena: D Sherb Rouen Dom

May 6 S. iohannis ante portam latinam
Gr Primus ad sion. Hic est discipulus: D Alb W Cist

July 22 S. marie magdalene
 coll' Sacratissimam domine beatam marie: D Aug Alb W
July 23 S. Appolinaris mr.  
*pc* Sumentes domine gaudia sempiterna: D Whit Aug Alb

Aug 1 Sanctorum Maccabeorum  
*pc* Accepta sit in conspectu tuo: D Whit Aug H (G.679)

Aug 5 S. Oswaldis regis & mr.  
*pc* Supplices te rogamus domine deus noster ut quos celestibus donis: D Whit Sherb Vit (Gr.111 for St Laurence)

Aug 22 Oct. Assumptcionis beate marie  
*coll* Veneranda: D Whit Rouen Paris (Gr.114) (D: *coll*’ only)

Aug 29 In decollacione s. iohannis baptiste  
*off* Posuisti: D Whit Sherb S

Sept 14 Exaltacio s. crucis  
*l*c Confido in vobis: D Alb S Chart  
*pc* for "perenni... perfruamur" D Whit Rouen S read: "permninitatis eius glorie salutari pociamur effectu"

Sept 17 S. Lamberti ep. & mr.  
*coll* Deus qui sanctam huius diei sollemnitatem pro commemoracione sancti lamberti martiris tui atque pontificis fecisti. adesto familie tue precibus. ut qui eius merita in presenti festivitate recolimus. patrocinia in augmento virtutum senciamus. per dominum: D (end differs) Sherb Vit Cout

Oct 21 SS. XI Millium Virginum  
*secr* Presentia munera quesumus domine: D Aug Y S  
*pc* Sumpsimus domine sanctorum virginum martyrumque: D Aug Y S (G.638 for St Fabian)

Oct 31 S. Quintini mr.  
*coll* Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui beatum quintinum: D Whit Alb W  
*pc* Percipiat domine quesumus plebs tua: D Alb W S
Nov 11 S. Martini ep. & conf.
Gr Iuravit. Dixit dominus: D Sherb Y Paris

Nov 20 S. Edmundi regis & mr.
pco' Sint tibi omnipotens deus: common. For "vite... premia", D Aug Rouen Vit read "premia vite perpetue".

Nov 22 S. Cecilie v. & mr.
pco' Hec nos domine tua gracia semper exerceat: D Whit Aug Vit (G.673)

Dec 6 S. Nicolai ep. & conf.
prosa Christo regi cantica: D Whit Sherb W (Analecta liturgica II.i.420)

E. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM & FOUR OTHER USES: TEMPORALE

Dca. ii Advent.
all'a v Letatus. Stantes: D Abin W Y Paris

In vig. nativitatis domini
secre' Da nobis domine ut nativitatis: D Whit Aug Alb Rouen (G.495
secre' for Christmas day)

Missa in primo mane nativitatis
prosa Letabundus: D Whit W Y By

Dca. infra oct. epiphanie
ev Verit ihesus: D Whit (fr iv) W Y Rouen

Sabbato sancto
Number of lessons varies greatly; D Aug Ev Y Rouen-10048 have 5
lessons.
fr iii in hebdomada pascha
all'ara Christus resurgens ex mortuis iam non moritur. Laudes salvatori: D Whit Alb Rouen Cout

Dca. ii post pascha
Gr. Surrexit pater. Ego sum: D Whit Alb Sherb Abin

Dca. iv post oct. pent.
all'ara Diligam te domine virtus: D Aug Alb Y Cout

Dca. v post oct. pent.
all'ara Domine in virtute tua: D Aug Y Cout Rom

Dca. ix post oct. pent.
all'ara In te domine speravi: D Whit Aug Alb Cout

Dca. x post oct. pent.
all'ara Attendite popule: D Whit Aug Alb Cout

Dca. xviii post oct. pent.
coll' Omnipotens sempiterne deus: D Aug Alb Whc Leo (Gr.124 for free Sundays)
ew Pharisei audientes: D Whit Alb W Dom

Dca. xxi post oct. pent.
all'ara De profundis: D Whit H Cist Dom

Dca. xxiv post oct. pent.
coll' Familiam tuam: D Aug Alb Whc Paris (c.f. W: col.464)

E. LITURGY SHARED BY DURHAM & FOUR OTHER USES: SANCTORALE

Jan 25 In conversione s. pauli
prosa Sollemnitas sancti pauli: D Whit Sherb H S
off Posuisti domine: D Whit Twk Rosslyn CCCO
Jan 27 S. Juliani
coll' Deus qui ecclesie tue: D Rouen H S Cout
secr' Respice domine quesumus: D Rouen H S Cout
pco' Divinis domine repleti sacramentis: D Rouen H S Cout
(only above & Y W Paris Dom)

Feb 2 In purificacione beate marie
prosa Hac clara die turma: D Whit H S Cout

May 6 S. Iohannis ante portam latinam
off Confitebuntur: D Whit Rouen Cout Paris

June 11 S. Barnabe ap.
coll' Ecclesiam tuam domine in omni prosperitate: D Sherb Y Vit Rob

June 29 Apl' Petri & Pauli
prosa Laude iocunda: D W Y H S

July 11 In Tr. S. Benedicti abbatis
Gr Domine prevenisti: D Whit Sherb Abin W

July 20 S. Margarete v.
pco' Huius domine sacramenti percepcione: D Whit Y W Cout (Rouen & Paris slightly different)

July 21 S. Praxedis v.
coll' Assit plebi tue omnipotens: D Alb W H S
pco' Beate praxedis virginis tue domine precibus: D Sherb Vit Cout Paris

July 22 S. Marie Magdalene
Gr Audi filia: D Whit W S Cout

July 23 S. Appolinaris m.
coll' Deus fidelium remunerator animarum: D Whit Aug Alb Rom (G.637 pco' for St Marcellus)
secr' Hostias tibi domine pro commemoracione beati appolinaris: D Whit Aug Y Rob (G.636 for St Felix)

July 25 Christofori & Cucufatis
secr' Suscipe [accipe: S Alb] domine munera dignanter oblata et beatorum martyrum: D Aug Alb S Cout (L.396 for St Laurence)

July 28 S. Pantaleonis
pco' Sumpta refeccio quam per beati martyris tui: D Sherb H Vit Cout

Aug 14 Vig. Assumptionis beate marie com Alma dei genitrix: D Whit Sherb Alb S

Aug 27 S. Rufi mr.
pco' Celestibus repleti sacramentis et gaudiis: D Aug Alb Abin Cout (all others (ex. W S Cist: not this collect) have this collect with "refecti" for "repleti").

Sept 1 S. Egidii abb'
secr' Muneribus nostris quesusum domine: D (f.493: added) Alb W S 11414 (over erasure)

Sept 8 In nativitate b.v.m.
off Felix namque: D Whit Alb Cist Dom

Sept 14 Exaltacio s. crucis
pco' Iesu christi domini nostri: "eius mysterium" omitted in: D Whit Alb Abin CCCO

17 Sept S. Lamberti ep. & mr.
secr' Intercessio quesusum domine beati lamberti: D Whit Alb W H
pco' Sumpta domine sacramenta sempiterna dulcedine: D Whit Alb W H

Oct 1 SS. episcoporum Germani Remigii & Vedasti
coll' Sanctorum confessorum tuorum domine: D Whit Aug Alb W
Oct 2 S. Leodegarii ep. & mr.
coll' Omnipotens sempiterne deus sancto leodegario: D Whit Aug Alb W

Oct 6 S. Fidis v. & mr.
coll' Deus qui presentem diem; D Aug Y W S
secr' Suscipe domine preces et hostias: D Aug Y W S

Oct 21 SS. xi millium virginum
coll' Deus qui sanctam nobis huius diei: D Aug Y H S
APPENDIX II

SELECTIVE COMPARISON OF THE RUBRICS OF THE DURHAM MISSAL WITH THE MONASTIC CONSTITUTIONS OF LANFRANC

The purpose of the following comparison is to show the similarities between the rubrics of the Durham Missal (London, British Library, MS Harley 5289) and the Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc, of which the earliest surviving copy (Durham, Cathedral Library MS B.IV.24) was sent to Durham by Lanfranc in the late eleventh century. This seems to demonstrate that many of Lanfranc's detailed liturgical directions were incorporated into the Durham Missal (although it is possible that they both derive from a common exemplar).

In the following extracts, lower case indicates text unique to the Durham Missal (Harley 5289); upper case indicates text common to both the Durham Missal and the Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc; upper case in square brackets indicates text unique to the Monastic Constitutions. Rubrics are indicated by italics, liturgical texts by normal characters.
DOMINICA IN ramis palmarum [PALMIS] fiat MISSA MATUTINALIS de ipsa dominica CUM UNA COLLECTA; et sine passione sed cum evangelio quem legitur ad matutinas ad privat as missas similiter dicatur una collecta; passionem vero nullus legatur nisi frater qui infirmis cantat; expleta missa matutinalis, fiat benedictio salis et aque [POST MATUTINALEM MISAM BENEDICATUR AQUA] et aspersa aqua dicitque oratione Exaudi nos ut solet incipiat sacerdos horam. Quam per cantata; accedat subdiaconus manipulam in brachio suo et sine tunica et legat ante gradus pavimenti sine titulo l’c. Venerunt filii israel in helym. quere leccionem hunc et cetera q’ pertinent ad benedictionem palmarum in fine libri. hiis ita peractis; distribuantur rami palmarum et frondes aliarum arborum. Interim incipiat cantor [CANTORE INCIPIENTE CANATUR] A’ PUERI HEBREORUM. Postea exeat ad processionem sicut plenus notatur in ordinale. facta autem stacione et finitis hiis q’ cani debent ad nutum cantoris accedat diaconus dalmatica indutus et petita benedizione ab episco po si presens fuerit; analogum incenset et legat evangelium sequens scilicet. Turba multa. ad quod evangelium preferantur textus evangeliorum et luminaria et incensum. Deinde fiat sicut continentur in ordinali. evangelium secundum johannem. Turba multa. Ad missam chorus regatur in albis [CANTOR EBDOMADARIUS CHORUM TENEAT IN CAPPIS], officium Domine ne longe... R Tenuisti manum... Tr Deus deus meus... Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Passio domini nostri ihesu christi secundum mattheum. Non dicatur Gloria tibi domine. In illo tempore dixit christus discipulis suis. + scitis quod post biduum pascha... lapidem cum custodibus.


Die cene facta reconciliacione penitencium prout continetur in processionario et absolucione peracta. induantur omnes qui ad missam sunt ministraturi, diaconus dalmatica. subdiaconus tunica, ebdomadus cantor chorum regat et cum ei <...> fuerit incipiat introitum misse et pulsentur omnia signa sicut in festis diebus. deinde non pulsentur donec incipiat Gloria in excelsis in vigilia pasche. feria quinta: officium. Nos autem ps. Deus misereatur et dicatur Gloria patri. Si

SUBTRAHENDI RATIONABILIS CAUSA EXISTAT. (...) De hinc episcopus
sive sacerdos precedentibus candelabris et thuribulo cum quibus ad
altare venit: [INTEREA SACERDOS PRAECEDENTE PROCESSIONE CUM
QUA AD ALTARE VENIT.] VADAT AD LOCUM CONSTITUTUM
DECENTISSIME PREPARATUM IBIQUE REPONAT CORPUS DOMINI
INCENSATO IPSO LOCO [ET] ANTE REPOSICIONEM ET POST
[REPOSITIONEM]. ANTE QUEM LOCUM LUMEN CONTINUE ARDEAT.
Episcopo vero vel sacerdote ad altare redeunte. et postcommunio
percantata. videlicet Dominus ihesus postquam cenavit cum
discipulis...PULSETUR TABULA AD VESPERAS et relatis formis in
choro: [REPORTENTUR IN CHORUM FORMAE.] incipiat cantor
antiphonam. Calicem. [STATIM PWER INCIPIT ANIPHONAM CALICEM
SALUTARIS;] AD CIIUS INCHOACIONEM petatur [PETITUR] VENIA AB
OMNIBUS super [SUPRA] FORMAS et cantetur vespere simul ab
omnibus festive sine gloria patri.
a' Calicem salutaris accipiam
ps Credidi
a' Cum hus qui ode
ps Ad dominum cum tribu
a' Ab hominibus iniquis libera me domine
ps Eripe
a' Custode me a laqueo
ps Domine clamavi
a' Considerabam ad dexteram
ps Voce mea
V Christus factus est
a' Cenantibus autem accepit
ps Magnificat

DICTOque PSALMO MAGNIFICAT ET percantata [REPETITA] suscipta
ANTIPHONA Cenantibus SINE FINIS MELODIA CURVATI super [SUPRA]
FORMAS DICANT IN SILENCIO bini vel trini. et episcopus vel sacerdos
similiter cum ministris suis stnde ad australem cornu altaris.
KYRIELEISON. Christeleison. Kyrieleison. PATER NOSTER. PRECES. EGO
DIXI [DOMINE]. PS MISERERE [MEI DEUS]. quibus finitis; vertat se
episcopus vel sacerdos ad populum et dicat. Dominus vobiscum.
oremus. Reflecti vitalibus alimentis...[COLLECTA RESPICE QUAESUMUS
Feria sexta nona cantata erant fratres in dormitorium ibique se discalcient omnes preter illum qui officium celebratur est. et levitam qui passionem lecturus est. Pulsatis tabulis ad officium conveniunt omnes in chorum. orationem brevem facientes. Post hæc omnes qui ad missam sunt servituri se induant duo ad duas leciones. quatuor ad duos tractus. ALTARE SIT [DESUPER] COOPERTUM UNO TANTUM LINTHEAMINE. PROCEDANT AD ALTARE SACERDOS ET LEVITA SOLI. SACERDOS IN vestibus sacerdotalibus et CASULA. DIACONUS IN alba cum STOLA et manipula. NULLAQUE supplicazione premissa; [PREMISSA SUPPLICACIONE] DICAT SACERDOS. OREMUS. ET DIACONUS.


Hiis [HIS] EXPLETIS terminatis videlicet omnibus oracionibus sacerdos et levita ad revestiarium redeant et DEPOSITA CASULA ET STOLIS atque manipulis in albis nudis pedibus REVERTANTUR [SACERDOS ET LEVITA] IN CHORUM [IN ALBIS]. Qui celebrat sit ex una parte;
CEDRORUM... ET SIC [VADANT] redeuntes per medium chori eant AD LOCUM UBI EAM COLLOCARE DEBENT. [TUNC OMNES PETANT VENIAM FLEXIS AD TERRAM GENIBUS.] Et sciendo quod dum crux portatur et reportatur per medium chori, adorare debet ab omnibus flexis genibus. [QUAE SI PER CHORUM TRANSIERIT. FLEXIS AD TERRAM GENIBUS ADORETUR A FRATRIBUS. NON SIMUL OMNIBUS SED SICUT PORTABITUR CORAM EIS.] Cum vero pervenerint ad gradus pavimenti; procedant duo fratres cum candelabris et tercius cum thuribulo precedentes crucis portitores. Et episcopum vel priorem qui cum portitoribus crucis crucem in sepolcro collocaturas est, finita antiphona. Super omnia, incipiat cantor responsorium. Tenebre. quo decantata collocetur crux in sepolcro incensato loco ante positionem et post. Dum hec aguntur; incipiat cantor has antiphonas.

Proprio filio suo non pepercit deus...
a' Caro mea requiescit in spe...
a' Dominus tamquam ovis ad victimam...
a' Oblatus est que ipse voluit...
a' In pacis in idipsum dormiam...
deinde dum vertentes vultum ad conventum canant hanc a'. Joseph ab arimathia peciit corpus...

eaque percantata descendat in revestiarium qui officium celebrat ibique omnibus ex more preparatis eant [VADANT] AD LOCUM UBI [QUINTA FERIA] CORPUS DOMINI feria quinta [FUIT REJPOSITUM est. PRECEDENTE] eum levita cum ceroferariis et thurifer. [CONVERSI CUM CANDELABRIS ET THURIBULO ET POSITO INCENO IN THURIBULO INCENSET ILLUD. ET SIC TRADAT DIACONO AD REPORTANDUM.] Ipse qui officium celebrat vel levita corpus domini elevet portando ad altare incensato loco ante elevacionem. Quando vero corpus elevat; canatur a conventu postcommunion (sic). Hoc corpus quod pro vobis tradetur...
Ipso incipiente qui celebrat COLLOCATO SUPER ALTARE corpus CHRISTI [CORPORE] FACTAque IN CALICE VINI ET AQUE [COM]MIXTIONE facta eciam suppliciter oracione scilecit. Domine ihesu christe propicius esto. DICTAque [A SACERDOTE] CUM DIACONO CONFESSIONE; INCENSETUR
[SACERDOS] CORPUS CHRISTI ET CALIX[CEM] DEINDE DICATur MEDIOCRI VOCE. 

lectio prima. In principio creavit deus celum et terram... oremus. Deus qui mirabiliter...

lectio secunda. Factum est in vigilia...

Tractus. Cantemus domino gloriose...

Iste tractus cantetur a duobus in albis. similiter tres sequentes.

oratio. Deus cuius antiqua miracula...

lectio tercia. Apprehendent septem mulieres...

Tractus. Vinea factus est...

oratio. Deus qui nos ad celebrandum paschale...

lectio quarta. Hec est hereditas servorum...

Tractus. Attendite celum...

oratio. Deus qui ecclesiam tuam semper...

lectio quinta. Audi israel mandata vite...

Tractus. Sicut cervus desiderat...

oratio. Omnipotens sempiterne deus respice...

CASULA ET STOLA intret [REDEAT] IN CHORUM sed prior non.
INCEPTA LETANIA; FRATRES ACCEDANT AD FORMAS SICUT IN
DUODECIM LECCIONIBUS. AD SINGULA SANCTORUM NOMINA [UTERQUE]
CHORUS INCLINET. CANTORES AD NULLUM. CUM DIXERINT [CANTORES]
OMNES SANCTI [ORATE PRO NOBIS] EXEANT omnes qui ad missam sunt
servituri [DE CHORO SACERDOS LEVITA ET SUBDIACONUS]. Cum
dixerint Accendite accendantur luminaria. Accendite [PRONUNCIENT
CANTORES] TRIBUS VICIBUS ALTE VOCE pronunciata [ACCENDITE ET
TUNC PRIMUM ACCENDANTUR CANDELABRA ET CAETERA LUMINARIA]
intet episcopus cum ministris suis sollemniter indutis et clericis
suis in capis vel eo absente sacerdos cum ministris suis. ET incipiat
CANTOR[ES INCIPIANT] FESTIVE KYRIELEISON. Post Kyrieleison
incipiatur Gloria in excelsis deo. Incensetur altae et pulsantur omnia
signa ad Kyrieleison et Gloria in excelsis et Alleluia [ET SIGNA TUNC
PULSARI INCIPIANT NEC DESINANT USQUE AD FINEM KYRIELEISON].
Stet totus conventus. Oratio Deus qui hanc sanctissimam noctem... Ad
colocenses Si consurrexistis... Alleluia. a cantoribus canatur versus
confitemini domino... tractus Laudate dominum omnes gentes, versus
Quoniam confirmata est... Iste tractus cantabitur in capis. Statim
sequatur evangelium. [QUANDO LEGETUR EWANGELIUM] ad quod NON
TENEANTUR CANDELABRA SET[D SOLUM] THURIBULUM tantum.
Secundum mattheum. Vespere autem sabati... Post ewangelium dicat
sacerdos dominus vobiscum choro et cum spiritu tuo sacerdos
oremus. Non cantetur offerenda. hac enim die OFFERENDA [ET] AGNUS
DEI ET post(sic)COMMUNIO [AD HANC MISSAM] NON DICUNTUR. LICET
sanctus et CETERA FESTIVE canantur [DICANTUR]. secreta. suscipe
quesumus domine... prefacio. Et te omni quidem tempore sed in hac
potis nocte. hec prefacio dicatur per totam ebfomadam pasche et
omnibus dominicis usque ad ascensionem quam de dominica sive de
pascha dicatur missa. Communicantes et noctem sanctissimam et hanc
igitur obligationem per ebfomadam tantum dicatur. Pax domini sit
semper vobiscum a sacerdote alte pronuncietur. et respondeatur
choro. et cum spiritu tuo sed non dicatur Agnus dei nec pax detur
sed statim dicatur. Hec sacrosancta commixtio... Domine sancte pater...
Domine ihesu christe... Concede quesumus omnipotens et cetera. sicut
ad alias missas per annum dicitur. Communicatis fratribus incipientur
vespere festive super psalmos antiphona. Alleluia vi. percantetur
antiphona et sequuntur psalmus laudate dominum omnes gentes. facta gloria patri repetatur antiphona alleluia. qua bis percantata ante psalmum et post. incipiat cantor antiphonam Vespere autem sabati et percantetur psalmus Magnificat. finita antiphona post Magnificat et Gloria patri dicat sacerdos Dominus vobiscum. postcommunio spiritum nobis domine... sacerdos dominus vobiscum et diaconus ite missa est et sic missa et vespere simul finiantur.

Per totam ebdomadam paschalem erit minor missa. Resurrexi et cetera ut in die nisi supervenerit festum duodecim leccionibus. et licet festum annunciacionis beate marie si in die pasche evenerit utreque tunc misse erunt de resurreccione et festum differtur usque in quintam feriam. Gloria in excelsis ad utramque missam per ebdomadam dicitur. Credo in unum prima die dicitur ad maiorem missam tantum.
APPENDIX III
THE RHYMED OFFICES OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL PRIORY

1. OFFICE OF ST CUTHBERT


The music of this Office has not previously been transcribed, but is available in facsimile in *Paléographie Musicale*, Volume 12 (Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS F 160), The Worcester Antiphoner. That version does not, however, include the additional monastic items composed at Durham. The following diplomatic transcription is taken from the earliest surviving Durham source containing the full monastic office, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.3.55, ff.50-53v. This *libellus* dates from 1153, and contains Lives of Cuthbert, Oswald and Aidan; a list of the bishops of Lindisfarne and Durham, from Aidan to Hugh de Puisset; a relic list from Durham Cathedral Priory; the Mass and Rhymed Office of St Cuthbert, the music written in square notation on three lines; and the Mass and Rhymed Office of St Oswald, also fully notated. The decision to use modern staff notation for the transcription was taken in order to make the melodic features, which comprise the chief interest of this music, immediately apparent. The use of only three lines in the original notation necessitates frequent changes of clef (D, A, C, e and b clefs are all employed), which tends to obscure the melodic line to a modern eye.

The lines have been set out so as to emphasise the rhyme scheme of the text, with the end of each musical line coinciding with the verbal rhyme or assonance. This also highlights the way in which the melody complements the text, by placing internal "cadences" to coincide with the rhymes. The abbreviations used are as follows:

- C=Office of St Cuthbert
- O=Office of St Oswald
- M=Matins
- V=Vespers
- A=Antiphon
- R=Responsory
- I=Invitatory
- E=Antiphon at Magnificat or Benedictus
- MC=Antiphon for canticle in 3rd nocturn of Matins
- Tr.=Feast of Translation
- (v)=verse of responsory.
Ave presul gloriosae
Ave sibi iam celeste
de corons cuthberte celum
nos gubernna visens humum
quod letemur triumphantes
tepatronum venientes

E u o u a e
Sancte uthber-te

inter-ce-de pro no-bis

ut cons-or-tes glo-ri-e san-c-to-rum

tecum effi-ci me-re-a-mur.

euoua e
Presul domini
sancte cuthberte
inter ce de pro nobis
ad dominum de un nostrum
euou e
Almi cuth-berte presulis

munitos nos sufragilis

celo-rum rex perpetua

christus ducat ad gaudiad
C-VE

Oriens sol iusticiæ
dignatus est illustrare
per ministros lucis suæ
cunctos fines orbis terræ
ipsi laus qui declarat Anglis
lucernam suæ salutis
cathartum bonum docet rem
ac pro his interceptorem

euouae

(f. 51)
Domino sanctorum presulum regi

Iubilemus in hac sacra sollemnitate

Pontificis nostris Cuthberte

Venite
C-MA1

Author donorum spiritus

Inspirans veras vatibus

Per trium fatur infantem

Cuthbertum fore presulem

euouae

C-MA2

Qui raphaelem archangelum

todie dedit mediicum

Cuthbertigenulanguidum

Sum sanat per angelum

euouae

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C-MA3

Dum iac-tan—tur pup-pes sa—lo
san-ctus o-rans he-ret so—lo
max venturum vis mu-ta-ta
na-ves ver-tit ad li-to-ra

C-MA4

E-do-mans corpus iu—ve—nis
in un-dis per noc-tat ma—ris
i—bi de-o vo—ta lau—dis
ex a-fectu rea—dit cor—dis

(f. 51v)
C-MA5

(f. 51v)

Mirum dictum hinc egresso

et orantes genuflexus

membrâ refovent rigida

equoris animalia
evouae

C-MAG

(f. 51v)

Adest frater curiosus

explorans quid agat iustus

quem linguor et pavore

mox corruptum sanat prece
evouae
C-MA7

Quamdam vexatam demone
pergit sanctus inviisse
semax dirus fugit hostis
fit mulier incolumnis

e u o u a e

C-MA8

Multos hic sanavit e-gros
langures depellense-vos
multas efugavit larvas
virtute crucis territas

euoua e
C-MAG

Sanctus antistes cuthbertus

vir perfectus in omnibus

in turbis erat monachus

digne cunctis reverendus

eu ouae
C-MA10

Aves sancto obaudiunt

corvi correcti rediunt

liignumque cellem fabrice

neglectum nautis fert mare

C-MA11

Patris benignam graci am

linguenteres per septima nam

maris ligat undo sitas

Ann parent fit tranquilitas
Ut heli-se-us mortu-us
re-sus-ci-tavit mor-tu-um
ita cuth-bertus ego-tus
sanat dis-en-te-ri-a-cum

euo uae

Hu-ius vi-ta-li fune-re
demo-nia-cus e-ger-que
para-li-ti-cus tu-mens-que
deformis vul-tu vi-su-que
di-ver-se-que mi-se-ri-e
san-tur mem-bris men-te-que
euo uae
C-LA1

Christi fortis hec athleta
ac verus anachoirita
mun di tempsit hec infima
quo celici capret summa

e u o u a e

C-LA2

Qui de ruppe prompsit aquam
post in vinum vertens eam
hoc utrumque donum su

caro contulit cumberbo

e u o u a e
C-LA3

(f. 53r)

In episcopatu suo

iam exac-to bien-no

ut soli vae-carret de-o

di-lecto se re-alt antro

euouae

C-LA4

(f. 53r)

Hinc tanguntur artus sa-cri

corporis mor-bo le-ta-li

sci-ens ve-ro se re-sol-vi

confortat o-vi-le chris-ti

euouae
Mox patronus ad aeternum
quisque vestrum tempus mundum
amet christum colat bonum
sic supernum sumet regnum
C-LE

(f. 53v)

Langor accresces in dies
ar-tus vexabat fragiles
ipse sa-oras fundens preces
celices prægustat laudes
dum terrennis rebit dies
eternus cutherto dies
salutares sumit da-pes
sic supernalas scandit se-des
C-VE (Tr.)

(f. 53r)

O magne presul cuthberte
cui Christus fuit vive re
cui mori lucrum per hene ne
dum post mortem vivis vere
signis divinis in di te
languos sanans a la be
hoc rogamus pia pre ce
tu pro nobis inter ce de

e u o u s e
C-LE (Tr.)

Alme confessore domini

presul regis eterni

cuthberti consors sanctorum

concivis celestium

eaxu di precex tuorum

sume vota supplicum

et pro nobis regem regum

ipsum posce dominum
ibertus
pu-
er bome in-

per
vigil nocturnis insistas

ani-mam vi-ce-lum
fer-
vi-sit ab an-
ge-lis

cum pasto-ri-bus
ovi-um
po-
sit us pastor a-

a do pre-

men-te et vul-tu su-

A-

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In sanctis crescent virtutibus
alimus vir cuthbertus
despicitis huius caduci
seculi rebus
ve ne rabilis
ae per cuncta dignae laudabilis
factus est monachus.

Corpo re mente habitu factis
que probabilibus
castris dominicis
asso ciatus factus est
Pa-tri-ar-chae nostri a-bra-he e-xem-plo
be-a-tus pa-ter cuth-ber-tus
hos-pi-ta-li-tatis de-di-tus ob-se-qui-o
su-per-num ci-vem ga-u-des ex-ce-pit hos-pi-ci-o
cu-i-dum terre-num quenit mi-ni-strare pa- ne-m
re-ci-per me-ru-it ce-le-tem
Di-gre-di-tur na-mque vir de-i pa-ne-m
cu-piens de-fer-re ca-len-tem
se-d re-di-ens ne-qua-quam
in-ve-nit con-vi-vam cu-i-dum
Vir domini cuthbertus
maris tempertate cum sociis prescimus
futuri die septem nimirum presedit.
cum quibus etiam cessabas
suisibi presume divinitus data
positis namque genibus orationem sustiniet
natusque in domino fide ius sit.
Merito sanctitatis
et gradu dignitatis
accepto vir deo sacerdote
no men equabat officio
prebens cunctis
monita salutatis
et exemplo bonae actionis.
Qua enim verbis vocebat
operibus ad unplebat.
Ignem fervoris divini succensus
sanctus sacerdos cuthbertus
ignes nos xios sepe repressit
suis sacris precessit cibus.

Fantasticum quomdem ignem cum euctorem suo effugavit
materialis vero ab eisibus quasi vocabat ex tuisexit su-
Veri locus. va-
tes cuth ber-
tus

ecclesi-e
iussis pre-cibus

lacrims-que co-
cactus

ut ipse ante pre-dixerat

Episcopi ca-thedra sull-matur

populis-que regensis pre-

secratis extrahitur la-tebris

et per-fus sur ge nas la-
crims. Episcopi
Celeritum minister doneorum

cuthbertus antister uxorrem

cuiusdam co
ta

aqua benedicet

virginem crismate

perunctam

patrem familias

pane as beneclcto

ristine redidit sanitati.
C-MR8 (v) (f. 52v)

Lu-ve-nem quo-que iam pe-ne
mo-ri-tu-num so-la o-ra-ci-o-ne
pu-e-rumque se-mi-ne-cem oscu-lo
	tan-tum da-to. Pris-
Qui de pe-TRA a-
quam pro-
du-xit

et a-
quam in vi-
num muta-
vit

cuth-
ber-tum

utraque etiam gra-
ti-a dignum

gra-ti-fi-ca-

utraque il-

de ar-i-da ter-
ra ef-
dit

et a-
quam bi-
enti

in vi-
num con-
ver-tit.
utraque.
Pre-nu-ci-an-
te cu-th-ber-to

tran-si-tum su-um san-ctus

a-na-cho-
ri-ta he-re-ber-tus

cel-est i de-si-de-ri-o

la-chri-mo-sus im-plo-rat e-um

ut pa-ri-ter se-cum

mi-gra-
ret ad do-mi-num.

In-cum-bens pre-ci-bus cu-th-ber-tus

mox le-tab-u-dus

re-tu-lit pos-cen-ti se e-xau-
di-tum.
Pura cordis
a cieli supernnis
semper inter tenuibus
contentus
est inter epulas animam cuiusdam
ex arbo re lapsi
ab angelis congratulanti bis
in cum de ferri

In argumentum quoque veri
precebat
quid crassitino sibi
nuntiare tur super eo quam viderebat
Ab angelis
Athleta domini cuthbertus

victor innumeralium

certaminum
demoniaci imperitus
decoratus ut aurum

in forma e languoris

adeptus est coronam

angelice civilitatis

caius vitam interaratam

comendat incorruptio corporis
C-MR 12 (v)  

(f. 53v)

Post annos un-de-cim

i-ta in-ven-tus est ut se-pul-tus fu-e-rat

vestibus ni-ti-di-si-mis in-te-ger-ri-mo


2. OFFICE OF ST OSWALD

The text has been transcribed from Lbl MS Harley 4664, "The Coldingham Breviary," ff.248v-250. All abbreviations have been expanded except for those in the rubrics (given here in italics).

The musical transcription which follows the text has been taken from Cambridge, Trinity College MS 0.3.55, ff.68v-69v.

sancti oswaldi regis et martyris. super psalmos.
antiphona.
Ave martyr
a'
Sancte oswalde
a'
Erat in clitus
a'
Assumpsit sibi pontificem

capitulum
Iustus si morte preocupatus fecerit in refrigerio erit. senectus enim venerabilis est non diuturna neque numero annorum computata.

R[esponsorium]
Rege deo regum
miracula dante per eum
oswaldi regis
domini data dextra triumphis
incorrupta manet
divinaque munera prebet.

v[ersus]
Dextra fovens inopes
cedens summi patris hostes
dextra recisa ducis
pro gente dei morientis. incorrupta.

Ymnus
Regalis ostro
V
Magna est gloria eius

In evvangelio
Sceptrige oswalde
celo terraque sacrate
trans mare germanis
gallis fulgescis ab anglis
et quecumque tuam
gens poscit opem subit amplam
rex bone propicium
nobis regem pete regum

oracio
Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris ut qui ex iniquitate nostram
reos nos esse cognoscimus beati oswaldi regis et martyris tui
intercessione liberemur. per.
[Ad matutinas]

Invitatorium
Martyrum palmam
domino regnique coronam
qua micat oswaldus
regi regum iubilemus.
Ps[almus]
Venite

Ymnus
Regalis ostro

In primo nocturno. super psalmos. a'
Rex quatuor gentium
Ps
Beatus vir
a'
Cumque sederet
a'
In signo dominice
a'
Inter cetera
a'
Erat inclitus
a'
Assumpsit sibi

V
Gloria et honore

lectio i
Successores adwini regis anglorum in apostosiam conventes cum sue
gentis et fidei et regno magno extitissent detrimento. et obid iusto
dei iudicio regnum pariter et vitam inbrevi amisissent; oswaldus rex
christianissimus eorum loco succedens deo annuente et fidei statum
propagant et regni impervium ampliavit.
Rex sacer oswaldus
senas acies feritus
spem crucis erexit
et in hoc signo superavit.

Ut constantinus
de celo vincere doctus. spem.
lectio ii
Igitur post occisionem fratris andfredi superveniente cum parvo exercitu sed fide christi munito; infandus britonum dux cum in mensis illis copiis quibus nichil resistere iactabat. interemptus est in loco quid lingua anglorum de nisesburna. id est rivus de nisi vocatur.

R
Hec crux oswaldi
fuit una sue regioni
primaque credentes
christo dedit hoc duce gentes.
v
Hec erat exemplum
divina trophea coentum. Primaque.

lectio iii
Ostenditur autem locus ille et in magna veneracione habetur usque hodie ubi venturus ad hanc pugnam oswaldus signum crucis erexit ac flexis genibus deum deprecatus est ut in tanta rerum necessitate suis cultoribus succurreret auxilio.

R
Per crucis huius opem
populi rapuere salutem
congaudent una
varie clades medicina.
v
Oswaldi regis
meritum tot subvenit egris.

lectio iv
Denique fertur quia sancto citato opere cruce ac fovea preparatain quo statui debeat; ipse fide fervens hanc eripuerit ac fovee in posuerit atque utraque manu tenuerat erectam; donec aggesto a militibus pulvere terre infigeretur. et hoc sancto elata in altum voce cuncto exercitui pro clamaverit. flectamus omnes genua et deum
omnipotentem unum ac verum in commune deprecemur. ut nos ab hoste superbo ac feroce sua miseratione defendat.

R Oswaldus christi
devotus vernula regni
construit ecclesias
dat predia res dat opimas.
v Nascentemque fidem
dilatat christicolarum. construit.

In secundo nocturno. super psalmos. a'.
Sic beatus oswaldus
a' Rex principum
a' Hunc martyrio
a' In loco regis
a' Super sancti
a' De ligno

v Posuisti domine

lectio v
Fecerunt omnes ut iusserat et sic incipienti diluculo in hostem progressi iuxta meritum sue fidei victoria potui sunt. In cuius loco orationis innumere virtutes sanitatum noscuntur esse parate ad iudicium utique ac memoriam fidei regis.

R Pontificem sanctum
sumpsit sibi rex aidanum
doctor aidanus
rex interpres fit honorus.

v
Dulce fuit regem
per vate videre loquentem. Doctor.

lectio vi
Nam et usque hodie multi de ipso ligno sacrosancte crucis hastulas excidere solent quas cum in aquas miserint eisque languentes homines aut pecudes potaverint. sive asperserint; mox sanitati restituuntur.

R
Regnoque rector
sed egene[...] miserator
furtit opes larga dextra
cum mente benigna.

v
Hanc incorruptam

lectio vii
Vocatur autem locus ille hevenfeld quod dici potest latine celestis campus. Quod utique presagio futurorum antiquitus nomen significant nimirum quod ibidem celeste erigendum trophæum celestis inchoanda victoria. celestis usque hodie forent miracula celebrena.

R
Rex anime fortis
cadit hostia matirialis
cesus pro patria
cesa est et prodiga dextra.

v
Integra carne sua
dat dona dei benedicta. Cesa.
LECTIO VILLI

Est autem locus ille iuxta murum illum ad aquilonem quo romani quondam arcendos barbarorum impetus totam amari usque ad mare precinxere brittaniam.

R

Inclitus oswaldus
aidani bello moribundus
clamat in extremis [um?]
miserere salus animarum.

v

Commendans secundum
spiracula commovientum. Clamat.

[In tertio nocturno]

Ad canticum
De regno terre
translatus in etheris arce
cellior etherea
regnas oswalde corona
suscepit vide[inde?] patrem
quem noverat anglia regem.

cc
Beatus vir qui.

EVANGELIUM

Si quis venit.

R

O felicem locum illum et omni dignum preconio
ubi inclitus rex oswaldus occubuit in prelio.

v

Oblatus est enim domino
ibi viva hostia in sacrificio. In prelio.
R
Pulvis sacer de occasu regio
in accensa pendens domo
ignem depellit deposce suo.
v
Omni consumpta domo
flagrante incendio. Ignem.

R
Sub divo relict o martyri divinitatis non defuit obsequium
columpna enim lucis a corpore ad celum
usque porrecta effulsit ad iacentis meritum.
v
Omnisque ad iacens regio
hoc illustrata est miraculo. Ad.

R
Quam precelsa sunt in celo regii martyris oswaldi premia
de cuius etiam locis membris terra irrigata
fugat demonia et dat salutaria.
v
Regis pro regno christi bellantis
et martyris pro regno christi occumbentis
quanta est corona. De cuius.

Evangeli um
Si quis venit

oracio
Omnipotens sempiterne.

In laudibus. a'
Rex oswaldus clarus regali munificencia
fer inquid discum christo clamanti in paupere forma.
a'
Vivat aydanus inquid tua rex dextera
et semper maneat incorrupta.
Sic organum spiritus sancti modulatur pro virum dei et sic videmus per graciam christi.

Qual' enim ab scisa est in prelio
talem eius dexteram adhuc clara servat incorruptio.

Non perdidisti rex invicte regnum sed mutasti in melius
regnas enim cum deo in celestibus.

Capitulum
Iustus si morte.

R
Sancte oswalde

Y
Christus fidelis

V
Magna est gloria

In evvangelium
Miserere domine animabus
clamabat optimus rex oswaldus
cadens in terra et in hac oracione suam
deo reddidit animam.

oracio
Omnipotens sempiterene deus qui huius diei iocundam beatamque
leticiam in sancti servi tui oswaldi sollempnitate consecrasti. da
cordibus nostris tui timoris caritatisque augmentum; ut cuius in terris
sancti sanguinis effusionem celebramus. illius in celo collata patrocinia
mentibus senciamus. per.

Ad primam. a'
Rex oswaldus

Ad terciam. a'
Vivat aydanus

capitulum
Iustus si morte.

oracio
Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui huius.

Ad sextam. a'
Sic organum

capitulum
Placens deo factus dilectus et vivens inter peccatores translatus est. raptus est ne malicia mutaret intellectum illius aut refictio deciperet animam illius.

oracio
Omnipotens et misericors deus qui nobis preclarum huius diei leticiam pro beati oswaldi regis et martyris tui sollemnitate tribuisti intende serenus vota fidelis populi; et concede ut cuius hodie festa per colimus. eius semper meritus et precibus sublevemur. per.

Ad nonam. a'
Non perdidisti.

capitulum
Consummatus in brevi explevit tempora multa placita enim erat deo anima illius. propter hoc properavit educere illum de medio iniquitatem.

oracio
Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui donasti beato oswaldo regi gloriam terrene potestatis in divinum convertere amorem. da nobis quoque eius intersessione in tui nominis amore iugiter permanere. per.
Ad vespertas. a'
Rex quatuor
ps
Dixit dominus
a'
Cumque sederet
ps
Beatus vir
a'
In signo
ps
Laudate pueri
a'
Inter cetera
ps
Credidi pp

capitulum
Iustus si morte

R
Quam precelsa.

Y
Regalis ostro

V
Magna est gloria eius

In evvangelium
Gloriose rex oswalde
vota damus tu attende
tui sumus recognosce
mortem aufer vitam posce
ave quondam rex anglorum
nunc coheres angelorum
placa nobis regem tuum
qui te fecit civem suum.

Dominica infra octava. ad vespertas. a'
Rex regum christe quem flexis genibus
et submisso regni diadematet servus tuus oswaldus
amabat iugiter adorare dignare
nostras preces per eius intercessionem et passionem suscipere.

oracio
Omnipotens sempiterne.

(At foot of f.252, added in later hand:
Si octavo sancti oswaldi in sabbato contigeret. facta est
in apud sabbato commemoratio de sancto oswaldo et nichil
de sancto laurencio.)
O-VE

(Cambridge, Trinity College MS 0.3.55, f. 68v)

Scęp-trí-ger os-wal-de

celo terrá-que sa-crá-te

trans ma-re ger-má-nis

gal-lis ful-ge-seís ab äng-lis

et quæ-cumque tu-ám

gens poscit o-pem subit am-plam

rex bô-ne pro-pí-ti-um

no-bis re-gem pe-té re-gum
O-MI

(f. 68r)

Mar-ti-rum pæl-nam

do-mi-no reg-ni-que co-ro-nam

qua mi-ca-tos-wal-dus

re-gi re-gum iu-bi-le-mus

Ve-ni-te
In signo domini crucis immunes copias fugit
que crux regis metritis innumeratas virtutes attribuit
FRAT INCLITUS Rex non so-lum re-ligio-sus Dei cul-tor.

SEDA ET CHRISTIANAE RELI-GIO-NAE INDIGNI SPOSA-propa-gator.

Assumpsit sui-ponti-fi-cem sanctum a-i-danum

ET IN E-GEN-TEM IDOLA-TRAS CONVERTIT AD CHRISTUM.
0-MA7
(f. 69v)

Sic beat-us oswal-dus ut qui ce-les-te
non ter-re-num reg-num de-si-D[eri-e]

0-MA8
(f. 69v)

Rex prin-ci-pum confra-ter pau-pe-rum
refu-gi-un af-flic-to-rum et pastor e-[cle-]si-a-rum.
O-MAG

(f. 69v)

Hunc martyrio sumptum aer caelestia regna

caelstia comm[en]dam prodigia.

Euouae
O-MA 10

(f. 69v)

in loco regis ex-cilio sa-crato

homines et iumenta sali-

ipsa terra u mutorum

sali-te exhaurri-tur.

O-MA 11

(f. 69v)

supersancti re-liqui-as per to-tam noctem

columna lucis efful-sit ethe-re-a

per to-tam pro-vinci-am con-

eu ou ae

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De ligno cui co-randum caput regis prefi-xum erat
scolas-ticus iam moritus accept
et de infer-ni per-i-cu-lo con-valuit
Regem deo regum
miracula dant per eum.
Oswal re-gis

Dominii data extra tyrannis
in-corrupta mera pre-bet

* Dextra fovea inopes
ce-dens summi patris hostes

dextra recisa ducis
pro gen-te d-i monien-tis in-car.

Gloria pa-tri
et filio et spiritu sancto.
Rex sacer os - wal- dus
se - nas a - ci - es fer - itu - rus
spem cru-cis e - re - xit
et in hoc sig - no su - pe - ra - vit
Ut con - stan - ti - rus
de ce - lo vin - ce - re doc - tus. spem.
Hec crux os-wal-di
fuit una su-e re-gi-o-ni
pri-ma-que cre-den-tes
chri-sto de-bit hoc du-ce
gen-tes.
Hec e-rat e-xem-plum
di-ri-na tro-phe-a co-len-
tum. Pri-ma.
Per crucis hu-rius o-pem
con-gau-dent u-na
va-ri-e cl-a-des me-d-ci-na
Os-wal-di re-gis
me-ri-tum tot su-b-ve-nit e-gris, con.
Osvaldus christii
devotus vernula regni
construit ecde-

dat pre-
di-a

res dat o-pi-mas.

* Nascentemque
fi-dem

di-la-tat christi-col-alam
rum. con'
motu sanctum

sumpsit si-bi rex a-i-da-num

doc-tor a-i-da-nus

rex in-ter-

prem fit ho-no-rus.

Dul-ce fu-it re-gem

per va-te vi-de-re lo-que-re tem.
doc-tor.
Regnoque rector

sed ego ne I misereram

furrit opus larga dextra

cum mente benigna

Hanc in corruptam

petit aidanus fores dextra

Cum
Rex animе fortis

cadit hostia materialis

cesus pro patria

casae est et prodigа dextra

InTEGRa carne suа

dat dona dei benedictа ceса.
Inclitus aswalodus

bello moribus

clamat in extremis

mise-re

re salus

animarum

Commendans se cu spiracula commevis tum clamat

Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
3. OFFICE OF ST EBBA

(Transcribed from Lbl MS Harley 4664, ff.261-263)

In festivitate sancte ebbe virginis. super psalmos. a'
Ave sydus celestis curie
flos et decus ebba britannie
tuos tuis astantes laudibus
celi tecum adiunge curibus.

In evvangelium
Christe salvator et amator hominum
qui es sponsus et corona virginum
tua quesumus letetur ecclesia
tue ebbe tibi solvens preconia
ut quicumque eius gaudent officio
 tuo semper subleventus auxilio.
ps
Magnificat

[Ad matutinas]

Invitatorium
Adoretur christus rex glorie
qui glorificat ebbam in ethere.
ps
Venite

In primo nocturno. antiphona
Sicut florem nitis in vinea
sic ebbam in stirpe regia
felix produxit britania.
a'
Ethelfridi regis filia
oswyu soror eximia
et egfridi erat amica.
Clavis exhorta natalibus
mundum fide et formam moribus
et sexum vicit virtutibus.

In urbe triumphans coludi
carne munda et corde simplici
capud dixi contrivit colubri.

Divino conducti federe
et viri simul et femine
sub ea gaudebant vivere.

Puella matrem instancia
et viris patrem constancia
quam mira se dedit gracia.

Diffusa est gratia

Virgo venerabilis ebba mater ancillarum christi prefuit congregacioni
sanctarum virginum in loco quem coludi urbem nuncupant. hec a
primeva etate divino mancipata servicio, nobilitatem generis fidei
prudencie morum ingenuitate venustatabat. Erat enim soror uterina
nobilis sim(?) regis oswi qui sanctissimo regi et martyri oswaldo
successit in regnum. amita quoque nobilissimi et deo devoti regis
Agfridi quorum temporibus plus sanctitate vite et virtutum gloria
quam generis nobilitate enituit. a deo ut quasi mater regni et decus
tante nobilitatis universis pene britannie finibus innotesceret et fama
sanctitatis et industria virtutis.

Etheldridam instruxit sedula
que nupta et sine macula
veluta regali copula
ebbe facta est discipula.
Labori commutans ocia
claustro regnum et duris mollia. ebbe.

lectio ii
Nam ipsius magisterio virgo illa nobilis et prudens etheldrida Agfridi quondam in regno quidem comes et regina. sed virgo intacta; regni cura et sollicitudine seposita lecti regalis societate contempta; vite spiritualis rudimentis imbunda traditur. ut tante mag^re sanctitatis successor et heres fieret. Quante viro circo subiector sibique commissos sollicitudinis quante industrie civam egerit in hoc facile patebit quod sanctorum quorumlibet presenciam semper affectabat; quorum doctrinis et exemplis instrui congregacio posset sibi comissa. hic est quod sanctissimus pater cuthbertus et merito conversationis eius et admonicionis sedulitate invitatus ad monasterium ipsius venire; et tam verbo quam exemplo quoslibet instruere solebat.

R
Dum quidam nolentem nubere
raptu mollitur opprimere
latenti maris confinium
triduo dedit presidium.
v
Contra tyrannum superbiens
et montem undis premuniens. triduo.

lectio iii
Erat enim tunc prepositus monasterii mailrossensis et ex locorum in
civitate oportunitatem nactus sepius venerabilis et sanctissime
virginis ebbe monasterium in visere et tam corporis presencia quam
signor magnificencia presentes quoque letificare. vel magis edificare
solebat sicut in vita ipsius sanctissimi patris legitur. Beatissimo viro
cuthberto alias occupato nam in lindisfarnensi monasterium translatus
et postmodum de anachoresi ad ep'atum est sublimatus quia messis
quidem multa operarii viro pauci erant. ceperunt quidam in predicto
monasterio a tradito si regularis vite t'mite exorbitare spretisque

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tante virginis monitis; vite remissoris illecebris intendere. unde merito loco et hintatoribus eius g'ius de celo vindica post mortem abbatisse sanctissime preparata est; in ulcionem videlicet transgressionis et conceptus sancti ordinis et tante mag' re cuius mores et virtutes intuentes contemptui magis habere quam imitari solebant.

R
Sanctorum ebbam frequenciam optabat ob verbi graciam que exemplis et monitis formam dabat sibi subditis.

v
Preclaris per orbem titulis ex multis effulsit meritis. Que.

lectio iv
Nec latere potuit ancillam christi tante animadversionis ulcio. Ad exemplum enim magni illius patriarche abrahe que factura erat severitas superna revelare dignata est auribus ancille sue cuius meritis ascribendum est. quod tante animadversionis ulcio dilata est usque post obitum virginis sanctissime sicut et cuidam viro religioso adampnano nomine celicus ostensum legitur. Idem namque adampnanus de nacione scottorum oriundus vitam et continencia et oracionibus multum devotam ducebat. ita ut nichil numquam cybi vel potus excepto die dominico et quanta sabbati perciperet sepe autem noctes integras pervigil in oracione transsigeret.

R
Cuthbertus ebbam precipuo amore complectens assiduo subiectos sibi intruere et hanc gaudebat in visere.

v
Licet ut virus consorcia devitaret muliebria. Et hanc.
In secundo nocturno. a' 
Contemnens mundi gloriam
per carnis continenciam
virgo se dedit hostiam.
a'
Ut paradisius effloruit
sic ille locus enituit
dum vita sanctorum claruit.
a'
In vidit serpens successibus
et premis nocendi actibus
venenum infudit mercibus.
a'
Sicut eva virum exuit
sic forma viros destituit
et stellas inflicium eruit.
a'
Dum ita luderet furia
hec hostis inter illudia
ebbam latebat in viria.
a'
O felix mater domina
fundc pro nobis precamina
et nostra t'ge peccamina.

V
Specie tua et pl'

lectio v
Quod dum multo tempore in monasterio beate ebbe virginis sedulus
exequeretur. contigit die quadam de monasterio illo egressum;
comitante secum uno ex fratribus peracto itinere redire. Qui cum
monasterio appropinquarent; et edificia sublimiter erecta conspicerent.
solutus est in lacrimas vir dei et tristiciam cordis vultu indice pro
debat. Quod intuens comes. quare hoc faceret inquisivit. At ille,
cuncta iniquid hec que cernis edificio publica vel privata in proximo
est ut ignis absumens in cinerem convertat. Quod ille audiens. matri congregacionis sanctissime ebba curavit indicare.

R
Adampnanus noctu fletibus
in stratu vacans et precibus
celesti accept nuncio
de loci huius excidio.

Ostensi est ei visio
crudeli nota presagio. De.

lectio vi
At illa mirito turbata de tali presagio vocavit ad se virum dei. et
diligentius ab eo rem vel unde hoc nossus inquirebat. Qui ait. Nuper
occupatus noctu vigiliis et psalmis; vidi astantem mihi subito quendam
incognit vultus. cuis presencia cum essem exteritus. dixit mihi ne
timorens et quasi familiari me voce alloquens. benefacis inquid. qui
tempore isto nocturne quietis non sompno ingulgere sed vigiliis et
oracionibus insistere maluisti. At ego novi in quam mihi multum esse
noctem vigiliis salutaribus insistere et pro meis erratibus sedulo
dominum deprecari.

R
Revelabat ebbe postea
peritura flammis omnia
sed id habebat solacii
ipsa iuvente non fieri.

Tanti quippe erat meriti
quod possent casus tam miser.

lectio vii
Qui adiciens verum inquid dicis. quia tibi et multis opus est peccata
sua bonis operibus redimere et cum cessant a laboribus verum
temporalium tunc pro appetitu eternorum bonorum liberius laborare.
sed cum hoc paucissimi faciunt. siquidem meo totum hoc monasterium
ex ordine per lustrans singulorum casas ac lectos in spexi et neminem ex omnibus preter te ergo sanitatem anime sue occupatum repperi. sed omns prorsus viri et femine aut sompno torpent inani. aut ad peccata vigilant. Nam et domumcule que adorandum vel legendum facte erant nunc in conversacionum potacionum. fabulacionum et ceterarum sunt illecebrarum cubilia converse. virgines quoque deo dicate contempta reverencia sue professionis quociescunque vacant texendis subtilioribus indumentis operam dant; quibus aut se ipsas ad vicem sponsarum in periculum sui status adornent. aut externorum sibi virorum amiciciam comperent. Unde merito loco huic et habitatoribus eius. gravis de celo vindicta flammis sevientibus preparata est.

R
Hiis virgo verbis admonita
corda pavore per terita
ad primos actus erigere
salubri in stabat opere.

Celestem iram repellere
et vires hostis reprimere. salubri.

lectio viii
Dixit autem abbatissa. Et quare hoc non cicius compartum mihi revelare voluisti; Qui respondit. Timui propter tibi reverenciam tuam; ne forte nimium curbareris. Et tamen hanc consolationem habes quod in diebus tuis hec plaga non superveniet. Nimirum sicut quondam beato benedicto monasteriorum subsversio divinitus ostensa est. sic in consolationem ancille sue dominus ei per servum suum ventura revelare dignatus est. Nam manifestata visione industria et exemplis beate magistre aliquantulum loci accole paucis diebus timere et se ipsos castigare ceperunt. Verum post obitum venerabilis abbatisse redierunt ad pristinas sordes; immo sceleraciora fecerunt. et cum dicercet pax et securitas. extimplo prefate ulcionis sunt pena multati. Ostenditur autem locus oratorii beate ebbe super montem qui goldisburg dicitur. quondam edificiorum sublimitate preclarus nunc in solitudinis planitiem conversus. Transiit autem beata ebba temporibus Agfridi regis. cuius mausoleum post multa tempora a pastoribus
inventum est. et a fidelibus in ecclesiam sancte marie de coldingham translatum et ad australem partem altaris positum ubi crebra miracula facta divinitus per cipimus et nostris quoque temporibus vidimus ad laudem et gloriam domini nostri ihesu christi qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum AMEN.

R
Salvatoris christi famula
post huius vite curricula
felix perceptura brevium
ad regni venit pallacium.

v
Relinquens terre corpusculum
et inferens celo spiritum.

Ad canticum. a'
Sicut rosa super aquarum rivulos
virtutum ebba profudit flosculos
et sicut sponsus sponsatam movibus
sic ebbam dominus ornat virtutibus.

evangelium
Simile est regnum celorum decem virginibus.

R
Post mortem martyris ad pristina
reversi sunt flagicia
quos truci statim incendio
divina consumpsit ulcio.

v
Olim loth egresso sodomam
sic post ebbam plebem pessimam. Divina.

R
Quam mira quam laudabilia
sunt tua christe magnalia
qui tue ebe preconia
dicas multiformi gracia.

Fugantur enim demonia
et egris dantur subsidia. Multi.

R
O virgo prudens et inclita
quam tanta decorant merita
veniam nobis pro crimine
apud christum supplex optine

Ut mereamur in ethere
cum sanctis tecum convivere. Apud.

R
De nocte seculi carnis ecarcere
prudentis et vigilans et pulcra facie
accensae lampade conscendit libere
ad sponsi thalamum ad tronum gracie.

Que pro peccatis hominum
intercedat ad dominum. Ad tronum.

In laudibus. a’
Gratuletur pia mater ecclesia
superni regis collaudans magnalia
in sue virginis sacra memoria.

Egrotis exibens salutis opera
que dum viveret in hac carne tenera
super afflictos pia gessit viscera.

Contritos erigit os multis aperit
cetos illuminat larvas excriminat
et lesoque reperat et clausis reserat.

Benedicat ebba dominum
ebbam exaltet os hominum
que lucet in choro virginum
non lucis hebit criminum.

Quam laudabilia virginis premia
cuius memoria dat beneficia(buficia?)
 mestis est leticia
 salus cunctis et gloria.

[In evvangelium] a’
Benedictus deus israel dominus
exalto oriens quem nescit criminus
qui ebbe vitam lucifluam
et lucem dedit perpetuam.

ps
Benedictus
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