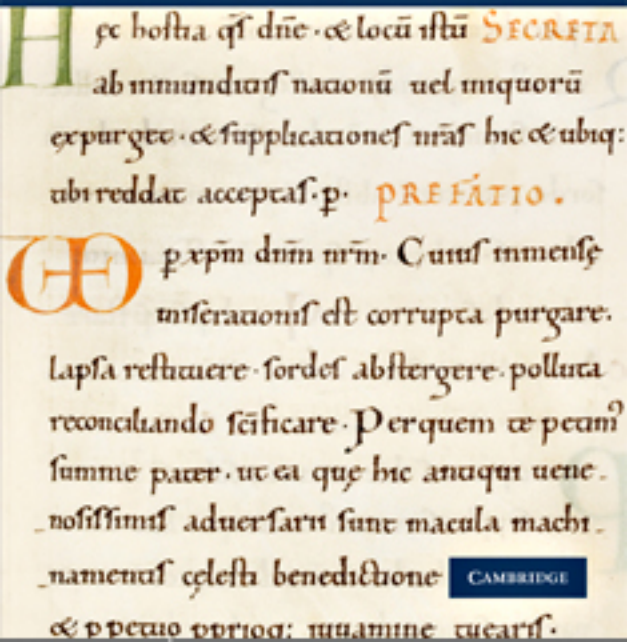
RICHARD W. PFAFF

THE LITURGY in Medieval England

A History



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The Liturgy in Medieval England

This is the first comprehensive historical treatment of the Latin liturgy in medieval England. Richard W. Pfaff constructs a history of the worship carried out in churches – cathedral, monastic, or parish – primarily through the surviving manuscripts of service books, and sets this within the context of the wider political, ecclesiastical, and cultural history of the period. The main focus is on the mass and daily office, treated both chronologically and by type, the liturgies of each religious order and each secular "use" being studied individually. Furthermore, hagiographical and historiographical themes – respectively, which saints are prominent in a given witness and how the labors of scholars over the last century and a half have both furthered and, in some cases, impeded our understandings – are explored throughout. The book thus provides both a narrative account and a reference tool of permanent value.

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To my grandchildren,
Andrew, Helen, and Edward

Contents

Preface

It may be helpful to the reader if some inadequacies obvious to the author of this book are acknowledged at the outset. The first has to do with its title, the justification for which is that it is more accurate than all conceivable alternatives – at least in expressing aspiration if not necessarily accomplishment. To call it *The Liturgical Books of Medieval England* would misrepresent what is attempted: a genuinely historical account of what can be known about the Latin liturgy as used in England during the middle ages, based primarily, but by no means exclusively, on evidence drawn from the surviving service books and fragments. A fuller explanation of this hope and what is involved in trying to fulfill it is provided in the Introduction. Here the reader is asked mainly to notice that the indefinite article is employed deliberately: what is offered here is *a*, with no pretence to being *the* definitive, history of the subject. But it is intended as a history, not as an inventory or conspectus of sources, nor as an introduction to an admittedly complex subject. If it were not palpably absurd, a more accurate title might be *An Essay on the History of Medieval England as seen through Liturgical Sources*.

The next inadequacy is apparent in the book's length: it is too short. Treatment of the announced subject in a single volume, even one with the generous word-limit allowed me by Cambridge University Press, has required the almost complete omission of three large areas: (1) nearly everything having to do with distinctively episcopal liturgies (ordinations, consecration of virgins and other special classes of people, confirmations, dedications of churches and their equipment, coronations) and the books, usually called pontificals, that contain them; (2) pastoral liturgies, sometimes termed occasional offices, such as the rites for baptism, marriage, visitation of the sick, and burial of the dead – along with the separate books, normatively called manuals, in which these rites are often put together; (3) the liturgical aspects implicit in collections of private devotions and, specially important for the later middle ages, in Books of Hours. Consideration of each of these three areas could well fill a separate volume (and indeed has done so,

specially in the case of Books of Hours, intensively studied for their art-historical importance).

A third inadequacy involves approach rather than content: that the dimension of music is almost completely ignored. Where the musical aspect plays a prominent part in a liturgical manuscript, this is generally indicated, and the nature of the chant books that are considered – graduals, antiphonals, processionals, tropers – is kept at the forefront when they are discussed. Friends who are eminent musicologists have agreed that this exclusion is necessary, as a matter of space as well as (I confess) of insufficient expertise. Nonetheless, I am aware of it, and regret it. Certain factors that temper the regret at least mildly are alluded to briefly in the Introduction.

Less regrettable, perhaps, but equally glaring is the lack of attention paid to the dimension perhaps better encapsulated by the French phrase *sentiment religieuse* than by the English word "spirituality." Just as the present work does not pretend to delve into the psychological, sociological, or anthropological aspects of Christian worship, it aims also to steer clear of the primarily theological aspects. So there will be no discussion of eucharistic doctrine as such, nor of the growth of Marian piety, both of which have a marked reflex in liturgical expression, nor of individual cults, above all that of Corpus Christi; still less, of the development of para-liturgical devotions like the Rosary or the Stations of the Cross (which in any case are mainly features of post-medieval spirituality). The general assumption here is that practicioners of worship in the middle ages were serious about what they did; but an effort is made to keep in mind that they were all also human beings, not angels. Such human characteristics as inattention, greed, family pride, and the desire to keep warm in frigid churches need therefore to be factored in to any attempt at understanding liturgical practice. Even if the observation that all history is social history is a truism, it may be a valuable one to keep in mind as we attempt to deal with an area of activity that is no less human because it involves matters primarily characterized as "religious."

The length of this book (too long, it may be thought, as well as too short) requires a structure which, I believe, a glance at the table of contents will make plain. It requires, too, that each chapter be as self-contained as possible, even at the risk of a certain amount of repetition. Recognizing that few will probably wade through every page here, I have attempted to cast each chapter so that it can be read separately (but not, ideally, in isolation) from other chapters. This means that the book is heavily cross-referenced, so that readers of one part understand where they need to go to follow a specific point. This is particularly true

with respect to the many historiographical sections, discussions of the work of individual scholars from the past and (especially) of editions they have produced. These sections are meant to be a prominent feature of the present book, and I hope they will be found useful rather than tiresome. I hope also that readers will have a serious look at the Introduction before launching into any specific chapter. Much that is said there is *not* repeated elsewhere, especially the part headed "What the reader is presumed to know."

One such matter, but not appropriate to that section, requires a word of explanation here: Latin. As this book studies the Latin liturgy of medieval England, there is no feasible way that all traces of that language can be eliminated. Despite the current trend to provide translations of anything in Latin and other learned languages in even scholarly books, that is simply not possible in this case. Much of the Latin quoted here is formulaic – it would be ridiculous to supply "Lamb of God" whenever the *Agnus Dei* is mentioned – and in many cases a point at issue is established only by comparing the exact (Latin) wordings of prayer-formulas. In booklists, also (a source heavily mined), what counts is the way a book is described, whether as *vetus* or *imperfectus* or *sufficiens* or whatever. That said, much Latin is either paraphrased or translated; this is particularly true of any passages of Tacitean or Horatian difficulty. The aim is that any reader with a small amount of Latin, some familiarity with the liturgy in general, and a modicum of ingenuity can follow the discussion with little or no difficulty.

In a work primarily concerned with sources and source-editions, keeping abreast of secondary literature is, while never unimportant, not the highest priority. I hope nonetheless to have taken reasonable notice of articles and monographs published through 2006, plus a very few of 2007. An effort to retain some sort of balance in the amount of attention devoted to various periods and aspects has required not taking full account of the spate of publications which has appeared recently on the late tenth and eleventh centuries – as much, it seems, as on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries combined. A new flood of scholarship can be expected as a result of the most outstanding for our purposes of the several enterprises aimed at digitizing collections of medieval manuscripts: that of making generously available online the rich treasures of the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (www.corpus.cam.ac.uk/parker). I have been unable to take full advantage of these electronic resources, but have had the incomparable benefit of being able to consult, in person and over more than four decades, all of the relevant manuscripts in that collection as well as the great majority of the other codices cited in this book.

Finally, a word about the total lack of illustrations. This is deliberate (as well as an economy), given the two alternatives. The first is to furnish the dozens, perhaps even hundreds, of reproductions of manuscript leaves that would be needed for there to be anything like a representative sample of the variety of sources on which this work depends. The second would be to provide a tiny selection – say, eight to twelve leaves – from, inevitably, the best known codices: treasures like the Lindisfarne gospels, benedictional of Æthelwold, St Albans psalter, Stowe breviary, Sherborne missal. This would be exactly counter-productive, in implying that these celebrated specimens (each one famous for its illustrations) are what this book is *really* about. If some of these do receive a good deal of attention here, it is because they contain a lot of pertinent information rather than because they are exceptionally beautiful.

Over the many years which this work has taken to complete I have received much help and encouragement, both from institutions and from individuals. Among the former, I am grateful for support in the form of multiple research grants from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; of a fellowship at the National Humanities Center; of visiting fellowships at Magdalen College Oxford (an *alma mater* in many ways and for many years, going back to matriculation in 1957) and Magdalene College, Cambridge; and of a generous Emeritus Fellowship from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

The assistance of librarians at the many libraries – over sixty in Britain alone – at which I have worked is by no means taken for granted; but to list them all (for many libraries, more than one) would be inexpressibly tedious. In all I have seen well over five hundred manuscripts in preparation for this book, as well as a great many printed books, early and modern. That translates into an immense amount of fetching, recording, and returning on the part of library staff members. I have received also a large amount of learned assistance from scholarly librarians, not least at many cathedrals; several are thanked at specific points in the footnotes.

Standing on the shoulders of other scholars is now a cliché, not to mention precarious. If I were to attempt to leap onto shoulders of any giants of the past, it would be those of the two scholars whose names appear most often on these pages: J(ohn) Wickham Legg (who died fifteen years before I was born) and Neil Ker (a cherished friend and mentor, who died in 1984). A reader who has any awareness of their achievement – to which might be added those of Edmund Bishop, M.R. James, and Dom David Knowles – should be well positioned to understand the kinds of approaches this book tries to take. A long alphabetical list of all those living colleagues to whom I owe gratitude would be as

tedious as a list of librarians. Again, many are thanked in the footnotes, in connection with specific points, but a few more general obligations need to be spelled out here. With great generosity Nigel Morgan provided me with the early gift of a database he drew up (with the assistance of Nicholas Rogers) of all the English liturgical books in manuscript of which he could find any mention; he is modest about acknowledging the limitations of this database, and I hope that such use of it as I have made does not reflect adversely on either his generosity or his acumen. Brave souls who have read one or more entire chapters include George Hardin Brown, Barbara Harvey, Christopher (Drew) Jones, Sherry Reames, and Elizabeth Teviotdale; and Linda Voigts has ploughed valiantly through almost the entire typescript. I have prized their kind encouragement no less than their expertise, but they should not be held accountable for any of the numerous flaws that remain. Further encouragement has come, often at times of drooping confidence, from Margaret Bent, Sarah Foot, and Elizabeth Livingstone in Oxford; Eamon Duffy, Joan Greatrex, Rosamond McKitterick, Susan Rankin, and Tessa Webber in Cambridge; Brenda Bolton in St Albans; Nicolas Bell, Alan Thacker, and Christopher Roberts in London (whom I also thank for a great deal of hospitality as well as five decades of friendship); and here in Chapel Hill from Jaroslav Folda, Michael McVaugh, Francis Newton, and Janet Sorrentino. Two major boons were made possible by the Mellon Fellowship: the invaluable help of David Carlisle as a research assistant, and the superb indexing skills of Julia McVaugh. Anna Oxbury has been a wonderfully cooperative, as well as acute, copy-editor. A great debt is owed to Siegfried Wenzel for providing over many years a model of perseverance and exact scholarship, as well as an unfailing supply of both cheer and needed criticism; that this work would ever have been completed without his exhortations is doubtful.

A final word of thanks must go to my son David, who after reading drafts of several chapters suggested the four-word goal that I have kept prominently displayed on my desk: "comprehensive but not exhaustive." I shall be delighted if this book is thought even remotely to have achieved that goal.

Sigla and editorial conventions

Libraries

BL: London, British Library. B.m: Bibliothèque municipale. BN: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Bodl.: Oxford, Bodleian Library. CCCC: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College. CUL: Cambridge, University Library. TCC: Cambridge, Trinity College. The abbreviation MS is not normally supplied after any of these, or where it reads cumbersomely.

Religious orders/institutes

Carm.: Carmelite. Carth.: Carthusian. Cist.: Cistercian. Clun.: Cluniac. OESA: Austin (Augustinian) friar. OFM: Franciscan. OP: Dominican. OSA (*or* Aug.): Augustinian canon. OSB (*or* Ben.): Benedictine.

In general, abbreviations are either conventional or obvious: brev. = breviary/*breviarium*; bull. = bulletin; cath. = cathedral; c. or col. = column; coll. = college; Fest. = Festschrift, followed by the name of the honoree (long explanatory subtitles are generally omitted); fol. = folio; fols = folios; jnl = journal; lib. = library; mm = millimetres; MS(S) = manuscript(s); p(p). = page(s); s(aec). = *saeculum* ["century"]; sacr. = sacramentary/*sacramentarium*; rev. = review (or *revue*); soc. = society; trans. = transactions. In measurements of MSS, height precedes width; size of written space, where known and useful, follows in brackets. Rectos of MS leaves have no special indication, versos are so specified (e.g., fol. 62v). Printed books of the late fifteenth and sixteenth century are usually designated by place of publication and year (e.g., Rouen 1506); the printer's name is given only if needed to avoid ambiguity or if specially relevant. The simple designation *Cat*. will always refer to the main catalogue of (Latin medieval) manuscripts in a particular collection, where possible as listed in P. M. Kristeller, *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600*, 4th edn by S. Krämer, Monumenta Germaniae historica, Hilfsmittel 13 (Berlin 1993).

Common Latin abbreviations are sometimes employed when devotional formulas are cited: dne, dns = *domine*, *dominus*; Dq = *Deus qui*; ds = *deus*; mis = *misericors*; omps = *omnipotens*; qs = *qu(a)esumus*. Two widely used prayer formulas are abbreviated as a whole: Osd = *omnipotens sempiterne deus*; per = *per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum*. All other abbreviations should be self-explanatory.

Wherever it is useful to suggest similarity or identity of wording, spellings have been normalized into forms most often found in printed texts (usually *v* for consonantal *u*, less consistently *e* for *ae* or *ę*). Punctuation and capitalization (especially in the case of proper nouns) have generally been modernized. The goal being to enable the reader to use this book in conjunction with the many tools available for liturgical study, especially collation tables, concordances, and indexes, pragmatic considerations have taken precedence over any desire for perfect consistency.

Bibliographical abbreviations

Basic reference tools, journals, and source collections.

AA. SS.: *Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerp, Brussels, etc., 1643–; cited by month and day).

ACC: Alcuin Club Collections (London 1899–).

Anal. Boll.: *Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels 1882–).

ASE: *Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge 1972–).

BAA Conf. Trs: British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 1978– [for 1975 conf.–]).

BHL: *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, 2 vols (Brussels 1898–1901); *Supplementum*, by H. Fros (1986).

Binns, *Dedications*: A. Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales 1066–1216* (Woodbridge 1989).

Biog. Reg. Oxf.: A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500*, 3 vols (Oxford 1957–9).

Bishop, *Liturg. Hist.*: E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford 1918).

C & S 1205–1313: *Councils & Synods, with other documents relating to the English Church*, II: *A.D. 1205–1313*, ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney. 2 vols (Oxford 1964).

C & S 871–1204: *Councils & Synods, with other documents relating to the English Church*, I: *A.D. 871–1204*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke. 2 vols (Oxford 1981).

CBMLC: Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues (London 1990–).

CCSL: Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout 1954–).

CLLA: K. Gamber, *Codices liturgici Latini antiquiores*, Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia 1. 2 vols (2nd, much expanded, edn, 1968, of 1st edn Fribourg 1963); *Suppl.* by B. Baroffio, SF Subs. 1A (1988).

CMCAS: N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford 1957).

Corp. Orat.: E. Moeller, J.-M. Clément, and B. Coppieters 't Wallant, eds. *Corpus orationum*. 10 vols. CCSL 160 (1992–97).

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Eph. Liturg.: *Ephemerides Liturgicae* (Rome 1887–).

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Harper, *Forms and Orders*: J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford 1991).

Hartzell, *Cat. Music*: K. D. Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* (Woodbridge 2006).

HBS: Henry Bradshaw Society (London 1891–).

Heads Rel. Houses: *Heads of Religious Houses; England and Wales*, I: *940–1216*, ed. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, V.C.M. London (2nd edn); II: *1216–1377*, ed. D. M. Smith and V.C.M. London (both Cambridge 2001).

Hughes, *MMMO*: A(ndrew) Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: a Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto 1982).

Kauffmann, *Romanesque MSS*: C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190*. SMIBI III (1975).

Knowles, *Mon. Order* or *MO*: D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England … 940–1216*, 2nd edn (Cambridge 1963).

Knowles, *Rel. Orders* or *RO*: D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England,* 3 vols (Cambridge 1948–59).

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Med. Rel. Houses: D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*, 2nd edn (London 1971).

MLGB: N. R. Ker, ed. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn (London 1964).

MLGB Suppl.: A. G. Watson, ed. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. Supplement to the Second Edition* (London 1987).

MMBL: N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*. 5 vols (Oxford 1971–92, vol. IV with A. J. Piper; vol. V, Index, by A. G. Watson et al., 2003).

Morgan, *Early Gothic MSS*: N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1190–1285*. 2 vols. SMIBI IV (1982–88).

NMT: Nelson's Medieval Texts (Edinburgh 1949–65).

ODCC: F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn (Oxford 1997 [revised 2005]).

ODNB: H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, eds. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols (Oxford 2004).

OMT: Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford 1967–).

Oxf. Dict. Saints: D. H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford 1978 [and several subsequent editions]).

PBE: [Pevsner] Buildings of England, founded by N. Pevsner (Harmondsworth 1951–, many vols now in 2nd edn). Cited by (pre-1974) county; related series for Buildings of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland are in progress.

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Pfaff, *M. R. James*: *Montague Rhodes James* (London 1980).

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PL: Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne. 221 vols (Paris 1844–64).

Rev. Bén.: *Revue Bénédictine* (Maredsous 1885–).

RS: Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores/Chronicles and Memorials … ["Rolls Series"] 99 vols in 259 (London 1858–1911).

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SS: Surtees Society (York and London, etc. 1835–).

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VCH: Victoria History of the Counties of England (London and Oxford 1900–), followed by county and vol. number.

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York Breviary: S. W. Lawley, ed. *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*. 2 vols. SS 71, 75 (1880–83).

York Manual and Processional: W. G. Henderson, ed. *Manuale et processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*. SS 63 (1875).

York Missal: W. G. Henderson, ed. *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*. 2 vols. SS 59–60 (1874).

Nicknames for manuscripts frequently referred to

(For a full list of all manuscripts cited, see Index of Manuscripts, organized by libraries)

Æthelwold benedictional	BL Add. 49598
Abp Robt benedictional	Rouen, B.m. 369 (Y.7)
Arsenal missal [Legg's "A"]	Paris, Bibl. Arsenal 135
Bainbridge pontifical	CUL Ff.6.1
Barnwell antiphonal	CUL Mm.2.9
Beauchamp missal	Oxf., Trin 8
Bologna missal [Legg's "B"]	Bologna, Bibl. univ. 2565
Bosworth psalter	BL Add. 37517
Bury St Edmunds missal	Laon, B.m. 238
Caligula troper	BL Cott. Calig. A.xiv
Canterbury benedictional	BL Harley 2892
Cistercian missal	CUL Add. 4079
Coldingham breviary	BL Harley 4664
Cosin gradual	Durham UL, Cosin V.v.6
Crawford missal [Legg's "C"]	Manchester, JRUL lat. 24
Darley, Red Book of	CCCC 422
Durham collectar	Durham cath. A.IV.19
Durham missal	BL Harley 5289
Eadui psalter	BL Arundel 155
Eadwine psalter	TCC R.17.1
Ely breviary-missal	CUL Ii.4.20
Evesham pontifical	Bodl. Barlow 7
Exeter pontifical	BL Add. 28188
Exeter/preSarum missal	Exeter cath. 3515
Exeter/Sarum missal	Exeter cath. 3510
Gilbertine massbook	Lincoln cath. 115
Giso sacramentary	BL Cott. Vit. A.xviii
Gloucester antiphonal	Oxf., Jesus 10
Guisborough diurnal	Cbg., Sidney 62

Guisborough missal	BL Add 35285
Guisborough psalter	Bodl. Laud lat. 5
Hanley Castle missal	CUL Kk.2.6
Harley psalter	BL Harley 603
Haughmond gradual	Shrewsbury School 30
Hereford cath. breviary	Hereford cath. P.9.VII
Hyde breviary	Bodl. Rawl. liturg. e.1*
Kenilworth missal	Chichester cath. Med. 2
Lavington manual	Bodl. Lat. liturg. f.25
Leofric collectar	BL Harley 2961
Leofric missal	Bodl. 579
Leofric psalter	BL Harley 863
Lesnes missal	London, Vict. & Alb. 404
Lewes breviary-missal	Cbg., Fitzwilliam 369
Lyell processional	Bodl. Lyell 9
Lytlington missal	Westminster Abbey 37
Magdalen pontifical	Oxf., Magd. 226
Muchelney breviary	BL Add. 43405–6
New Minster missal	Le Havre, B.m. 330
Penwortham breviary	BL Add. 52359
Ramsey benedictional	BN lat. 987
Ramsey(?) pontifical	BL Cott. Vit. A.vii
Ranworth antiphonal	Ranworth, parish ch.
Rievaulx(?) missal	BL Add. 46203
Risby ordinal	BL Harley 1001
Robert of Jumièges missal	Rouen, B.m. 274 (Y.6)
Samson pontifical	CCCC 146
Sarum gradual (Frere)	BL Add. 12194
Sherborne missal	BL Add. 74326
Springfield antiphonal	CUL Add. 2602
St Albans breviary	BL Royal 2 A.x
St Albans gradual	BL Royal 2 B.iv
St Albans legendary	NY PML M.926
St Albans processional	Bodl. Laud misc. 4
St Albans missal	Bodl. Laud misc. 279
St Albans psalter	Hildesheim, parish ch.
St Albans sacramentary	Bodl. Rawl. liturg. c. 1
St Augustine's missal	CCCC 270
Stowe breviary	BL Stowe 12
Tewkesbury missal	CUL Gg.3.21
Tiptoft/Morris missal	NY, PML M.107
West Bedwyn gradual	CUL Add. 8333

Westminster missal	Westm. Abbey 37
Westminster pontifical	Bodl. Rawl. C.425
Winchcombe breviary	Valenciennes, B.m. 116
Winchcombe sacramentary	Orléans, B.m. 127 (105)
Winchester troper (Bodl)	Bodl. Bodley 775
Winchester troper (CCC)	CCCC 473
Worcester antiphonal	Worcester cath. F.160
Wulfstan portiforium	CCCC 391

1 Introduction

If a pictorial metaphor for the present book may be offered, it is that of a tapestry rather than a mosaic. A mosaic is characterized by clarity and coherence; if undamaged, it is a tidy whole. What we hope to trace here is never tidy, certainly never a static entity fixed in a framework: *the* medieval liturgy. There will always be loose threads and, all too often, faded patches, some of them scarcely recognizable. Indeed, we might best think of the picture we shall attempt to confect, of regular, formal public worship in England between about 600 and 1535, as a tapestry-in-progress. Because surprisingly little has been written towards the end here envisaged, of trying to get some idea of the history of the liturgy in medieval England as a whole, a bit of preliminary musing as to what can reasonably be expected from an attempt such as the present one – its shape and main emphases, along with its self-imposed limitations – may be helpful.

We know in a general way that Christian worship was carried on in England by those who professed that religion from the early seventh century on. Although we shall pay the most careful attention possible to that earliest period, our understanding of the details of worship during it will remain unavoidably exiguous for the early centuries, roughly up until the late tenth. From that time on, however, there survive considerable bodies of evidence, all of which need to be weighed and then balanced. Three such bodies are of the greatest importance, one of them indeed paramount.

The paramount evidence is that of the liturgical books themselves, in manuscript throughout our period, and exclusively so for all save the last sixty years or so (c. 1475–1535) when they are supplemented, and eventually supplanted, by printed books.[1] These service books, whether manuscript or printed, need to be studied the way other books are, mainly through such tools as palaeography, codicology, and scrutiny of

[1] The Latin service books printed c. 1554–57, during the reign of Mary Tudor, are not part of our concern.

medieval library lists. Also, as with most other medieval manuscripts, they have to be pondered with a continual awareness of how much has been lost. Tempting, and indeed necessary, as it will often be to regard a particular service book as in some way typical – that is, to extrapolate from it as representing wider usages of its genre, time, or place – we must try to keep in mind that our attempts to understand the extant books are inevitably incomplete because of other, lost, books which would have provided a broader context in which to regard them.[2]

The second major type of evidence can generally be called archaeological: the witness of the surviving places, whole or in ruins, where worship was carried on in medieval England. There are two challenges here, corresponding precisely to whether those places are currently whole (and, with a few exceptions, in use as churches) or ruinous.[3] With the latter the task is to try to build up, from whatever fragments survive and from literary and other types of indications, a tolerably complete picture of those places as they were used for worship during whatever span of years is under consideration. Sometimes this is relatively easy to do, as with Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire; at other times, as with Bury St Edmunds (not to mention totally lost or supplanted places like the late seventh-century Lindisfarne that produced the great Gospel book), it is extremely difficult. Equally obvious is the opposite challenge, to strip away the additions and alterations of four and a half centuries in an effort to try to understand, say, Salisbury cathedral as it was when completed in the mid-thirteenth century or the parish church at Tideswell in Derbyshire in the fourteenth or the minster church at Stow in Lincolnshire in the eleventh.

The third major category of evidence may be termed, collectively if a bit roughly, canonical – in, that is, its etymological meaning: having to do with rules. Among the "rules" to be noticed here are the enactments of synods (largely provincial but occasionally diocesan), instructions handed down by bishops, records of visitations, monastic rules and customaries, and the statutes of various collegiate churches and above all of the secular cathedrals.

There are of course other types of sources as well, among which the strictly literary (largely ignored here) may function as a kind of running

[2] An obvious instance is the magnificent Westminster missal (see chapter 6), which owing to its size may never have been used in public worship, but no other missals from that abbey survive.

[3] A few medieval churches are now used in other ways (notably several in Norwich, e.g., the Franciscan church, now an exhibition hall), and a handful are Roman Catholic, like St Etheldreda's, Ely Place, London; but the vast majority have for centuries been used for Anglican services.

sub-text. We shall also want to be aware of sources of biographical information; in some cases, like Hugh of Lincoln, we can have some idea of an historical figure as what may be called a liturgical person.[4] Narrative sources, like chronicles and histories, and some kinds of record evidence (notably, for the later period, wills) will have to be drawn on also. Modes of approaching these miscellaneous categories of sources need little in the way of detailed explanation, unlike the three main categories mentioned above, the study of each of which deserves somewhat more extensive, and individual, treatment. Such treatment is provided in the "Excursus on sources" at the end of this chapter; it can be skipped by readers already familiar with the information included there.

Some principles concerning evidence

In the light of what has been said above about the chief bodies of evidence, it seems natural that the main point of entrance will wherever possible be a service book or other manuscript (or early printed book) that bears primary witness to a liturgical observance. So it is important to stress here that evidence from such books is not to be used uncritically: the presence of a particular text or rubric or feast in a service book is not firm evidence for actual *use*, though of course we may infer a reasonable presumption. But liturgical texts may be written by enthusiasts trying to bring about a more elaborate worship than has been the case or to stress a particular cause, like a new feast, or approach, like greater reverence for the consecrated host. Or there may be service books which reflect the full practice of a great establishment but which have clearly been used in very modest circumstances at, say, small cells of religious houses or parish churches.

Given the caution required, therefore, it is necessary to establish some principles of understanding, or tests to be applied, if we are to have confidence as to what constitutes reliable evidence. These principles, applicable to particular features as well as to whole books, may be summarized as follows: (1) context; (2) likeliness of use; (3) uniqueness, as compared with widespread presence; (4) particular importance; (5) trouble, or how much work it costs a scribe to write whatever is under study.

1 "Context" is fairly obvious. Can a given liturgical book be set alongside others from the same scriptorium or intended for use in the

[4] See for example my "St Hugh as a Liturgical Person" (originally titled "The Liturgical Aspects"), in *De Cella in Saeculum*, ed. M. G. Sargent (Woodbridge 1989), pp. 17–27, repr. Pfaff, *LCSSME*.

same place? Are there meaningful points of comparison over a span of time? Are there other Premonstratensian books, for example, or other books from parish churches in the diocese of Worcester, or others written by the same identifiable scribe? The mutual reinforcing of books and texts in such ways adds greatly to what may be called the probability factor – how probable it is that a specific piece of putative evidence is really evidence for anything broader than itself.

2 "Likeliness of use" is also a self-explanatory criterion. How likely is it that a rite of infant baptism contained in the splendid massbook of a great monastery would ever be used? Or directions for a Rogationtide perambulation to various churches in a village with only one? Or rubrics which presuppose a trained choir of boys as well as male clerks? Many, perhaps most, medieval liturgical books must have been used very selectively; part of our task is to try to recapture, by imagination, that selectivity.

3 "Uniqueness" refers to how rare a particular feature is in relation to other liturgical books besides the one we may be studying. An apparently unique text has to have been composed by someone, an apparently unique feast to have been established for some reason. The field of comparison, though not unlimited, is wide enough that – provided that we keep in mind the fortuitousness with which medieval manuscripts seem to have survived – something extremely unusual deserves to have attention paid to it for that very reason.

4 "Particular importance" is a different matter: particularly important to the scriptorium where the book is written or to the place of its intended or actual use. This criterion refers mainly to certain occasions within the liturgical year, not so much to its great days like Christmas and Easter as to those specific to individual places: feasts of dedication, feasts (especially translations of relics) of patron- or other closely possessed saints, and new feasts adopted with special enthusiasm, like Corpus Christi or the Name of Jesus.[5]

5 "Trouble" is the most pragmatic of these principles, but also the one that has to be applied with the greatest caution. In the abstract, it stands to reason that the more trouble a scribe goes to, especially in the matter of supplying music, the likelier it is that the feature

[5] As distinct from those which we may suspect were adopted chiefly out of obedience to canonical mandate, like the Transfiguration and Visitation or Winifred or Osmund; see pp. 539–42 and 437–41 below. M. Rubin's monograph, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge 1991), deals with many aspects of what becomes a highly popular feast, but the liturgical is not specially emphasized and English matters form only a small part of her story.

in question is seriously intended for use. The copying of liturgical books must have been an intensively laborious task, and we may well balance our basic caution, that appearance of something in a liturgical book does not necessarily guarantee its use, by remembering that every feature a scribe includes adds to the labor of producing the book.

Some concrete application of these principles will be encountered as we proceed: for example, the question of the usefulness of psalters as liturgical sources. Other explanations as to method will be offered as occasion requires, especially in the "Excursus on method in the comparison of liturgical texts" following chapter 4, and that on "Ascription of liturgical books to individual churches" (with Bury St Edmunds as the test case) after chapter 5. Explanations as to basic liturgical terms and information are a different matter; we turn now to what can reasonably be expected of the reader in the way of antecedent knowledge.

What the reader is presumed to know

The present work does not purport to provide either an introduction to Christian liturgy in general or a lexicon of liturgical, ecclesiastical, or codicological terms. Several reference works can among them serve those functions admirably, most notably the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Such matters aside, it is difficult, indeed possibly absurd, to try to specify everything that will *not* be spelled out in a work as long as this one, and that therefore the reader ought ideally to know already. But it may be helpful to readers to have it made clear that the following modicum of general information will be regarded as understood, or at least will not be explained beyond these six preliminary summaries.

1 The basic structure of the liturgical year, Advent through the season after Pentecost (or after Trinity Sunday), and the interplay of two elements: the annual but not regular cycle (mainly of Sundays) that changes each year according to when Easter falls, and the cycle of feasts with fixed dates (saints' days, mostly, but also the great occasions of Christmas and Epiphany). It will also be helpful to have in mind the dates of the most important of these fixed feasts: Stephen-John Evangelist-Holy Innocents (26–28 December), Purification (alias Candlemas, 2 February), Annunciation (25 March), John the Baptist (24 June), Peter and Paul (29 June), Laurence (10 August), Assumption of the Virgin Mary (15 August), her Nativity (8 September), All Saints (1 November), Martin (11 November),

Andrew (30 November); these are here singled out not as most important in an abstractly hagiographical sense but because of the degree to which they bulk large in the liturgical year.

2 The distinction between the proper of time, or temporale, and proper of saints, or sanctorale, in liturgical nomenclature and in liturgical books structured according to these sections. In brief, the temporale includes the annual cycle of Sundays, usually beginning either with Advent or (as often in the earlier middle ages and in some monastic usage) Christmas. The sanctorale, by contrast, includes most of the fixed-day feasts – except for Christmas to Epiphany, which is why Stephen-John Evangelist-Innocents were hyphenated above; they almost always appear in the temporale, as does, after 1173, Thomas Becket (29 December). Again, the sanctorale generally starts with Andrew.

3 The rough outlines of the structure of the mass and daily office.[6] Only a few potential confusions or ambiguities of terms need to be straightened out here. Unless otherwise specified, the night office will be referred to by the term commonly used in the high and later middle ages, "matins" (comprising either one or three nocturns), and the office following it, "lauds." On Sundays and important occasions the fullest office of matins in monastic use contains twelve lessons (each with a subsequent responsory), hence the term "feast of twelve lessons"; the corresponding number for secular use (and also for regular canons and many other groups of religious) is nine. In the mass liturgy the opening chant will generally be called "introit," although many of the sources use *officium* (which can be confusing to the unwary, especially on a closely written manuscript page). Similarly, the theme-prayer at the beginning of the mass will generally be termed "mass-collect," or merely "collect," although *oratio* is encountered just about as often as *collecta* in our sources. (The matter is further complicated by the fact that the three mass prayers that comprise a set, collect, secret and postcommunion, are sometimes referred to in modern works collectively as "mass orations.")[7] Other points of confusing nomenclature may arise with the "secret" prayer being sometimes called *super oblata* and the "postcommunion" being

[6] Two useful guides in this respect are those of John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: a Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford 1991), especially its Glossary, pp. 286–319; and Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: a Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto 1982).

[7] As, most notably, in the ten-volume *Corpus Orationum*, ed. E. Moeller et al., CCSL 160/A-H, which covers all mass prayers (and no others).

termed *ad complendum*. Unless some significant point hinges on such distinction of nomenclature, the most familiar English terms – collect, secret, postcommunion – will be used.[8]

4 The names and definitions of the principal kinds of liturgical books, indicated below in small capitals. Those encountered most often for the mass fall into three groups. The prayers (both the fixed canon and the variable mass sets), proper prefaces, and mass-ordinary (the basic rite) are in the SACRAMENTARY; this comes to be supplanted by the MISSAL (or *missale plenum*), which contains the words of the chants and proper lessons as well. The chants themselves are mainly found in the GRADUAL (not to be confused with the service-element of that name, between the Epistle and Gospel), but elaborations of various kinds are sometimes encountered in a separate TROPER or SEQUENTIARY (rarely, PROSER). The lessons can be read from an EPISTLE BOOK and a GOSPEL BOOK (sometimes called EVANGELIARY) or GOSPEL LECTIONARY, the latter containing only the gospel pericopes, in liturgical order – or from the missal itself. (The selections of biblical lessons for a given occasion are collectively called "pericopes," things cut out [i.e., for reading at mass].)

5 Books for the daily office are somewhat more complicated. The most basic is the PSALTER, containing the totality of the psalms (in either biblical or liturgical order), the canticles used each day (the most important being the Benedictus at lauds and Magnificat at vespers, each with variable antiphons) or on specific days of the week, litany of saints, and sometimes a hymnal component. The officiant recites the collects, some variable and some fixed, at the different hours from the COLLECTAR, which contains also the variable short readings called *capitula*. The chants for the office, most notably antiphons for the psalms and canticles and the often long and complex responsories after each lesson at matins, are collected in the ANTIPHONAL. For the three main kinds of readings at matins several books can be used: a LECTIONARY for the biblical passages, HOMILIARY for the condensed sermons (mostly from the Fathers), and LEGENDARY or PASSIONAL for the excerpts from saints' lives; or all the readings may be contained in a single OFFICE LECTIONARY. The BREVIARY or PORTIFORIUM is the compendium of what is needed for all the daily offices for an entire year; it is often a fat book, and either extremely hard to read or divided into two seasonal halves (or both).

[8] In general, *secreta* and *postcommunio* is the usage of the Gelasian tradition, *super oblata* and *ad complendum* (or *completa*) that of the Gregorian. See further p. 56: "Excursus on the terms Gregorian and Gelasian as used here."

Occasionally the "day offices" – all those except matins, which is by far the longest – are collected into a DIURNAL.

6 Among the books for other kinds of services three are specially important. PROCESSIONALS are collections of the chants used at processions on important occasions, including the Rogation season just before Ascension Day. MANUALS are collections of rites such as baptism, marriage, visitation of the sick, and burial, all intended for pastoral use as needed (hence sometimes called "occasional offices"). Books distinctively for bishops are called PONTIFICALS (hence the name), and include such specifically episcopal services as confirmation, ordination, dedication of churches, coronation (but not always), and special blessings (those pronounced by the bishop after communion are sometimes collected into a separate volume called a BENEDICTIONAL). Despite the necessity of excluding systematic consideration of episcopal and pastoral rites, it will often be found necessary to refer to the books that contain them.

"Historiography": the previous study of the subject

In one of its meanings, "historiography" is too exalted a term for what we need to notice now: no grand theory of history will be enunciated, or even presupposed. But on a less exalted level, that of thinking about why particular students of history write what they write, there is one sizeable set of considerations to be kept in mind. Our subject is, to a degree, part of the larger history of religious thought and practice in England during the middle ages, and as such inevitably falls under the shadow of the religious controversies that have bulked large in historical writing about England since the sixteenth century. Happily, there has not been such a degree of *odium theologicum* involved in the study of English medieval liturgy as has characterized, say, the study of ecclesiology, but confessional considerations have played some part, and it would be naïve to pretend to be unaware of them – and in particular of the teleology implied by two events of the 1540s.

The first is the act of Convocation of Canterbury in 1543 mandating the Use of Sarum (specifically, the Sarum breviary), which had been employed increasingly throughout Britain during the later middle ages, as compulsory in the Southern Province: so that there was, albeit briefly, something very close to a uniform English "use" for the Latin liturgy within most of the realms then subject to the English monarch. The second is the emergence six years later of a different kind of single "use": of a liturgy, in English, ordered by Parliament in the (first) Act of Uniformity, which established the (1549) Book of Common Prayer

as the official, and required, liturgy for all public worship in parish churches and cathedrals throughout the whole of England. And it is not unimportant that the liturgical books envisaged in both 1543 and 1549 (and of course thereafter) were printed ones, with every copy of a single printing thought of as identical. This has given rise to the implied, if not necessarily logical, teleology just referred to: that the "true" end of the centuries of Latin worship in England was the purified catholicism of the Book of Common Prayer. This teleology is itself an historiographical artefact of considerable, and very wide-ranging, importance; but it is articulated here precisely so that it can be subsequently ignored. Rather, we have to pay concrete attention to the nature of a renewed interest in medieval liturgy in nineteenth-century England.

In the religious history of that time and place the intertwined stories of Roman Catholic revival and of Anglican Tractarianism/Ritualism/Anglo-Catholicism (and also the birth of Anglican religious orders), along with the emergence of medieval history as a subject of academic study at the universities, would provide enough material for a book on its own. This is not that book, but details that might form part of it will often appear in these pages. Indeed, one of the salient features of the present work is meant to be the attention paid to the historiographical (again, in the less grandiose sense of the word) context in which various cardinal pieces of liturgical scholarship have appeared. Several of the major sections will therefore include discussion of the way(s) the subject under consideration has been previously studied, and in these discussions a galaxy of scholars will be encountered: figures like Christopher Wordsworth, Dame Laurentia McLachlan, and Francis Wormald. For the moment, a mere sentence or two about each of a handful of the most eminent will suggest something of how personal considerations may be relevant to assessment of scholarly work in this field.

William Maskell (c. 1814–90), one of the first scholars of the nineteenth century to devote himself to serious liturgical study, published two pioneering works, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* and *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* in 1844 and 1846 respectively; in 1850 he converted to the Roman church, and (aside from an expanded edition of the *Monumenta Ritualia* in 1882) made no more contributions of the magnitude of his earlier work. A lay amateur little known but often referred to in these pages, Francis Henry Dickinson (1813–90), was a country gentleman, co-founder of Wells Theological College, and High Sheriff of Somerset. Having in 1850 published a careful *List of Printed Service Books according to the Ancient Use of the Church of England*, he then went on to produce the first modern edition of a medieval English service book: the *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae*

ecclesiae Sarum which appeared in fascicles between 1861 and 1883 (see further p. 416). In marked contrast stands Edmund BISHOP (1846–1917): an obscure clerk by occupation, he published relatively little (his highly influential collected essays, *Liturgica Historica*, appeared only the year after his death), never studied at the ancient universities or held an academic position, and as a Roman Catholic layman felt himself to some extent distanced from the predominantly Anglican group of liturgical students whose work was to crystallize around the Henry Bradshaw Society; but the quality of his work and his influence were such that he now casts as large a shadow as any liturgical scholar of the period.[9] Henry Austin WILSON (1854–1927) was again almost exactly Edmund Bishop's opposite: an Anglican clergyman (and son of a bishop), lifelong Oxford don, and immensely productive editor of important liturgical texts (e.g., Gelasian Sacramentary, Gregorian Sacramentary, Missal of Robert of Jumièges, Magdalen Pontifical, Calendar of St Willibrord), mostly under Henry Bradshaw Society auspices.[10] Walter Howard FRERE (1863–1938), another High Anglican (Superior of the Community of the Resurrection and eventually Bishop of Truro), was a notable student of medieval music, especially chant, as well as of the English medieval uses.[11] The name that will appear most often in the present work is that of J(ohn) Wickham LEGG (1843–1921), an Anglican layman who retired early from a career of some eminence as a surgeon and became pre-eminent as a student of liturgical texts, editing the Westminster missal and the Sarum missal (in its early manuscript forms; Dickinson's edition had been made from the early printings).[12]

Legg was instrumental in a central development in the study of our subject: the founding in 1890 of the Henry Bradshaw Society "… for the editing of Rare Liturgical Texts."[13] It took its name to honor

[9] Nigel Abercrombie, *Edmund Bishop* (London 1959); on the HBS, see below.

[10] Details about all these editions will be given at the appropriate places. There is a brief entry on Wilson by the present writer in *ODNB* 59.559.

[11] C. S. Phillips, *Walter Howard Frere, Bishop of Truro, a memoir* (London 1947).

[12] A preliminary treatment of Legg's achievement is A. Ward and C. Johnson, "John Wickham Legg …," *Eph. Liturg.* 97 (1983), 70–84; a full life is needed.

[13] The capitalization of the concluding words is still current on the front-title page of the Society's publications. The most complete information on what the Society has produced is Anthony Ward, *The Publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society: an Annotated Bibliography with Indexes*. Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae" Subsidia 67 (Rome 1992), following the article by Ward and C. Johnson, "The Henry Bradshaw Society: Its Birth and First Decade, 1890–1900," *Eph. Liturg.* 104 (1990), pp. 187–200. The 1992 publication, current through vol. 106 (1991), is specially useful for its index of the manuscripts used in any of the HBS editions. There are also thumbnail summaries of the biographical facts about most of the editors of the Society's publications and a "Select Repertory of Manuscript Collections." HBS publications of the decade 1991–2000 are surveyed by Ward in *Eph. Liturg.* 115 (2001), pp. 82–94.

Henry Bradshaw (1831–86), a Cambridge polymath (most notably in the field of early printing) and University Librarian who had great influence on a number of fine scholars in the late nineteenth century. Growing interest in what was sometimes called "liturgiology" had in the last third of that century taken a somewhat more scholarly and less ecclesiological character, and although the early statement of purpose made plain that in the choice of texts to be printed by the Society preference would be "given to those which bear upon the history of the Book of Common Prayer or of the Church of England," it was equally explicit that the editions should be "on an historical and scientific basis." The first production, volume I (of three) of Legg's great edition of the Westminster missal (to be discussed at length in chapter 6; 1891), bore this out: the exhaustive nature of Legg's scholarship is as conspicuous as the centrality of Westminster Abbey to Anglicanism is obvious. Any degree of discernibly Anglican emphasis has long since receded, and the tally of the Society's publications now approaches 120 volumes.[14] More distinctively and enduringly Anglican is the Alcuin Club, founded in 1897 with a special concern for "the practical study of ceremonial, and the arrangements of churches, their furniture and ornaments, in accordance with the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer." Despite what seems to be a narrow delimitation, its series of larger publications, called Collections, currently numbering over eighty volumes, includes several of prime importance for our purposes, like W. H. Frere's *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy* (in three volumes, 1930–35), which deal with early calendar and lectionary systems.[15]

A final historiographical current that must be noted is the influence of the Liturgical Movement (the customary capitals emphasize its distinctiveness). From its origins in Continental monastic circles about the end of the nineteenth century, it began to be heavily influential in England after World War I and was later a prime force in shaping the liturgical provisions enacted at the Second Vatican Council.[16] It has had powerful reflexes in modern liturgical scholarship as well as in liturgical praxis, and widely consulted works with titles like *The Study of Liturgy* and *The Church at Prayer* almost invariably reflect its approaches and values.[17] A prominent characteristic is a lack of interest

[14] In recent years, following a revitalization of the Society in the mid-1980s, many of the publications have been of pre-Conquest English sources.

[15] P. J. Jagger, *The Alcuin Club and its Publications 1897–1987: an Annotated Bibliography*, 2nd edn (London 1986).

[16] The literature on, and of, the Liturgical Movement, is vast; see, e.g., the entry in *ODCC*.

[17] Respectively, ed. C. Jones, G. Wainwright, and E. Yarnold (London and New York 1978, 2nd edn 1992); and ed. A. G. Martimort as the Eng. tr. (4 vols, Collegeville,

in, or even a positive devaluing of, the medieval, so it is necessary to be sensitive to this modern (i.e., mostly twentieth-century) development which in our time has come close to monopolizing the words "liturgy" and "liturgical."[18]

England and the Continent in medieval liturgy

It may appear that the present work is vitiated by being focused almost exclusively on England. To a degree such a charge can be dismissed out of hand: there is no less rationale for a history of the liturgy in medieval England than for the well known histories of monastic and religious orders in England or of English law in the middle ages.[19] Nonetheless, it must be acknowledged that a steady awareness of the main outlines, and often of detailed developments as well, of the liturgy on the Continent is essential if our picture is to be as full and accurate as possible.[20] To some extent we shall therefore need to notice Continental aspects as they have a bearing on our story, but always, and only, in passing.

What cannot be attempted at all is any treatment of the development of Christian liturgy in the West before the time of Gregory the Great (at whose instigation the Augustinian mission comes to Kent in 597).[21] Nor can we linger at Carolingian circles of liturgical reform and

MN 1986) of *L'Eglise en Prière* (4th edn Paris 1983). For bibliographic details and somewhat fuller discussion of the subject as a whole, see "The Study of Medieval Liturgy," the introduction to Pfaff, *LCSSME*, esp. pp. 8–11.

[18] As witness the International Consultations on Liturgy and the North American Academy of Liturgy, in both cases with little concern for the medieval. Recognizing this may help to allay confusion.

[19] D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge 1940, 2nd edn 1963) and *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge 1948–59); F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I* (Cambridge 1895, 2nd edn 1898; reissued 1968); and P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, I: *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford 1999).

[20] The most widely cited guide, and often referred to in these pages, is the translation and revision by W. G. Storey and N. K. Rasmussen of C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: an Introduction to the Sources* (Washington, DC 1986; from *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien du moyen âge* [Spoleto 1981]), immensely thorough in what it covers but highly partial in its selection of contents: it is weighted heavily towards the period before the 12th cent., and ignores the daily office almost entirely. More complete in coverage, if less comprehensive in detail, is E. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Collegeville, MN 1998; tr. M. Beaumont [the French original, Paris 1993, is titled *Le Moyen Age*]). Extremely influential, and strongly reflective of the modern Liturgical Movement, has been T. Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: an Account and Some Reflections*, tr. J. Halliburton (Oxford 1979, with a complicated publication history that goes back to 1944).

[21] Three classic studies of early liturgy available in English are L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship, Its Origin and Evolution: a Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of*

enthusiasm,[22] nor struggle through the heavy waters of the relationships of the main sacramentary families, Old Gelasian, Young (or Frankish, or Eighth-Century) Gelasian, pre-Hadrianic Gregorian, Hadrianic Gregorian (with or without its Supplement), late Gregorian, and fused Gregorian; an "Excursus on the terms Gelasian and Gregorian as used here" is provided after chapter 2.[23] Likewise, the emergence and eventual collections of *Ordines Romani* will have to be largely ignored.[24] The German-Roman pontifical (*PRG*), spreading from the mid-tenth century, will occupy our attention only as it bears on developments in England.[25] In the same way, the thirteenth-century "reform" of the liturgy of the papal chapel into what has come to be called the Modern Roman Liturgy (itself effected largely by an English Franciscan, Haymo of Faversham)[26] will have to be considered in the context only of English reflexes.

Charlemagne, tr. M. L. McClure (5th Eng. edn London 1919, from *Origines du culte chrétien*, first publ. 1889); J. H. Srawley, *The Early History of the Liturgy*, 2nd edn (Cambridge 1947, considerably revised from first edn 1913; eucharistic liturgy only); and J. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great*, tr. F. A. Brunner (Notre Dame and London 1959). Closer to our purposes are G. G. Willis's two volumes of *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (ACC 46, 1964) and *Further Essays …* (ACC 50, 1968) and his posthumous *A History of Early Roman Liturgy to the Death of Pope Gregory the Great* (HBS Subsidia I, 1994).

[22] Among the numerous publications of Rosamond McKitterick, see in particular *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London 1977); among those of Donald Bullough, "Roman Books and Carolingian *renovatio*," and "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven," both reprinted in his collected essays, *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester 1991), and also his posthumous *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden 2004).

[23] Vogel, *Sources*, is a safe guide, if one not always easy to follow. The great classifier of these materials is K. Gamber, most notably in his *Codices liturgici Latini antiquiores*, Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia 1 (in 2 vols) (2nd, much expanded, edn Fribourg 1968), with a *Supplementum* by B. Baroffio et al. (Fribourg 1988). Also prolific, especially in the study of Gelasian materials, is A. Chavasse, much of whose work has latterly appeared in the periodical *Ecclesia Orans* (Rome). For details of the magnificent three-volume edition of the Gregorian by J. Deshusses and the three fine CCSL editions of leading specimens of Young Gelasian books (Angoulême, Gellone, and Phillipps *alias* "Augustodunensis") see the "Excursus on the terms Gregorian and Gelasian" after chapter 2. Some basic, and shaped, bibliographical help is offered, but only to about 1977, in my *Medieval Latin Liturgy*, Toronto Medieval Bibliographies 9 (Toronto 1982).

[24] Again, much guidance will be found in Vogel, *Sources*, but the great monument in this area is the five-volume edition of M. Andrieu, *Les* Ordines Romani *du haut moyen âge*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 11, 23–4, 28–9 (Louvain, 1931, 1948–51, 1956–61).

[25] Best consulted in the magisterial edition of C. Vogel and R. Elze, *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, Studi e Testi 226–27, 269 (Rome 1963, 1972).

[26] S. J. P. van Dijk and J. H. Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy* (London 1960); cf. van Dijk's edn, *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy: the Ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and Related Documents 1243–1307*, 2 vols (Leiden 1963; his edn of

Of course the whole question of the impact of the Norman Conquest, and especially of Lanfranc's Norman monasticism, will bulk large in the very center of our story. Overall, though, the contention underlying the present work is that there is a discreteness about the history of the liturgy in medieval England that makes it both intellectually and pragmatically possible to consider the subject in the dimensions implied by our title. Perhaps the best reply to a charge that, in the age of European Union dominance, this book seems inadequately "European" in focus, is that what is do-able should be preferred to an ideal solution that could probably not be carried out in practice – at least not by the present writer.

Two areas further excluded

As well as medieval liturgy on the Continent, there are (at least) two other large areas that this book has to ignore almost entirely, as being outside the realm of feasibility.[27] The first is music. Something was already said in the Preface about this exclusion; here it should be stated more emphatically that musical evidence is both so complex and so fitful that to try to take it regularly into account would increase impossibly the length, and also the difficulty, of this work. Extremely technical, and often controverted, matters such as the palaeography of the neums or notes, the rate at which (and rhythm, if any, to which) they may have been sung, the numbers of singers involved, and the many other aspects of performance practice, are so numerous and often so hypothetical as to make a sensibly limited discussion of them unlikely. How truly this is the case is suggested above all by two factors: the fortuitous one of whether a given service book contains music (graduals and antiphonals do by definition, but by no means all missals and breviaries, nor other constituent books for the daily office like collectars); and the indeterminable one of how probable it seems that the music so contained would actually have been performed in services in whatever church the book in question seems to have belonged to. The musical dimension has to be kept constantly in mind, of course, and respected. That it is ignored here is a sign not of inattention but of recognition of necessary limitations.[28]

Haymo's *Ordinals* also appeared, anonymously owing to an editorial quarrel, as HBS 85, 1961).

[27] **Other approaches are fascinating but would be more peripheral: the liturgy and English literature, for one (evidence from Chaucer or Langland, systematically pursued), or the liturgy and private devotion (the exclusion of Books of Hours being the glaring case here).**

[28] An important recent resource is K. D. Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* (Woodbridge 2006); even at 700-plus

The other major aspect for the most part ignored is that of what are broadly termed episcopal and pastoral liturgies and the principal books that contained them: respectively, pontificals (with their integral but sometimes separated component, benedictionals) and manuals. Systematic treatment of the main services at which a bishop is the principal officiant and of those mainly entrusted to priests in pastoral roles would have overbalanced the present volume hopelessly.[29] Some of those individual stories have been traced already; others, and above all a concerted account of English pontificals, will have to be told on further occasions.

The excursuses

In addition to the considerable attention paid to the historiography (in the limited sense of the word, as discussed on p. 8) for each of the major topics taken up, five Excursuses are provided throughout this book; these need a word of special explanation. At a number of points in the course of our roughly chronological progress it has seemed useful to treat in a concentrated way certain matters that may be less comprehensible if noticed in a piecemeal or glancing fashion in more than one place. They tend to be (even) more severely technical than the material presented in the "narrative" chapters, and may be skipped, though possibly at some risk.

Each Excursus has been placed closest to the chapter to which it most closely relates, but each is also of wider application. The purpose of the first, following this Introduction, is to lay out the auxiliary tools for working with the three principal kinds of sources enumerated at its beginning, manuscripts, buildings, and canonical prescriptions; it is admittedly rudimentary in nature but should obviate the need for much chapter-by-chapter repetition. The next attempts to equip readers with what they need reasonably to know about the sometimes puzzling nomenclature of Gregorian, Gelasian, and "Young" Gelasian strands in early medieval liturgy, and also with a synoptic table showing in which strand individual saints' days first appear. Beginning in roughly the eleventh century, the period from which enough service books survive to make extensive comparisons possible, we shall often have to employ close textual criticism to establish certain points;

pages, full of wonderfully precise information, it covers only the period for which musical evidence is scanty in comparison with that in books from the 13th through the early 16th cen.

[29] I had hoped to include full treatment of at least one specimen rite of each kind – consecration of churches and marriage – but even this limited approach would require many thousands of words.

hence the Excursus "On method in the comparison of liturgical texts" is appended to the chapter on the Norman Conquest. The following chapters are heavily devoted to consideration of the evidence for each of a number of religious houses, and the next Excursus, "On ascription of individual books," tries to lay out the criteria by which certain manuscripts are assigned to individual churches, using the great monastery of Bury St Edmunds as the test case. Finally, at the end of the three chapters devoted to the liturgies of the various religious orders, a single Excursus on "Liturgical books from female religious houses" tries to survey the main service-book sources for that subject as a whole (evidence relating to specific houses for women, most conspicuously with the Bridgettines, is treated in course in several chapters).

Although the individual chapters are by no means devoid of technicalities, the Excursuses are deliberately stuffed with them – albeit laid out, as is the rest of the book, in narrative sentences. This approach is intended to make the matter contained in them somewhat more manageable than through a variety of charts and tables (save for the one about the Gelasian and Gregorian saints) and a proliferation of symbols. Some of the material in this book is likely to be found difficult, to be sure; nonetheless, the aim is that individual sections should be found reasonably readable – even, possibly, aloud.

Chronological sequence and the shape of this book

Any attempt to write history must respect chronological sequence as a primary mode of structure. Yet, since this book tries, within the narrow limits of its self-definition, to comprehend a span of time of nine-plus centuries, strict chronological progression would be as undesirable as it would be impossible. Even a century-by-century approach would be more artificial than useful. Of the three groups of sources mentioned above, only the canonical/legislative can almost always be dated with precision. Buildings are built and decorated over the course of decades or quarter- or even half-centuries, and then often re-built and re-decorated. Liturgical books and related sources occasionally have colophons or other indications of date, but for the vast number we have to rely either on termini – the presence, or absence, of a datable feature like a saint's feast or mention of a particular bishop – or on the evidence, always shaky without external corroboration, of handwriting.

Nonetheless, during the first third or so of the story we are trying to trace, moving in a steadily, if loosely, chronological fashion seems

unavoidable. In the broad but somewhat hazy landscape of Anglo-Saxon England, the most noticeable features are bound to be the Augustinian mission and its immediate aftermath, the achievement of Theodore of Tarsus, Bede's monasteries, Alcuin's York, the centralizing force of the Alfredian dynasty, and the monastic revival under Æthelwold, Dunstan, and Oswald. These form an obvious chronological sequence, and it would be odd not to consider the period from roughly 600 to about 1000 in that way, with a point of division approximately at the beginning of recovery after the worst of the Viking incursions. The complications that arrive in the eleventh century, with the Norman Conquest rising from that landscape as something like the Matterhorn, also mandate more or less chronological treatment, although there seems adequate reason to consider the sources from the first two-thirds of the century in the chapter on liturgy in later Anglo-Saxon England, those from the last third in the following chapter.

From the twelfth century on, with the evidence vastly more abundant, it appears sensible to switch from a single to a double track: to separate the pursuit of the secular strand from that of the regular. It is the latter that seems to follow most naturally from consideration of the picture after the Norman Conquest, for the fullest fruits of Lanfranc's Anglo-Norman monasticism appear a century or so after his death, in houses like St Albans and Durham. The situation changes notably after 1215, when the Black Monk houses become organized into an entity fairly called the Order of St Benedict. By that time three other principal varieties of monastic life have emerged in England: Cluniac, Cistercian, and Carthusian. The discreteness of their stories justifies our tracing each one through to the end. A comparable phenomenon, though less clear-cut, is the emergence of bodies of canons regular, considered here under the broad headings of Augustinian, Premonstratensian, and Gilbertine. These, too, become "religious orders" after the regularizing legislation of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, made necessary above all by the appearance of yet another expression of the religious life, in the friar movement; this requires consideration of the four principal orders of friars in England, the Dominican, Franciscan, Carmelite, and Austin.

The second track to be followed after the Conquest is primarily, though by no means exclusively, that which begins in 1075 at what is now known as Old Sarum and flowers with the move to New Sarum – modern Salisbury – a century and a half later. That forms the basis for two sequential chapters, but before pursuing in a third the conclusion of the story of Sarum liturgy we divert our attention to Exeter, where in the mid-fourteenth century a splendid and extensive liturgical

program, and one for which there is considerable documentation, was implemented. Having been made aware of secular liturgy at what seems its fullest elaboration, we then return to Sarum Use, to look at its final form and its spread throughout most of southern England. (The Latin term *usus*, capitalized here when Englished, is retained both because it is customary and because it is a convenient way of referring to the totality of liturgical practice in a given church; the meaningless distinction sometimes posited between "use" and "rite" is mostly ignored, and the two words are deployed almost interchangeably, although "rite" can also be used to refer to a specific service, like that of Palm Sunday.) The other two prominent secular Uses in England, those of York and Hereford, are treated in the next chapter, along with liturgy in three other major secular cathedrals, London, Lincoln, and (very briefly) Wells. The great predominance of evidence for these churches is late medieval, as is that for liturgy in parish churches, considered next. We conclude by noticing a few developments that mark the end of the story, just before the abolition of the Latin liturgy in England in 1549.

It should by now be obvious that chronology will provide only a skeletal framework rather than being consistently privileged (in the modern, and overused, sense of that word). The sole principle of consistency followed is to bring to the foreground whatever aspect seems the most telling at each stage. Occasionally this will be a short span of time, but much more often a person or, even oftener, a place will supply the primary focus of attention. Wherever possible, only those service books are considered that can reasonably be associated with a particular place. The amount of attention devoted to individual people may perhaps be surprising, but the assumption fundamental to this entire book is that specific liturgical practicioners – priests celebrating mass, monks and clerics of various kinds performing the daily office, bishops and deans enforcing liturgical change in their cathedrals and religious superiors in their houses – are as important for us to take into account as the liturgical texts they used; no less, that the scholars of the past century and a half who have studied these sources need to be seen in their contexts, human and academic. The hundreds of names and places that crowd the General Index are vital, not incidental, to our story.

These three co-ordinates – period, place, person – being constantly kept in mind as persistent background, we hunt our quarry with the aid of another three-fold formula: to look, as occasion requires and opportunity permits, for distinctive texts, distinctive saints, and distinctive rubrics. The pursuit of the distinctive (carried so far as to

require occasional use of the admittedly ugly plural "distinctivenesses") becomes something like the salient element in the tapestry referred to at the beginning of this chapter. If the abrupt changes effected by the Reformations of the sixteenth century mark an end to work on that tapestry, the attempt to trace its lineaments and comprehend some of the details of its patterns remains fascinating and (so this book proposes) well worth the effort of students of history.

Excursus: on sources

Manuscripts and catalogues

To a large extent the study of manuscript service books utilizes the same resources, as it requires the same techniques, as for other medieval manuscripts of the "library" type (or, as it is sometimes put, "book hand" type, as distinct from archive or "court hand"). Fundamental to this study are catalogues of the manuscripts in the great public collections. These catalogues have been compiled over many decades and to widely different standards of detail and excellence, and it is not possible to enter onto a history of that subject here.[1] It is necessary only to make a few general remarks about the catalogues of the collections in the three great centers where these MSS are most heavily concentrated, and then to comment on a handful of enterprises of the past half-century

The three main places where liturgical manuscripts relating to England are concentrated are of course Cambridge, Oxford, and London. Chief among resources for studying manuscripts at Cambridge are M. R. James's catalogues of those at the Fitzwilliam Museum and (nearly) all the then extant colleges, published between 1895 and 1913.[2] For all their deficiencies and their outdatedness, they remain as a whole one of the most amazing feats in the history of the study of medieval manuscripts.[3] Even older, and much less adequate, are the descriptions published in the *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* in six volumes between 1856 and 1867.

[1] The basic handlist (not a history) is P. O. Kristeller, *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600*, 4th edn by S. Krämer, Monumenta Germaniae historica, Hilfsmittel 13 (Berlin 1993), with *Ergänzungsband 2006* by S. Krämer and B. C. Arensmann, MGH, Hilfsmittel 23 (2007).

[2] Plus his catalogues of the medieval manuscripts in the Pepysian collection at Magdalene in 1923 and of the small collection at St Catharine's, published in 1925.

[3] A full discussion of these catalogues in the context of James's life as a whole will be found in my *Montague Rhodes James* (London 1980); the bibliography of his scholarly writings given there should be supplemented by that compiled by Nicholas Rogers in *The Legacy of M. R. James*, ed. Lynda Dennison (Donnington 2001), pp. 239–67.

Various schemes for supplementing or replacing these descriptions have been advanced over the years, most substantially by James himself, but none has reached publication stage.[4] There are summary notices of all "dated and datable" manuscripts in Cambridge in Pamela Robinson's volume in the international series devoted to manuscripts of that sort, and illuminated manuscripts in Cambridge – among which are some notable liturgical items – have been very fully treated in recent years.[5]

For the collections at Oxford richest in liturgical manuscripts the situation is even more fragmented. Those at the Bodleian (the University library), by far greater than those of the colleges, have been catalogued only sporadically – indeed, over a period of slightly more than three hundred years, if one goes back to the 1697 *Catalogus manuscriptorum Angliae* (to be discussed presently). By the mid-nineteenth century it was planned that detailed treatment would be supplied in the Quarto Catalogues, a large volume or volumes being devoted to each of a number of the main collections. Between 1854 and 1898 some nine volumes were published, but so much remained to be done that around 1890 it was decided that for the still uncatalogued manuscripts an enterprise much more restricted in scope was needed. The resulting *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library which have not hitherto been described in the Quarto Series* began to appear in 1895 and ended with introductory and index volumes (I and VII, respectively, of seven) in 1953.[6] The descriptions there are, however, often so summary as to be tantalizing, and it is fortunate that after World War II the Dutch Franciscan friar S. J. P. van Dijk compiled extensive typescript descriptions bound together in Duke Humfrey's library as "Handlist of the Latin Liturgical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library" (seven volumes, 1953). With the Oxford colleges the picture is even more chaotic; for most, the basic descriptions are still those found in H. O. Coxe's two-volume catalogue published in 1852 – with the colleges treated in the chronological order of foundation.[7] It is, however, a happy development

[4] See my *M. R. James*, pp. 325–30. Some typescript descriptions by subsequent scholars, notably those of Jayne Ringrose, are kept in the Manuscripts Room of the UL.

[5] P. R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737–1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, 2 vols (Cambridge 1988); F. Wormald and P. M. Giles, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, 2 vols (Cambridge 1982); M. Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols (Kalamazoo 1997); P. Binski and S. Panayotova, eds., *The Cambridge Illuminations* (London and Turnhout 2005).

[6] The dates of individual volumes in both Quarto and Summary Catalogue series are given in Kristeller, *Latin Manuscript Books* (as above).

[7] H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, 2 vols (Oxford 1852); vol. I (through Lincoln College) was reprinted by EP Publishing, Wakefield 1972, but not vol. II. Fortunately, van Dijk's handlist

that the medieval manuscripts in five Oxford colleges and one newly acquired collection at the Bodleian have in the last forty years received exemplary catalogues, and others are in progress.[8] And there are two further summary aids: Andrew Watson's volume for Oxford libraries (colleges as well as Bodleian) in the "dated and datable" series, and the three volumes by Otto Pächt and Jonathan Alexander on illuminated manuscripts in the Bodleian, plus one by Alexander and Elzbieta Temple for the colleges.[9]

The story of the cataloguing of the immense collections at the British Library is, as might be expected, yet more convoluted. Little more needs to be said here than that very few of the descriptions of its liturgical manuscripts published before about 1920 yield much information.[10] The stellar catalogue is that of the (Old) Royal collection published in four large folio volumes by G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson in 1921. Its level of detail is unmatched by that of any other of the Library's catalogues, though the later descriptions of Additional MSS are increasingly adequate.[11] Here again one's best hope is often that a manuscript will have been found a place in the "dated and datable" volume for the Library, once more by Watson.[12] (Many of the BL catalogues are now on-line, but not yet those of the Cotton or Harleian collections; and an ambitious program of digitizing many of the illuminated manuscripts is underway.)

Of other collections in London the only one of liturgical interest which had been catalogued adequately prior to 1969 was that at Lambeth Palace, M. R. James's descriptions being published, belatedly, in

covers several colleges (Corpus Christi, Jesus, Lincoln, New College, Oriel, Trinity, and University) which at that point kept their manuscripts in the Bodleian.

[8] R. A. B. Mynors, *Cat. of the MSS of Balliol Coll, Oxf.* (Oxford 1963); A. C. de la Mare, *Cat. of the Colln. of Med. MSS bequeathed to the Bodl. Lib., Oxf. by James P. R. Lyell* (Oxford 1971); M. B. Parkes, *The Medieval MSS of Keble Coll., Oxf.* (London 1979); A. G. Watson, *A Descriptive Cat. of the Med. MSS of All Souls Coll., Oxf.* (Oxford 1997) and … *of Exeter College* (Oxford 2000); R. Hanna, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St. John's College, Oxford* (Oxford 2002). Catalogues by R. M. Thomson of MSS at Merton and Corpus Christi are imminent.

[9] A.G. Watson, *Cat. of Dated and Datable MSS c. 435–1000 in Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols (Oxford 1984); O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated MSS in the Bodl. Lib., Oxf.*, 3 vols (Oxford 1966–73; esp. III, *British, Irish, and Icelandic Schools*); Alexander and E. Temple, *Illum. MSS in the Oxf. Coll. Libs.* … (Oxford 1985).

[10] This statement should be qualified with respect to the Harleian MSS, for which the four-volume catalogue by R. Nares et al., 1808–12, preserves some of the work of the great Humphrey Wanley, Harley's librarian a century earlier, as the collection was being assembled.

[11] This begins to be true from, roughly, the catalogue of those added between 1921 and 1925: not, however, published until 1950.

[12] A. G. Watson, *Cat. of Dated and Datable MSS c. 700–1600 in … the British Library*, 2 vols (London 1979).

1930–32.[13] In 1969 there appeared the first volume of Neil Ker's great project, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*; it was devoted entirely to London. The aim of this enterprise was "to describe medieval manuscripts in collections hitherto uncatalogued or barely catalogued in print," which in practice meant mainly smaller collections.[14] For our purposes there were revealed noteworthy books at, conspicuously, St Paul's Cathedral, Sion College, and the Society of Antiquaries.[15]

This massive undertaking of Ker's was nearing completion by the time of his death in 1982, covering (always within its mission, as expressed above) libraries from Abbotsford to York in three further volumes; Alan Piper completed, and was to a large extent responsible for, volume IV.[16] It is not too much to say that the work has set a standard reflected in volumes like those of de la Mare, Parkes, and Watson already mentioned, and also the fine catalogues of Rodney Thomson on the important collections at Lincoln, Hereford, and Worcester cathedrals.[17]

In a sense Ker's *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* brings full circle the noble plan of a number of late seventeenth-century scholars, notably Humphrey Wanley, for a kind of union catalogue (the term unknown then, of course) of medieval manuscripts in Britain, the fruit of which was the *Catalogus manuscriptorum Angliae*, which appeared in 1697 under the name of Edward Bernard, an eminent astronomer who merely supervised publication. The *CMA*, as it is widely known, was until the late nineteenth century the sole conspectus covering such a large area. The next attempt was the much more restricted, though still highly ambitious, effort of W. H. Frere in assembling

[13] This is often cited as by James and C. Jenkins; in fact, Jenkins's part consisted almost entirely of holding the enterprise up: see my *M. R. James*, pp. 281–3. Some account of *The MSS of Westminster Abbey* was published in 1909 by J. A. Robinson (then Dean) and James, but it inexplicably fails to cover the most important liturgical manuscript there, the Westminster missal.

[14] Preface to vol. I (Oxford 1969), p. v.

[15] Sion College has since been closed and its manuscripts moved to Lambeth Palace, and P. J. Willetts's *Cat. of MSS in the Soc. of Antiquaries of London* has appeared (Woodbridge 2000). An example of the effect of Ker's *MMBL* I is my investigation of St Paul's MS 1, published as "Bishop Baldock's Book, St Paul's Cathedral, and the Use of Sarum," in Pfaff, *LCSSME*, item XI.

[16] Volume II, *Abbotsford–Keele* (1977), III, *Lampeter–Oxford* (1983), IV, *Paisley–York* (1992); plus V, *Indexes and Addenda*, ed. I. C. Cunningham and A. G. Watson (2002).

[17] *Cat. of the MSS of Lincoln Cath. Chapter Library* (Woodbridge 1989); *Cat. of the MSS of Hereford Cath. Lib.*, with R. A. B. Mynors (whose name is first on the title page, though the bulk of the work is Thomson's; Woodbridge 1993); *Descr. Cat. of the Med. MSS in Worcester Cath. Lib.* (Woodbridge 2001). All the scholars mentioned in the above paragraph were pupils, colleagues, and/or friends of Ker's, as was the present writer.

a handlist – summary heading, dimensions, collation, brief outline of contents – of the liturgical manuscripts (at least, those containing any music) of Britain and Ireland in his *Bibliotheca Musico-liturgica*, which appeared in parts between 1894 and 1932.[18] In the late 1930s a group of young scholars – C. R. Cheney, Richard Hunt, J. R. Liddell, and Roger Mynors – headed by Neil Ker conceived a plan to work out the provenances of every manuscript, in any modern collection, which could be assigned to a medieval library: any assemblage of books belonging to an identifiable religious house, cathedral, college, or parish church. The first edition of the resulting *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* appeared in 1941, with Ker's name on the title page as sole editor but with a long and fascinating preface by him stressing the collaborative nature of the work and explaining the principles by which ascriptions to individual libraries were decided on. The second, much expanded, edition came out in 1964, and a highly useful *Supplement*, edited by Andrew Watson, in 1987.[19]

In furtherance of the approach pioneered by Ker and his colleagues in the late 1930s, the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues sponsored by the British Academy began to publish its substantial volumes in 1990.[20] These are, in almost equal proportions, massively useful in providing critical editions of all surviving lists of books, no matter how fragmentary, from British medieval libraries, and massively frustrating, in that they show vividly the discrepancy between the numbers of service books that once existed and the very small percentage that survive.[21] Another multi-volume enterprise often of great help in the study of liturgical manuscripts is the Survey of Manuscripts

[18] The subtitle is *A Descriptive Handlist of the Musical and Latin-Liturgical MSS of the Middle Ages preserved in the Libraries of Great Britain and Ireland*. Fascicles covering descriptions of MSS at Lambeth Palace and Oxford were gathered in vol. I (1901); those in II (1932) cover libraries in English cathedrals, Dublin, Edinburgh, and Cambridge (the British Library [then Museum] was left untouched). The two volumes, originally printed under the auspices of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, were reprinted by Georg Olms of Hildesheim in 1967.

[19] At the end of his original preface Ker remarked, "Dr M. R. James has been before us almost everywhere and his discoveries are on nearly every page of this book"; much the same could be said of Ker's preventing (in the Prayer Book sense) in the present work.

[20] There are to be eventually some seventeen volumes plus index. The main principle of organization is by religious order or affiliation, with individual volumes being devoted to a few very large libraries and some general thematic volumes, like the libraries of Scotland, towards the end.

[21] All the more striking because liturgical books were often not included in library lists, often being regarded as among church furnishings rather than as part of the book holdings of a particular house.

Illuminated in the British Isles, now complete, by six authors, all of them eminent art historians.[22] For manuscripts inadequately catalogued otherwise, especially, the descriptions in the volumes of this survey, though naturally fullest on the artistic side, can be of great value; also useful is that they treat manuscripts regardless of location, thus providing descriptions of numerous codices in Continental libraries.

Catalogues and other resources for the study of liturgical manuscripts in libraries outside England will on the whole be mentioned only as necessary with respect to individual books. There seem to be in such libraries fewer manuscripts relevant to our purposes than might have been expected, and those that do exist are widely scattered. Fortunately, because the preponderance of these are found in French libraries, they are for the most part dealt with in the detailed compendia of Victor Leroquais covering (each in two or more volumes) sacramentaries and missals, breviaries, psalters, and pontificals in the public libraries of France.[23] Amidst all the starts and stops in cataloguing of the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, it is very helpful to have François Avril and Patricia Stirnemann's conspectus of illuminated manuscripts of Insular origin.[24] Only three other individual catalogues need to be named here as conspicuously useful for our purposes: one more by M. R. James, that for the foundation collection at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York; Marvin Colker's for Trinity College Dublin; and Consuelo Dutschke's for the Huntington Library in California.[25]

In the present work references are given to catalogue descriptions only where they contain an exceptionally full or unusual level of detail. Physical data, especially size, have also been taken mainly from them, though in many cases the books have been measured afresh.

[22] Under the general editorship of J. J. G. Alexander, 6 vols in 10 (London 1975–96). The individual volumes are listed, under the authors' names, in the table of Bibliograpical Abbreviations.

[23] Respectively, 3 vols plus plates (Paris 1924), 5 vols plus plates (Paris 1934), 2 vols plus plates (Mâcon 1940–1), and 3 vols plus plates (Paris 1937). Not all important manuscripts are included; at least one, BN lat. 987 (the Ramsey benedictional) falls through the gap as being technically not a pontifical, although for pontifical – i.e., bishop's – use.

[24] *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire viie-xxe siècle* [in the BN] (Paris 1987).

[25] M. R. James, *Cat. of MSS from the Libraries of W. Morris et al … now in the Library of J. P. Morgan* (privately printed 1907); Marvin Colker, *Trinity College Dublin. Descr. Cat. of the Med. and Renaissance Latin MSS*, 2 vols (Aldershot 1991); C. W. Dutschke [et al.], *Guide to Med. and Renaissance MSS in the Huntington Library*, 2 vols (San Marino 1989).

Medieval English church buildings

The resources are excellent but not consistent; one needs to bear in mind both what in any given enterprise has been completed and strategies by which the gaps – sometimes surprisingly large – can be filled. No single guide exists that shows at a glance everything available.[26] There are general introductions to the Victoria County History[27] and the Pevsner Buildings of England series,[28] but it is necessary to keep up with the ongoing publications of those enterprises and a few others of a continuing sort.

The most important of these for our purposes are probably the transactions of British Archaeological Society conferences which for the past quarter century have met at, and concentrated on, a cathedral or the major buildings of a city or discrete region.[29] These are being complemented by a number of large collaborative volumes on, and usually sponsored by, individual cathedrals.[30] Finally, the Royal Commission

[26] Indispensable for certain kinds of serial publications, notably local history societies, is E. L. C. Mullins, *Texts and Calendars: an Analytical Guide to Serial Publications*, Roy. Hist. Soc. Guides and Handbooks 7 (London 1958), covering publications through 1956, with a second volume, for those of 1957–82, published in 1983. This lists, often with a summary note as to contents, publications of official bodies (notably the Rolls Series and the Royal Commissions on Historical Monuments), national societies (including the Alcuin Club and the Henry Bradshaw Society), and local societies (including the Surtees Society, under whose auspices editions of several North Country liturgical books were issued). But only record publications of those societies are covered, not local history journals such as *Archaeologia Aeliana* and *Archaeologia Cantiana*.

[27] R. B. Pugh, *The Victoria County History: General Introduction* (London 1970); but numerous volumes have appeared since then (the VCH is not included in Mullins, as above). Accounts of religious houses tend to be in the second volume for each county, and are often extremely detailed as to history as well as archaeology, but it should be remembered that the oldest volumes of the series came out early in the twentieth century.

[28] Bridget Cherry, *The Buildings of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales: a Short History and Bibliography* (publ. in a limited edition for the Penguin Collectors Society, 1998). It is very difficult to keep track of the various revisions and new editions, especially when they tend to take account of the new county arrangements in force since 1974; in the present work reference will generally be made to the first edition for each county.

[29] The first, for the conference at Worcester in 1975, appeared in 1978 (no editor given), and contains the important paper by Nigel Morgan, "Psalter Illustration for the Diocese of Worcester in the Thirteenth Century," pp. 91–104. A few of the more recent volumes are devoted to relevant areas on the Continent, such as Anjou (27, 2003); in general, the emphasis is increasingly less on individual cathedrals.

[30] Esp. noteworthy with respect to the musical aspect here ignored are the chapters, both by Roger Bowers, on "Music and Worship to 1640" in *A History of Lincoln Minster*, ed. D. Owen (Cambridge 1994), pp. 47–76, and "The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music, c. 975–1642," in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson, N. Ramsay, and M. Sparks (Oxford 1995), pp. 408–50.

on Historical Monuments produced, albeit at a stately pace, a number of "Inventories" of massive detail and great value.[31] (The Commission was formally disbanded as such at the end of 1999.)

Canonical materials for medieval England

The term "canonical materials" is used loosely here to refer to official acts of persons or corporate bodies recognized as having (or at least claiming to have) authority. Of the various kinds potentially useful for our purposes the most obvious one is the acts of church councils, whether national, provincial, or diocesan. Attempts to gather these together go back as far as the *Provinciale* of William Lyndwood (c. 1430), covering material from 1222 to 1416, but the first – and still the only – collection to cover the entire British middle ages is that primarily associated with David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, published in four volumes in 1737.[32] The manifest inadequacies of that work, quickly recognized, led to a project launched by A. W. Haddan and the great historian William Stubbs to redo the medieval part of Wilkins; the outcome of this was the three large volumes (printed in four) of *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*.[33] So expansive was this work that its 1700-plus pages manage to cover England only to 870 (but Cornwall to 1072), Wales to 1295, Scotland to 1188, and Ireland to c. 543![34] The foundation thus laid, a plan for the continuation for the rest of the middle ages was drawn up in the early 1930s, but its first fruit did not appear until 1964, and then out of sequence: two volumes, covering the period 1205–1313, of *Councils and Synods* edited by F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney.[35] The gap between

[31] In addition to the Inventories covering whole counties, sometimes in as many as five volumes (e.g., Dorset, 1951–75), among the last publications of the RCHMons were a few (somewhat) smaller, "partial" volumes like *The Churches of South-East Wiltshire* (1987) and monographs like Thomas Cocke and Peter Kidson, *Salisbury Cathedral: Perspectives on the Architectural History* (1993).

[32] On this, see D. C. Douglas, *English Scholars 1660–1730*, 2nd edn (London 1951), pp. 217–21.

[33] Oxford 1869–78. A reprint would be greatly welcome.

[34] Even so, one limitation was that "liturgies … are omitted from our pages, with the small exception of certain ancient fragments, interesting historically as much as liturgically, and which also take up very little space" (Preface to I, p. xviii). The editors intended to go further: the Contents page for vol. II.ii claims to cover Ireland to 1175 and that for III to deal with England until 1066.

[35] The full title is *Councils and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church* (Oxford); vol. I covers 1205–65, vol. II 1265–1313. The two volumes total 1450 pages; nonetheless, several classes of documents have been excluded, including capitular statutes and documents dealing with the canonization of saints. The general introduction promised in the preface to vol. I never appeared.

"Haddan and Stubbs" and "Powicke and Cheney" was finally filled in 1981, with the appearance of two further volumes, for 871–1204, edited by Dorothy Whitelock, Martin Brett, and Christopher Brooke.[36] For the period after 1313 there is still, as far as overall *Concilia* go, only Wilkins.

There has, however, been great progress in the publication of bishops' registers, extant generally only from the later thirteenth century (the earliest is that of Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln 1209–35, with documents from 1219 on) and extensively published, mostly under the auspices of the Canterbury and York Society.[37] Collections of miscellaneous episcopal *acta* for the period between 1066 and the inception of formal bishops' registers are being made available in an ambitious and fast-moving series sponsored by the British Academy.[38] Unfortunately, there is an amazingly small amount of information in either registers or *acta* concerning anything liturgical; one would scarcely think, perusing these episcopal documents, that bishops had any liturgical concerns whatever. Somewhat more informative are the results of visitations, whether by bishops, archdeacons, rural deans, or cathedral deans.[39]

Nor are papal documents much help. Papal letters and miscellaneous communications are occasionally useful in transmitting mandates having to do with the observance of feasts, and of course formal canonization establishes an at least theoretical celebration of the new saint liturgically; other direct papal influence on the history of liturgy in medieval England seems slight.[40]

Finally, documents issued by religious orders, especially the acts of general chapters once these are mandated uniformly by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, are occasionally helpful. Those for most groups will be noticed in the appropriate places; there should be

[36] The dividing point between the two volumes is 1066; again, some types of documents are omitted, including foundation charters and "texts, such as pontificals, concerned with ritual" (Preface, I.vii). The exemplary scholarship of the editors is not matched by the production, that being merely a rather faint reproduction of a typescript. Once more, there is no general introduction.

[37] These are summarily listed, with details of publication (under whatever auspices) to c. 1980, in D. M. Smith, *Guide to the Bishops' Registers of England and Wales*, Roy. Hist. Soc. Guides & Handbooks 11 (London 1981).

[38] The first volume to appear was *Lincoln 1067–1185*, ed. D. M. Smith (London 1980). The number of volumes currently exceeds thirty.

[39] For example, two volumes ed. by W. S(parrow) Simpson, *Visitations of Churches belonging to St Paul's Cathedral, 1249–1252* (in *Camden Miscellany* IX, = Camd. Soc. n.s. 53, 1895) and *in 1297 and 1458* (Camd. Soc. n.s. 55, also 1895).

[40] The main collection of such material is that of W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England*, Abh. der Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., n.F. 25 (Berlin 1930–3), 3rd F. 14–15 (Berlin 1935–6), 3rd. F. 33 (Göttingen 1952).

mentioned here only those for the Benedictines, covering as they do a large number of houses and great variety of matters.[41] Likewise, statutes and other regulations for individual secular cathedrals, like those for Exeter, Lincoln, and Salisbury, will be noticed where they are relevant.[42]

[41] W. A. Pantin, ed. *Documents illustrating the activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks 1215–1540*, 3 vols., Camden Soc. 3rd ser. 45, 47, 54 (London 1931–37).

[42] The work most notably of more than local application is the vast accumulation of documents, sometimes far beyond the range implied by the title, edited by H. Bradshaw and C. Wordsworth as *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, 3 vols (Cambridge 1892–7); on this, see p. 497.

2 Early Anglo-Saxon England: a partly traceable story

The difficulty of trying to begin our story at its chronological beginning, unavoidable if we are to pursue an historical rather than merely descriptive method, may be succinctly expressed by reminding ourselves of approaches taken in two of the greatest works ever to deal with England in the middle ages. The first approach is summed up in the often-quoted epigrammatic statement of Frederic William Maitland in explaining the title of his *Domesday Book and Beyond*: "Domesday Book appears to me, not indeed as the known, but as the knowable. The Beyond is still very dark: but the way to it lies through the Norman record. A result is given to us: the problem is to find cause and process."[1] The second is expressed in Dom David Knowles's explanation of why he began his *Monastic Order in England* no earlier than the mid-tenth century: that a continuous history of English Benedictine monasticism (his primary concern) is possible only from the time of Dunstan and his contemporaries because, despite the glowing witness of Bede, for the earlier period "the records of the times and places of which the Venerable Bede does not treat are in general so imperfect and of such questionable authenticity that an intensive critical and diplomatic investigation by specialists must precede any fresh attempt to understand the conditions under which the monks lived."[2]

In matters liturgical as well as monastic much investigation of the "critical and diplomatic" sort has been accomplished in the sixty-plus years since Knowles wrote; but the partial and unsteady state of our knowledge of the liturgy in England before the so-called Monastic

[1] F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond: three Essays in the Early History of England* (Cambridge 1897), p. v.

[2] The full title is *The Monastic Order in England: a History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940–1216*; words quoted from 2nd edn (Cambridge 1963), p. xix. As the Preface to this second edition explains (p. xvi), when the first edition appeared in 1940 its subtitle carried the date 943, because Knowles thought that Dunstan had become abbot of Glastonbury in that year; a critical charter moving the date back to 940 was published only subsequently.

Reform still compels a treatment of the earlier Anglo-Saxon centuries which looks heavily back from the "knowable" of the later tenth. Nonetheless, an attempt must be made to trace the story from, and not just back to, its earliest aspects. The amount of highly professional attention the subject has received during the last fifty years or so, combined with the general paucity of liturgical manuscripts from the earlier two thirds of this period (extending for our purposes over some five centuries, c. 600–1100), means that the approach of this chapter will be based somewhat more on the labors of other scholars and less on manuscript materials than will be the case elsewhere in this work.

Some historiography, c. 1643–c. 1900

Awareness of the liturgical dimension of early Anglo-Saxon England is evident as far back as the collections of material published in 1639 by Henry Spelman (1564?-1641)[3] and greatly expanded in the *Concilia* of David Wilkins (1685–1745) in four volumes, 1737. Something has been said already (p. 27) of the inadequacy of Wilkins's work and of the enterprise begun by A. W. Haddan and William Stubbs, *Councils and Synods* (1869–78), so expansive in conception that the material relating to Anglo-Saxon England reached only to 870. While they were issuing their collections F. E. Warren, as a relatively young scholar (born 1842), was preparing his masterly edition of the Leofric missal, which appeared in 1883. This composite, and complicated, massbook is in its original layer a Gregorian sacramentary made in Lotharingia c. 900, with English additions throughout the next century and a half; it will be considered at length in the next chapter (see p. 72). But it must be noticed here both because Warren's is the first full, "modern," edition of an Anglo-Saxon liturgical text and because his treatment of its earliest component stands at the beginning of systematic English attention to the complex problems connected with the study of the early Roman sacramentaries: attention that was to produce editions of the Gelasian sacramentary by H. A. Wilson in 1894 and the Leonine sacramentary by C. L. Feltoe two years later, with an edition by Wilson of the Gregorian sacramentary following in 1915.[4] (As the nomenclature of the principal Roman

[3] *Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutiones in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici*, etc. (London 1639) – that is, vol. I, covering the period to the Norman Conquest, which was all that was published in his lifetime; a second volume, for the period after the Conquest, appeared only in 1664.

[4] **Wilson's Gelasian edition was the starting point for Edmund Bishop's essay, "The Earliest Roman Mass Book (the *Gelasianum*),"** in the 1894 *Dublin Review* (repr. Bishop, *Liturg. Hist.*, pp. 39–61).

sacramentary traditions will appear often on subsequent pages in this chapter and the next, the reader's attention is directed to the Excursus on p. 56, which aims to provide succinctly such minimal information about this immensely complex matter as will be needed here.)

It is worth pointing out here that this was pioneer scholarship. Even towards the end of the nineteenth century, study of liturgical texts of the kind that bear on the present subject was no more advanced on the Continent than in Great Britain. Léopold Delisle's path-breaking conspectus *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires* was published in 1886,[5] and a decade later a compendium of information about early massbooks in Italy was gathered in Adalbert Ebner's *Iter Italicum*.[6] But in, say, 1890 (the year in which the Henry Bradshaw Society was founded; see p. 10 above), for actual editions of texts students were still dependent on works published between 1642 and 1748: in Hugo Ménard's presentation of a late ninth-century massbook as *the* Gregorian sacramentary (1642); in the materials collected by G. M. Tommasi in *Codices Sacramentorum Nongentis Annis Vetustiores* (the first printings of the Gelasian sacramentary and of some key Gallican texts) and other works; and in collections made available by Jean Mabillon in his *Museum Italicum* (1687–9) and *De Liturgia Gallicana* (1695), and by L. A. Muratori's *Liturgia Romana vetus* (1748).[7] So when, for example, as a preliminary to preparing his edition of the Gelasian, Wilson put together his *Classified Index to the Leonine, Gelasian, and Gregorian Sacramentaries* (Cambridge 1892), it was perforce, as the subtitle reads, "According to the text of Muratori's *Liturgia Romana Vetus*." Not until 1918 did a Continental series of editions begin on anything like the scale of the HBS, which by then had produced some fifty-three volumes.[8] By the time the nineteenth century ended, the work of Warren, Wilson, and others of that pioneering generation had laid the foundation for Anglophone liturgical scholarship bearing – albeit perforce inconclusively – on the early centuries of what can reasonably be called English history.

Before 597

It is inevitable that any treatment of what becomes England should up to about 730 be colored by the overwhelming figure of Bede; his

[5] Published in the Mémoires de l'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres [Paris] 32, pt. 1, pp. 57–423.

[6] The full title is *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum im Mittelalter* (Freiburg 1896; repr. Graz 1957).

[7] Several of these editions were reprinted, about 1850, in volumes 72 and 78 of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, but with many errors and confusions introduced.

[8] Details of these two series are given in the Excursus below.

Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, in particular, has always been in the forefront of the consciousness of historians and other scholars who have dealt with the early Anglo-Saxon period.[9] So it is an admittedly "Bedan" approach to state that the history of Christian liturgy in England, as distinct from Britain, must begin concretely with the Gregorian mission of Augustine and his companions to Kent in 597. That said, we have to remind ourselves that such Christian worship as took place on the island during the previous three, possibly even four, centuries, is bound to have had some bearing (rather than, in most cases, direct influence) on the story we shall be trying to trace.

This bearing must have been of three main sorts. (1) Through interaction in the late fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries between those of the British population who were Christians and the Germanic pagans conventionally called Anglo-Saxons. (2) Through similar interactions with Christians of the type often termed Celtic: that is, those from what was to become Scotland (especially in its western parts, from the work of the shadowy Ninian in Galloway to Columba's establishment of a monastery at Iona in 563), and also from Wales. (3) Through interaction with Continental (Catholic) Christians, primarily in Frankland and most pointedly with Liudhard, bishop and chaplain to Queen Bertha of Kent, whose husband Ethelbert received the Gregorian missionaries in 597.

The witness of Bede to all these interactions is, as was just suggested, paramount, because of his immediacy in terms of both time and place, the vividness of his style, and the apparent reliability of his accounts. With respect to interaction between Anglo-Saxons and British Christians, however, Bede's dependence on the mid sixth-century British monk Gildas has probably had a negative effect: that is, in leading us to suppose that there was, as near as makes no difference, none. Precisely because Bede's famous sentence, "To other unspeakable crimes, which Gildas their own historian describes in doleful words, was added this crime, that they never preached the faith to the Saxons or Angles who inhabited Britain with them," serves as immediate prelude to his account of the Gregorian mission, total disjunction between British and what was to become Anglo-Saxon Christianity

[9] So, for example, William Bright's *Chapters of Early English Church History*, 3rd edn (Oxford 1897, revised and enlarged from 1st edn 1877) is confessedly a kind of extended gloss on Bede's account. The year 1897, as the 1300th anniversary of the landing of Augustine, was marked by the publication of the documents and essays edited by A. J. Mason as *The Mission of St Augustine to England according to the Original Documents* (Cambridge); the fourth essay ("Dissertation") was by the learned H. A. Wilson, "On some Liturgical Points relating to the Mission of St Augustine," pp. 235–52. Charles Plummer's great edition of Bede's *Opera historica* (2 vols) was published the previous year, 1896.