

**THE MEANING, PRACTICE AND CONTEXT OF PRIVATE PRAYER  
IN LATE ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is a detailed discussion of the relatively neglected subject of private prayer in late Anglo-Saxon England, mainly focusing on three eleventh-century monastic codices: the *Galba Prayerbook* (London, British Library Cotton Nero A. ii + Galba A. xiv), *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (London, British Library Cotton Titus D. xxvii + xxvi) and the *Portiforium of St Wulstan* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391). Chapter One provides a background to the following chapters by introducing a wide variety of English and Continental texts from the ninth century. This chapter demonstrates the many different prayer genres, prayer guides and attitudes to prayer which would be inherited by the late Anglo-Saxons. Chapter Two, which focuses on private adaptations of the canonical Offices, examines the different manuscript contexts in which private prayers were found. It argues that series of prayers were combined into increasingly sophisticated *ordines* for personal devotion, and that it was from these that the Special Offices arose. Chapter Three applies these concepts to prayers to the Holy Cross. After a discussion of the evidence for prayer before a cross, and involving the sign of the cross, it examines private prayer programmes based on the liturgy for Good Friday and those from which the Special Office of the Cross developed. Chapter Four turns to private confessions, arguing that these prayers were somewhat different from those hitherto discussed. It therefore begins with an exploration of the many kinds of confession which existed in the late Anglo-Saxon church, before examining a number of private confessional prayers in detail. Throughout this thesis, emphasis is placed on the bodily experience of prayer in its time and place, and upon the use of each text as it is found in the prayerbooks of eleventh-century England.

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## NOTES ON BIBLICAL REFERENCES, TRANSLATIONS AND NAMES

Quotations from the Bible are taken from Robert Weber, B. Fischer, J. Gribomont, H. F. D. Sparks, W. Thiele and Roger Gryson, eds., *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983), and are indicated in the text with book, chapter and verse references. Abbreviations of Biblical books are taken from this edition.

Translations from the Bible are taken from the Douay-Rheims translation.

All non-Biblical translations are my own except where stated.

Modern forms of names are used in preference to historical forms: for example, 'Alcuin' rather than 'Alcuinus'.

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**AUTHOR'S DECLARATION**

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others. Some material in Chapters Two and Three was presented in a different form at the Leeds International Medieval Congress in 2009 and 2010.



## INTRODUCTION

[E]t cum oratis non eritis sicut hypocritae qui amant in synagogis et in  
 angulis platearum stantes orare ut videantur ab hominibus amen dico vobis  
 receperunt mercedem suam  
 tu autem cum orabis intra in cubiculum tuum et cluso ostio tuo ora Patrem  
 tuum in abscondito et Pater tuus qui videt in abscondito reddet tibi  
 Orantes autem nolite multum loqui sicut ethnici putant enim quia in  
 multiloquio suo exaudiantur nolite ergo adsimilari eis scit enim Pater vester  
 quibus opus sit vobis antequam petatis eum  
 sic ergo vos orabitis Pater noster qui in caelis es sanctificetur nomen tuum  
 veniat regnum tuum fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra  
 panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie  
 et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimisimus debitoribus nostris  
 et ne inducas nos in temptationem sed libera nos a malo (Matt. 6:5-13).<sup>1</sup>

Post haec cursum diurnum, id est celebrationes horarum, ac deinde psalmos  
 quosdam et orationes multas <didicit>; quos in uno libro congregatos in sinu  
 suo die noctuque, sicut ipsi vidimus, secum inseparabiliter, orationis gratia,  
 inter omnia praesentis vitae curricula ubique circumducebat (ch. 24, ll. 1-6).<sup>2</sup>

Private prayer has been part of the Christian tradition from the very beginning.

Furthermore, as the quotation from Matthew's gospel above shows, set prayers have  
 always been regarded as a major component of private prayer, which can, of course,  
 also include spontaneous prayer. By the time of King Alfred (c. 848-899), about  
 whom Asser writes in the second quotation above, the corpus of texts believed to be

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<sup>1</sup> 'And when ye pray, you shall not be as the hypocrites, that love to stand and pray in the synagogues and corners of the streets, that they may be seen by men: Amen I say to you, they have received their reward. But thou when thou shalt pray, enter into thy chamber, and having shut the door, pray to thy Father in secret: and thy Father who seeth in secret will repay thee. And when you are praying, speak not much, as the heathens. For they think that in their much speaking they may be heard. Be not you therefore like to them, for your Father knoweth what is needful for you, before you ask him. Thus therefore shall you pray: Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our supersubstantial bread. And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil.'

<sup>2</sup> 'After this he learned the daily course, that is, the celebrations of the Hours, and after that certain psalms and many prayers, gathered together in one book for the sake of prayer, which he carried around with him everywhere on his person by day and night, just as we have seen, inseparable from himself, in all of the doings of this present life.' William Henry Stevenson, ed., *Asser's Life of King Alfred, Together with the Annals of Saint Neots Erroneously Ascribed to Asser* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959).

suitable for private prayer had expanded greatly, to include both Biblical texts such as the *Paternoster* and psalms, as well as compositions from late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

Indeed, Asser's reference to 'celebrationes horarum' reveals that some of the set prayers intended for the king's personal use were derived from the monastic liturgy for the Divine Office. Private prayer has always been an integral part of the Christian tradition and, during Late Antiquity, it would appear that such prayers were commonly undertaken at the third, sixth and ninth hours of the day. Evidence for this practice can be seen in Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition*:

if indeed thou art at home pray at the third hour and praise God; but if thou art elsewhere and that time comes, pray in thy heart to God. For in this hour Christ was seen nailed upon the tree.<sup>3</sup>

One must praise God not only in words, but also in one's inner thoughts.

As Christian worship developed, however, these hours ceased to be part of private lay observance, but instead became the basis of communal prayer in the monasteries.<sup>4</sup> St Benedict of Monte Cassino (c. 480-c. 550) used these set times of prayer as the basis of his monastic rule, which, of course, established a schedule of psalms to be sung at each of the canonical Hours (*Rule*, chs. 8-13, 16-19).<sup>5</sup> With the spread of Benedictine monasticism and other forms of the ascetic life across Europe,

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<sup>3</sup> Gregory Dix, ed., *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St Hippolytus of Rome, Bishop and Martyr* (London: SPCK, 1937), repr. with corrections by Henry Chadwick (London: SPCK, 1968), ch. 36.2-3.

<sup>4</sup> Josef A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great*, trans. Francis A. Brunner (London: Darton, Longmann and Todd, 1959), 106. For more on the origins of the Offices, see Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: the Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1986, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1993); James W. McKinnon, 'The Origins of the Western Office', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, eds. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 63-73. For the development of Christian monasticism in general, see Marilyn Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism from the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), especially chs. 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> Timothy Fry et al., eds., *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981).

the Divine Office became the most important form of daily worship for those in religious orders. Yet the Hours would later be adapted from their liturgical form for use in private prayer, and in this context once again the individual reader used them to link each part of the day to Christ's crucifixion, just as the early Christians had done.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, the tradition of private prayer that the early Middle Ages inherited was already a complex one, which was intricately bound to the monastic practice of chanting psalms and prayers at the times of the canonical Hours.

While recent decades have witnessed a surge of scholarly interest in liturgical prayer, comparatively little attention has been devoted to private prayer.<sup>7</sup> Due to the fact that such practices have taken many different forms over the centuries, this thesis does not offer a broad overview of this vast subject, but employs a narrow focus upon one particular time and place, providing an in-depth analysis of late Anglo-Saxon England. Although various aspects of Anglo-Saxon religious life have been examined in detail, no full-length study of private prayer has previously been undertaken. In this thesis, I intend to develop a deeper understanding of the context, practice and meaning of late Anglo-Saxon private prayer, using manuscript sources from the eleventh century, and occasionally the tenth and twelfth. I seek to illuminate how the surviving texts were used in conjunction with one another in

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<sup>6</sup> Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy*, 104. See also the prayers for the Hours in the ninth-century *Libellus Trecensis* (Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 1742). André Wilmart, ed., *Precum libelli quattuor aevi karolini* (Rome: Ephemerides Liturgicae, 1940), no. 2.1-8.

<sup>7</sup> Several general studies of prayer have been written. See, for example, Friedrich Heiler, *Prayer: a Study in the History and Psychology of Religion*, trans. and ed. Samuel McComb, with the assistance of J. Edgar Park, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1933). A more recent and encyclopaedic work on Christian spirituality, including but not limited to prayer, is Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright and Edward Yarnold, eds., *The Study of Spirituality* (London: SPCK, 1986). A shorter overview of Christian prayer is Joseph A. Jungmann, trans. John Coyne, *Christian Prayer Through the Centuries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., ed. Christopher Irvine, Alcuin Club Collections 83 (London: SPCK, 2007). For a recent collection of articles on Latin prayer, including in the Middle Ages, see Jean-François Cottier, ed., *La prière en latin de l'antiquité au XVIIe siècle: formes, évolutions, significations*, Collections d'Études Médiévales de Nice 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

order to create programmes for private devotion, and to uncover which aspects of liturgical worship were considered so essential to the spiritual life, that they were selected for use in private prayer. Furthermore, my focus will be on the practice of prayer in the monasteries, rather than on the prayers which were taught to the laity, such as the *Paternoster*, as far greater numbers of monastic prayer texts and guides to prayer survive.

The eleventh century is a particularly profitable period for the study of private prayer in England. It comes after the creation of the *Regularis concordia* (c. 973), which restated and revised the precepts of St Benedict for the English monasticism of the time, and after the compilation of the late tenth-century vernacular homilies, which provide an insight into how one was expected to pray.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, it is to the tenth and eleventh centuries that the majority of extant Anglo-Saxon manuscripts can be dated, and this was also the period in which the Special Offices, a formalised kind of private devotion, were on the rise.<sup>9</sup> England at this

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<sup>8</sup> Lucia Kornexl, ed., *Die Regularis concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 17 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1993). For more information on the vernacular homiliaries and their dates of composition, see Richard J. Kelly, ed. and trans., *The Blickling Homilies: Edition and Translation (with General Introduction, Textual Notes, Tables and Appendices, and Select Bibliography)* (London and New York: Continuum, 2003), xxii-ix; Malcolm Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS ss 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), xxix-xxxvi; D. G. Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies*, EETS os 300 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), xxxviii-ix.

<sup>9</sup> The chronological list of the 189 manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon in Ker's *Catalogue* shows that the vast majority date from c. 1000 and the eleventh century. Ker, xv-xix. A full introduction to Anglo-Saxon liturgical manuscripts can be found in Richard W. Pfaff, ed., *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, Old English Newsletter Subsidia 23 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1995). Pfaff's catalogue of surviving Anglo-Saxon Massbooks shows that only a few fragments remain from the eighth century, whereas all complete Massbooks date from the tenth and eleventh. Richard W. Pfaff, 'Massbooks', in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, 7-34. For the Special Offices, see the Offices of the Trinity, the Cross and the Virgin in London, British Library Cotton Titus D. xxvii; of the Virgin in London, British Library Royal 2 B. v. and Cotton Tiberius A. iii; and of the Trinity in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296. Beate Günzel ed., *Ælfwine's Prayerbook (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii)*, HBS 108 (London: Boydell Press, 1993), nos. 49-51; E. S. Dewick, ed., *Facsimiles of Horae de Beata Maria Virgine from English MSS. of the Eleventh Century*, HBS 21 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1902), cols. 1-18, 19-36; Barbara Raw, ed., 'The Office of the Trinity in the Crowland Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296)', *ASE* 28, 185-200 (1999): 192-200. For the history of the Special Offices, see Inge B. Milfull, ed., *The Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a Study and Edition of the 'Durham Hymnal'*, CSASE 17 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 58-63.

time is also of particular interest, as in that country the vernacular was taking a more prominent place in religious works than ever before, and the use of two different languages gives an extra insight into how early medieval prayer functioned.<sup>10</sup>

### **A survey of the critical literature**

The study of early medieval private prayer remains a relatively small discipline, although the subject has received intermittent attention over the years. The four remaining eighth- and ninth-century English prayerbooks were published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>11</sup> Additionally, much of the early work on Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian private prayer was undertaken by André Wilmart, who edited prayers from the *Bury Psalter*, the *Prayerbook of Jean Gualbert*, and from four ninth-century Carolingian *libelli precum*, with the last of these providing an indispensable basis for the study of Anglo-Saxon private prayer, as they include texts which would appear in the later English prayerbooks.<sup>12</sup> Wilmart's edition has, however, been criticised by Susan Boynton for detaching the private prayers from their manuscript contexts, implying that private prayer is a genre completely removed from the communal liturgy.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 5 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 129-32.

<sup>11</sup> These are the *Book of Nunnaminster* (London, British Library Harley 2965), London, British Library Harley 7653, the *Book of Cerne* (Cambridge, University Library Ll. 1. 10) and the *Royal Prayerbook* (London, British Library Royal 2 A. xx). Walter de Gray Birch, ed., *An Ancient Manuscript of the Eighth or Ninth Century formerly belonging to St. Mary's Abbey, or Nunnaminster, Winchester* (London and Winchester: Simpkin and Marshall, 1889); F. E. Warren, ed., *The Antiphonary of Bangor: an Early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan*, HBS 4 and 10, 2 vols. (London: Harrison and Sons, 1892-5), II, 83-6; A. B. Kuypers, ed., *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop, Commonly Called the Book of Cerne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902).

<sup>12</sup> André Wilmart, ed., *The Prayers of the Bury Psalter*, repr. from the *Downside Review* (1930): 198-216; André Wilmart, ed., 'Le manuel de prières de Saint Jean Gualbert', *Revue Bénédictine* 48 (1936): 259-99; Wilmart, ed., *Precum libelli*.

<sup>13</sup> Susan Boynton, 'Libelli precum in the Central Middle Ages', in *A History of Prayer: the First to the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Roy Hammerling, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 13, 255-318 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 256-7.

This is a common problem, since many early twentieth-century editors only included the principal text of a particular manuscript in their editions, leaving other scholars to publish any appended works separately.<sup>14</sup> However, it has become increasingly more common to edit manuscripts in their entirety, giving a more accurate impression of how the original codices functioned. Several useful editions of Anglo-Saxon liturgical texts have been published by the Henry Bradshaw Society in recent decades.<sup>15</sup> These include three late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts which incorporate long sequences of private prayers as well as liturgical texts, lunar tables and medical recipes: the *Galba Prayerbook* (London, British Library Cotton Nero A. ii + Galba A. xiv), *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (London, British Library Titus D. xxvii + xxvi) and the *Portiforium of St Wulstan* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391).<sup>16</sup>

With a wide range of liturgical texts having been published, it is now possible to study the religious life of Anglo-Saxon monks and nuns in close detail. The practice of liturgy is an increasingly important subject in Anglo-Saxon studies, with many recent works providing a useful context for the study of private prayer. In addition to studies of service books and liturgical exposition in Anglo-Saxon

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<sup>14</sup> The main text of London, British Library Royal 2. A. xx (the *Royal Prayerbook*) was edited as an appendix to *Cerne*, 201-25, while the tenth-century marginal prayers are edited in Joseph P. Crowley, ed., 'Latin Prayers Added into the Margins of the Prayerbook British Library, Royal 2.A.XX at the Beginnings of the Monastic Reform in Worcester', *Sacris Erudiri* 45 (2006): 223-303. Similarly, London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A. iii, includes so many short texts that it has been edited piecemeal: for its Old English prayers to the cross, see Phillip Pulsiano and Joseph McGowan, eds., 'Four Unedited Prayers in London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A.iii', *Mediaeval Studies* 56 (1994): 189-216.

<sup>15</sup> The Anglo-Saxon texts published by the Henry Bradshaw Society in the past three decades are: H. M. J. Banting, ed., *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals (The Egbert and Sidney Sussex Pontificals)*, HBS 104 (London: Boydell Press, 1989); Michael Lapidge, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, HBS 106 (London: Boydell Press, 1990); Alicia Corrêa, ed., *The Durham Collectar*, HBS 107 (London: Boydell Press, 1992); Anselme Davril, ed., *The Winchcombe Sacramentary (Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 127 [105])*, HBS 109 (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1995); Nicholas Orchard, ed., *The Leofric Missal*, HBS 113-14, 2 vols. (London: Boydell Press, 2002); Rebecca Rushforth, ed., *Saints in English Kalendars Before AD 1100*, HBS 117 (London: Boydell Press, 2008).

<sup>16</sup> Bernard James Muir, ed., *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book (BL MSS Cotton Galba A.xiv and Nero A.ii (ff. 3-13))*, HBS 103 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988); Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*; Anselm Hughes, ed., *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 391)*, HBS 89-90, 2 vols. (Leighton Buzzard: Faith Press, 1960).

England,<sup>17</sup> much has been written on textual evidence for the practice of lived religion. For example, M. Bradford Bedingfield's *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* explores how Anglo-Saxon religious ritual enabled its participants to participate emotionally in the events which they enacted.<sup>18</sup> *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, edited by Francesca Tinti, and *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, edited by Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield, cover between them subjects such as the use of the vernacular in the liturgy of parish churches, rites for visiting the sick and dying, and the veneration of the cross.<sup>19</sup> All aspects of cross devotion in Anglo-Saxon England, including blessings, hymns and private devotion, have been examined in the volumes of the Sancta Crux/Halig Rod project, edited by Karen Jolly, Catherine Karkov and Sarah Larratt Keefer.<sup>20</sup> There has also been a great deal of interest in Anglo-Saxon confession and penance, especially from

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<sup>17</sup> Pfaff, *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*; Christopher A. Jones, 'The Book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Speculum* 73:3 (1998): 659-702. More recently, the liturgical texts of medieval England have been thoroughly explored in Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: a History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): for brief introductions to the *Regularis concordia*, Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* and the *Portiforium of St Wulstan*, see 78-81, 85-8 and 126-9.

<sup>18</sup> M. Bradford Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England*, ASS 1 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002).

<sup>19</sup> Francesca Tinti, ed., *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ASS 6 (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2005), see in particular Helen Gittos, 'Is There Any Evidence for the Liturgy of Parish Churches in Late Anglo-Saxon England? The Red Book of Darley and the Status of Old English', 63-82, and Victoria Thompson, 'The Pastoral Contract in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Priest and Parishioner in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Miscellaneous 482', 106-120; M. Bradford Bedingfield and Helen Gittos, eds., *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, HBS Subsidia 5 (London: Boydell Press, 2005), see in particular Sarah Larratt Keefer, 'The Veneration of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England', 143-84.

<sup>20</sup> Karen Louise Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov and Sarah Larratt Keefer, eds., *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 1, Medieval European Studies 9 (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2008); Karen Louise Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov and Sarah Larratt Keefer, eds., *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 2, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006); Karen Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov and Sarah Larratt Keefer, eds., *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter*, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 3 (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2010).

Bradford Bedingfield, and from Sarah Hamilton, who also examined Continental sources in her monograph *The Practice of Penance 900-1050*.<sup>21</sup>

The critical literature specifically on private prayer is relatively small, although it is a subject which has received greater attention in recent years. This can be seen in Thomas Heffernan and Ann Matter's edited volume *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, which includes articles by Jonathan Black: 'The Divine Office and Private Devotion in the Latin West' and Roger Wieck: 'The Book of Hours'.<sup>22</sup> More recently, Roy Hammerling's edited collection, *The History of Prayer: the First to the Fifteenth Century*, has included contributions such as Columba Stewart's 'Prayer Among the Benedictines', on individual prayer in the works of Cassian and Benedict, and Susan Boynton's '*Libelli precum* in the Central Middle Ages'.<sup>23</sup> In addition, Sarah Larratt Keefer has written widely on the relationship between liturgy, poetry and prayer.<sup>24</sup> Above all, however, the most significant approaches for the purposes of this thesis are those taken by Thomas Bestul, John Hirsh, Allen Frantzen and Rachel Fulton.

Thomas Bestul undertook a review of private prayers found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in his 1986 article 'Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional

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<sup>21</sup> Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance 900-1050* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001); Sarah Hamilton, 'Remedies for 'Great Transgressions': Penance and Excommunication in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Francesca Tinti, 83-105; Sarah Hamilton, 'Rites for Public Penance in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, eds. M. Bradford Bedingfield and Helen Gittos, 65-103; Brad Bedingfield, 'Public Penance in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 31 (2002): 223-55.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church* (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 2001), 45-71, 473-513.

<sup>23</sup> Roy Hammerling, ed., *A History of Prayer: the First to the Fifteenth Century*, 201-22, 255-318. Also by Susan Boynton is 'Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters', *Speculum* 82 (2007): 896-931.

<sup>24</sup> See in particular Sarah Larratt Keefer, 'The Veneration of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, eds. M. Bradford Bedingfield and Helen Gittos; Sarah Larratt Keefer, 'Respect for the Book: a Reconsideration of 'Form', 'Content' and 'Context' in Two Vernacular Poems', in *New Approaches to Editing Old English Verse*, eds. Sarah Larratt Keefer and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Cambridge and Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 1998).



Writing', which analysed the varieties of private prayer collections in such codices.<sup>25</sup> Bestul argues that the genre of the early, Irish-influenced Anglo-Saxon prayerbook could have originated in England and later been adapted on the Continent by Alcuin, who assembled *De laude Dei*, a new form of anthology, from extracts of the Bible and the Fathers for private prayer.<sup>26</sup> The prayers and prayerbooks associated with Alcuin's name would later have a great deal of influence on the contents of eleventh-century English prayerbooks.

Bestul continues by discussing how the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine Reform of the tenth and eleventh centuries resulted both in a second wave of prayer collections and also in the adoption of the Continental fashion of adding prayers to earlier psalter manuscripts.<sup>27</sup> The first of these two genres will be the main focus of this thesis, and the second will also be considered. Bestul's article ends with a checklist of English manuscripts dated before 1100 which include private prayers or devotional works, in Latin or Old English, which number thirty-nine in total.<sup>28</sup>

More recently, the issue of affectivity in Anglo-Saxon private prayer has been taken up by John Hirsh and Allen Frantzen. Hirsh argues that a new kind of monastic spirituality was gradually created, beginning in the ninth century and reaching full development in the eleventh, as a result of personal prayerbooks which

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<sup>25</sup> Thomas H. Bestul, 'Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach assisted by Virginia Darrow Oggins, Studies in Medieval Culture 20 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), 103-26.

<sup>26</sup> Bestul, 'Continental Sources', 103-111. *De laude Dei* is discussed in more detail in Donald A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation, Being Part of the Ford Lectures Delivered in Oxford in Hilary Term 1980*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 16 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 177-80.

<sup>27</sup> Bestul, 'Continental Sources', 113-6.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 124-6. Bestul has also written on the impact of the Benedictine Reform and of private confessional prayers on vernacular poetry, and has argued for the influence of the prayers of the late Anglo-Saxon church on the prayers and meditations of Anselm. Thomas H. Bestul, 'The Old English *Resignation* and the Benedictine Reform', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 78 (1977): 18-23; Thomas H. Bestul, 'St. Anselm and the Continuity of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Traditions', *Annuaire Mediaevale* 18 (1977): 20-41.

included sequences of prayers that had no connection with the canonical Hours.<sup>29</sup>

He then demonstrates his findings with a reading of a prayer sequence from London, British Library Egerton 3763 (c. 1000), commenting that

The devotions in Egerton addressed the individual in a way that was unusual for manuscript prayerbooks during this period ... If [the reader's] devotions were to involve him, then there must be an individual present to engage and respond.<sup>30</sup>

Hirsh's idea that private prayer extended the boundaries of monasticism is a useful one. However, his argument seems to rest on the opposition of private prayer to communal prayer, whereas a major contention of this thesis will be that there was a symbiotic relationship between liturgical and private prayer.

In addition, Hirsh's argument that the eleventh-century prayerbooks reflect a new kind of spirituality has been challenged by Allen Frantzen in his 2005 article 'Spirituality and Devotion in the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials'.<sup>31</sup> In this piece, he asks why the Anglo-Saxons have been excluded from histories of medieval devotion and affective piety. In Frantzen's view, it is Hirsh who comes closest to acknowledging the role of the self in prayer, and yet he disagrees with Hirsh's insistence that the eleventh century was a time in which the individual became of greater importance.<sup>32</sup> Instead, he argues that earlier penitential texts stress the importance of the right inner attitude towards sin and forgiveness, requiring tears over one's sins and the love of God to be felt in the heart.<sup>33</sup> Frantzen's insistence that the inner heart was just as important before the eleventh century as after it is a fundamental concept for my

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<sup>29</sup> John C. Hirsh, *The Boundaries of Faith: the Development and Transmission of Medieval Spirituality*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 67 (Leiden, New York and Köln: E. J. Brill, 1996), 14-22.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-22.

<sup>31</sup> Allen J. Frantzen, 'Spirituality and Devotion in the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22, (2005): 117-128.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 119-21.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 121-5.

study, as it draws attention to the individual monk or nun's attitude towards his or her own prayers. His emphasis on the importance of interiority in sacerdotal confession is a useful one for the study of that genre of prayer, which I take further by focusing to a greater extent on prayers for use in solitary confession.

In his 2003 book *Alcuins Gebetbuch für Karl den Grossen*, Stephan Waldhoff aims to reconstruct a private prayerbook which he believes to have been compiled by Alcuin for Charlemagne, and, in doing so, makes some useful observations on the nature of early medieval private prayer.<sup>34</sup> Waldhoff argues that the late antique and early medieval church Fathers, including Cyprian, Benedict, Alcuin and Hrabanus, clearly drew a distinction between private and public prayer.<sup>35</sup> However, drawing on the work of Angelus Albert Häußling, Waldhoff cautions that a term such as *orationes privatae* may have modern connotations which are not applicable to the Middle Ages; instead, *privatus* should be taken as the opposite of *publicus*, to mean that which was undertaken in secret.<sup>36</sup> Waldhoff advocates examining how prayerbooks were used, concluding that

Die Privatgebetbücher unterscheiden sich von den liturgischen Büchern dadurch, daß ihr 'Sitz im Leben' außerhalb der liturgischen Vollzüge liegt.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Stephan Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch für Karl den Grossen: Seine Rekonstruktion und seine Stellung in der frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte der libelli precum*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 89 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2003). However, see also Jonathan Black, 'Review of *Alcuins Gebetbuch für Karl den Grossen*, by Stephan Waldhoff', *Speculum* 83 (2008): 772-4, in which Black expresses doubt about whether such a prayerbook existed, and, if so, whether the manuscripts which Waldhoff identifies are in fact witnesses to it.

<sup>35</sup> Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, 11-14.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-17. Mayke de Jong makes a similar point about medieval confession. Mayke de Jong, 'What was *Public* about Public Penance? *Paenitentia publica* and Justice in the Carolingian World', *La Giustizia nell'Alto Medioevo (secoli ix-xi)*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 44, 11-17 aprile 1996, 2 vols., II, 863-904 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1997), II, 893-6.

<sup>37</sup> 'Private prayerbooks distinguish themselves from liturgical books by the fact that their setting in life lies outside of liturgical performances.' Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, 32-3.

This codicological approach is a useful one, and highlights how a prayer which was originally intended for one particular use may be incorporated into a new compilation for an entirely different purpose.

Of special significance to this thesis is the approach taken by Rachel Fulton in her 2006 article ‘Praying with Anselm at Admont: A Meditation on Practice’. In this article, Fulton asks what effect the practice of spending many hours in prayer, both corporate and private, would have had on a person’s experience.<sup>38</sup> At the centre of her argument is the concept that prayer

is the end product of the practice of a particular skill, a craft that one might learn and that was believed to require tools.<sup>39</sup>

Referring to Admont, Stiftsbibliothek 289, an early copy of Anselm’s prayers made for Countess Matilda, Fulton asks

Where would the nun or Matilda have taken up the book? At what time of day or night? ... Would she have memorized the prayers first, or perhaps a few phrases from the prayers (as Cassian suggested one might do with the Psalms), and then recited them from memory in whole or in part? ... If alone, would the reader have spoken the words aloud, in a slight murmur, or silently “in her heart”?<sup>40</sup>

While Fulton focuses on one particular manuscript of the early twelfth century, this thesis reveals how her methodology can be profitably expanded to earlier prayer forms, those which Anselm himself knew and which must have been his influences. I consider issues such as the time and place in which particular prayers were intended to be said, whether the speaker would have crossed him- or herself whilst

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<sup>38</sup> Rachel Fulton, ‘Praying with Anselm at Admont: A Meditation on Practice’, *Speculum* 81, 700-33 (2006): 700-8.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 707.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 718-9.

saying them, and which prayers might have been grouped together to form a complete act of worship.

### **Issues and methodology**

The critical literature noted above has formed the starting point for this thesis by defining both the range of texts on which I draw and some of the approaches which I take to them. Both Bestul and Waldhoff scrutinise the textual history of prayers, while Hirsh and Frantzen raise questions about the interior experience of those who prayed. Fulton, most significantly of all, applies to private prayer the focus on lived religion which has more frequently been directed towards the liturgy. Her methodology involves asking detailed questions about precisely how and why these prayerbooks were used. My thesis draws upon all three of the approaches used by the abovementioned scholars. It aims to uncover new information about what Anglo-Saxon monks and nuns desired from their prayers, which prayers were selected from the liturgy for private use, and for what reasons. In addition, I examine how prayers were said in conjunction with one another to create sequences for personal use, arguing that it is from the idiosyncratic selections made by monks and nuns, extracted from the liturgy which they knew so well, that the Special Offices evolved. In the final chapter, I explore how confession, a kind of prayer for which a priest would normally be essential, was adapted for solitary use. Throughout this thesis, I consider the physical and emotional side of private prayer as well as the verbal.

A large number of surviving Anglo-Saxon manuscripts contain private prayers. Rather than attempting to answer the questions outlined above by considering manuscripts which only include one or two prayers, I have concentrated

on those which appear to have had the function of a prayerbook.<sup>41</sup> My main sources are therefore the three eleventh-century English codices which appear to have been used in this way: the *Galba Prayerbook* (London, British Library Cotton Nero A. ii + Galba A. xiv), *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (London, British Library Titus D. xxvii + xxvi) and the *Portiforium of St Wulstan* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391).<sup>42</sup> The monastic origins and usership of these three manuscripts are well attested, as the former two are known to originate from the Winchester monasteries, while the *Portiforium* is believed to have been based on a Winchester exemplar. Also, it has been established that the original users of *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* and the *Portiforium* were Ælfwine, Dean of New Minster, and Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester.<sup>43</sup> It is therefore possible to analyse the contents of these manuscripts with a degree of certainty about their use and context. While individual studies of these three manuscripts currently exist, I analyse them all together, comparing them with one another, and specifically with regard to their use as private prayerbooks.<sup>44</sup> In addition, it was a common practice in the tenth and eleventh centuries to append sequences of private prayers to earlier psalters. Consequently, I supplement my

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<sup>41</sup> For a full list of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing liturgical and private prayers, see Gneuss, 177. Old English prayers are listed under no. 12.4 in Angus Cameron and Roberta Frank, eds., *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English* (Toronto and Buffalo, NY: University of Toronto Press, 1973).

<sup>42</sup> Muir, *Prayer-Book*; Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*; Hughes, *Portiforium*.

<sup>43</sup> These three manuscripts will be introduced in detail on pages 92-9. Although Hughes refers to Wulfstan of Worcester as 'St Wulstan', 'Wulfstan' is more commonly used to refer to this bishop, and therefore I will use this name, except when referring to the *Portiforium* manuscript.

<sup>44</sup> The private prayers to the cross in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, and especially the miniatures, have been analysed by Ernst Kantorowicz and Catherine Karkov, while the *Portiforium* has been discussed with reference to its liturgical and musical uses. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, 'The Quinity of Winchester', *The Art Bulletin* 29:2 (1947): 73-85; Catherine E. Karkov, 'Text as Image in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*', in *The Power of Words: Anglo-Saxon Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg on his Seventieth Birthday*, eds. Hugh Magennis and Jonathan Wilcox, Medieval European Studies 8 (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2006), 95-114; Catherine Karkov, 'Abbot Ælfwine and the Sign of the Cross', in *Cross and Cruciform*, eds. Jolly, Karkov and Keefer, 103-32; R. W. Pfaff, 'The "Sample Week" in the Medieval Latin Divine Office', in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship: Papers Read at the 1997 Summer Meeting and the 1998 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Ecclesiastical History Society, Boydell Press, 1999), 78-88; Susan Rankin, 'Music at Wulfstan's Cathedral', in *St Wulfstan and his World*, eds. Julia S. Barrow and N. P. Brooks, Studies in Early Medieval Britain 4 (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 219-29.

understanding of the prayerbook tradition by considering the *Vespasian Psalter* (London, British Library Cotton Vespasian A. i) and the eleventh-century psalter London, British Library Arundel 155, along with the prayers in a liturgical miscellany (London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A. iii).<sup>45</sup>

An eleventh-century Winchester monk, using one of these books, would probably have received a much-copied prayer without knowing much about its origins other than that it was a ‘bona oratio’ (good prayer). The main focus of this thesis is to illuminate how this monk may have used his prayerbook, rather than to reveal the origins of the texts which he used. I do, to some extent, compare the different variants of texts, and in Chapter One I examine the history of some Anglo-Saxon prayers. However, more frequently I compare private prayer texts with the liturgical prayers and hymns which would have been well known to the monk who used a prayerbook, and in the light of which he prayed his ‘bona oratio’. I pay attention to each prayer, not only as a single text on its own, but as part of the sequence and a manuscript context in which it appears, as this contributes towards its meaning and use. Of particular importance are indications of the time and place in which prayer was undertaken, and evidence for the practice of praying before a cross or making the sign of the cross. To this end, I read the prayer texts in the light of homilies and monastic rules, which taught their audiences how to worship correctly, and draw attention to rubrics and phrasing within prayers which imply how they were intended to be used.

A few fundamental assumptions underlie the inquiry undertaken in this thesis. Although the main codices examined fulfilled the function of a private prayerbook, manuscripts often had many different simultaneous uses, and prayers for

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<sup>45</sup> Sherman M. Kuhn, ed., *The Vespasian Psalter* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1965); Ferdinand Holthausen, ed., ‘Altenglische Interlinearversionen Lateinischer Gebete und Beichten’, *Anglia* 65 (1941): 230-54; Pulsiano and McGowan, ‘Four Unedited Prayers’.

private use are often found alongside other genres of text, including liturgical works. The influence of liturgy on other genres must not be underestimated: the Hours gave structure to the monastic day and provided monks and nuns with the language on which to draw in creating new prayers. A private prayer can be derived from a liturgical source, as it is ultimately the context in which a prayer is used that makes it private. Some chapters of this thesis offer introductory remarks on communal prayer, but they do so in order to provide a context for solitary prayer. Not only is the study of liturgy necessary for the understanding of private prayer, the reverse is also true: private prayer can help us to discover what was considered to be important in communal worship. Because nothing in private prayer was obligatory, the portions of the liturgy which were selected for private use reveal which parts of it were considered to be most important, most helpful and most appropriate for solitary prayer.<sup>46</sup> The study of public liturgy and that of private prayer, therefore, require one another.

The relationship between public and private prayer tends to be cyclic. The *Paternoster* was originally taught as a prayer for private use, but became a standard part of church liturgy. Similarly, prayers taken from monastic services were put together to form personal rites for private worship. Just as a clear distinction between the public and the private cannot always be made, it is also necessary to remember that liturgy, private prayer, poetry, hagiography and the books of the Bible were not completely separate genres, but formed a web of interconnected texts with regards to the Christian tradition. Individual texts should not be isolated from the context either of their manuscript or of their cultural discourse.

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<sup>46</sup> Roger Wieck makes a similar point in relation to the lay use of the Book of Hours in the later Middle Ages. Wieck, 'The Book of Hours', 482.



Although this thesis is ultimately a textual study, it seeks to emphasise that prayer is not solely verbal. Instead, it is an experience which engages the whole person, both the intellect and the emotions, the body and senses as well as the soul. I consider how one prayed, at what times, in which places, and using which bodily postures or gestures. The evidence for this can be found in guides to prayer and in the rubrics which instruct the reader in how to say individual prayers. The meaning of a prayer is more than the sum of its manuscript variants, but is also created by its use in religious practice.

It has been necessary to impose limits on what would otherwise have been an extremely wide field of research by excluding certain subjects. As discussed above, the tenth and eleventh centuries are a more fruitful period for research than the earlier Anglo-Saxon centuries, and for this reason I only discuss the early Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks in Chapter One, as a background to the later manuscripts. Furthermore, prayer to the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England has been so comprehensively studied by Mary Clayton that it would be difficult to explore these prayers and their background without reproducing much of her work.<sup>47</sup> The same can also be said for Anglo-Saxon litanies, which have been discussed at length by Michael Lapidge in the introduction to his edition of these texts.<sup>48</sup>

Furthermore, some aspects of prayer are ultimately unknowable. Although there is reason to believe that monks and nuns were encouraged to pray by thinking about Christ's sufferings, spontaneous inner prayer by its very nature leaves few textual traces. It is not always clear if prayers were spoken out loud, and if they were learned by heart, although the patterned, litanic nature of parts of the longer prayers may suggest that both of these are the case. Most of the sources surviving

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<sup>47</sup> Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, CSASE 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 90-121.

<sup>48</sup> Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*.

from this time relate to monks, nuns and secular clergy, and so the monastic experience must necessarily be the focus of this thesis. Little can be said for certain about the religious experience of the laity in the early Middle Ages, and so I do not attempt a comprehensive study of it, referring to it when necessary when information relevant to the study of monastic practices emerges.<sup>49</sup> Accordingly, the prayers which would have been taught to laypeople, such as the *Paternoster*, are not investigated in depth.

### **Chapter summaries**

This thesis is organised into four chapters, all drawing on the same set of prayers and prayerbooks, but each with a different focus. Chapter One uncovers the origins of the prayers which would later form the basis of the Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks, and introduces the main themes of the following three chapters. In Chapter Two, I distinguish between different kinds of prayer, and argue that it was through arranging prayers into sequences that formal private liturgies such as the Special Offices evolved. Chapter Three applies the kind of analysis used in Chapter Two to the developing Offices of the Holy Cross, and places particular emphasis on the bodily experience of prayer. The final chapter examines confession, a situation in which the practice of private prayer could potentially have been controversial.

Chapter One provides a foundation for the following three chapters by identifying some influential prayer practices in the Carolingian *libelli precum* and the early Anglo-Saxon private prayerbooks. First, the ninth-century letters of Alcuin

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<sup>49</sup> For details of what is currently known about the religious life of the laity, see: Tracey-Anne Cooper, 'Lay Piety, Confessional Directives and the Compiler's Method in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Haskins Society Journal* 16 (2005): 47-61; Tracey-Anne Cooper, 'Inculcating the Idea of the Inner Heart into the Laity of Pre-Conquest England', *Mirator* 9:1 (2008): 1-17; John D. Niles, 'The *Æcerbot* Ritual in Context', in *Old English Literature in Context: Ten Essays*, ed. J. D. Niles (Cambridge and Totowa, NJ: D. S. Brewer, 1980), 44-56.

are used to explore how the Carolingian world viewed private prayer, as distinct from the liturgy. Alcuin is a particularly significant figure in this regard, because, as an influential Anglo-Saxon at the Carolingian court, he played an important part in the development of the private prayerbook both in England and on the Continent. The chapter then turns to the history of the canonical Hours from late Antiquity up to Alcuin's letter 'Beatus igitur David' and Hrabanus Maurus' *De institutione clericorum*, in preparation for the analysis of private adaptations of the Offices in Chapter Two. I also explore Carolingian prayer programmes based on the psalms, as an early example of how elements of the Divine Office were used as the basis of private worship.

Prayer to the cross, which will be the major theme of Chapter Three, is introduced through a discussion of *In honorem sanctae crucis*: Hrabanus Maurus' series of *carmina figurata*. In this work, prayers and images are combined to create a focus for the contemplation of Christ's passion, and so it provides a useful context for the discussion of Ælfwine's prayers to the cross in Chapter Three. Likewise, Hrabanus' introduction to *In honorem* further illuminates Carolingian beliefs about how and why private prayer should be undertaken. Chapter One also examines the Carolingian theology of confession, which distinguished between public confession and that which was made in private. In either case, however, the role of the priest was extremely important. I conclude this chapter by analysing a prayer by Alcuin in which the speaker could confess his sins without a priest. This prayer was extremely widespread in late Anglo-Saxon England, along with other solitary confessions, a genre of private prayer which will be examined further in Chapter Four.

Chapter Two begins by discussing some of the major ideas and texts for the rest of the thesis. After introducing the major late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks in full,

I consider why certain prayers and prayerbooks are believed to have been used in private, and the different genres which can be identified within the category of private prayer. I then show how prayers, adapted from the liturgy or inherited from the personal prayerbook tradition, were put together in series or sequences, linked through the use of common themes, rubrics and refrains. Building on Bernard Muir's observations on the *Galba Prayerbook*, I explore the possibility that it was through these idiosyncratic programmes for private devotion that the texts known as Special Offices were developed.<sup>50</sup>

The final part of Chapter Two examines private adaptations of the liturgy of the Hours. I discuss the text known as the *Old English Benedictine Office* in order to show how tenth-century readers actively reflected on the Divine Office. This text is then used as a basis for understanding a sequence of vernacular private prayers for the Hours found in the *Galba Prayerbook*, known as the *Prayers ad horas*. This chapter concludes with a brief source study of these prayers, in which I investigate a previously unnoticed connection between the Carolingian *libelli precum* and the *Galba Prayerbook*, and discuss how the *Prayers ad horas* were made more suitable for personal use in Old English translation.

In Chapter Three, I study prayer to the Holy Cross, a genre of prayer in which bodily gesture and devotion before images were of particular importance. For this reason, I begin by examining ceremonies in the Anglo-Saxon benedictionals for blessing crosses. Prayers in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* and the *Vespasian Psalter* imply that the speaker was expected to pray before a cross, or sign him- or herself while praying. I undertake a close reading of these monastic prayers, whilst indicating some of the uses of the cross in lay religious practice.

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<sup>50</sup> Bernard J. Muir, 'The Early Insular Prayer Book Tradition and the Development of the Book of Hours', in *The Art of the Book: its Place in Medieval Worship*, eds. Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir, 9-19 (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998), 19.

The second half of Chapter Three extends the previous chapter's analysis of programmes for private prayer by identifying passages from the three late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks which may have been used as Special Offices of the cross. Many of these are based upon the liturgy for the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, while others appear to be modelled on the monastic Hours. Even from these three manuscripts alone, an increasing sophistication can be seen in these experiments in private worship, which draw on similar sources and yet have subtly different emphases. To conclude Chapter Three, I explore adaptations of one well-known part of the cross feasts, the hymn 'Pange, lingua' by Venantius Fortunatus, in order to provide a case study of one of the principal themes of this thesis: the adaptation of liturgical language as a means of creating new prayers.

Chapter Four raises questions about the status of private confessional prayer, which could not be adapted for private use so easily as other liturgical forms. Sacerdotal confession – that is, confession to a priest – was essential as a preparation for the Judgement Day. Only with a skilled confessor could the penitent make a full confession, be given guidance for the future, and be assigned an appropriate penance. Public confession before a bishop, in which the penitents were cast out of the body of the church and reunited with it again, was also important. However, there is evidence to suggest that solitary confession, before God alone, was not only acceptable but actively encouraged, provided that sacerdotal confession was not neglected altogether. Prayers of solitary confession were one part of the confessional process, and sometimes a preparation for visiting the priest. Therefore, while solitary confessions have some characteristics in common with formal confessions for use with a priest or bishop, I reveal how they also have distinctive qualities of their own.

Finally, I consider Old English confessional poems, in order to close not only this chapter but also the whole thesis by returning to a theme which runs through all four chapters. A less strict categorisation of different literary genres prevailed at this time, and so I argue that there is no reason why poems of penitence should not be considered to be prayers as well. In all four of the chapters outlined above, I inquire into the practice of prayer, insofar as it is known when, where and why certain prayers were said, and using which posture and gesture, since these aspects of prayer were as vital a part of its meaning as the words used.

### **Appendix: definitions of private prayer**

It is necessary to define the kind of prayers under consideration, especially since the word ‘private’ can have a range of connotations, and is a term which has been used differently by different scholars. Chapter Two will justify the use of this terminology through analysing specific manuscript examples, but I will give some basic definitions here. For the purposes of this study, I use the term ‘private prayer’ to refer to prayer which is undertaken without the involvement of another human being. This may or may not take place in solitude. Thus, for instance, private prayer includes the programmes of private devotion discussed in Chapter Two, which are to be undertaken ‘þær ðu sylf sy’ (where you are alone) and in a ‘gelimplicere stowe’ (suitable place).<sup>51</sup> When the *Regularis concordia* instructs monks to pray silently in church surrounded by their fellows (*RC*, 474-7), this likewise counts as private prayer. By contrast, the dialogue confession referred to in Chapter Four, in which two nuns confessed their sins to one another, is not considered to be a private

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<sup>51</sup> Günzel, *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, no. 53.6; Hughes, *Portiforium*, II, 24, l. 4. See pages 111-15 below.

prayer.<sup>52</sup> In contrast, the term ‘public prayer’ is used to refer to prayers said openly by or in front of a community as part of the liturgy.

With the exception of psalters, sequences of private prayers tend to appear in manuscripts with a more unofficial character than formal liturgical books. These texts tend to be intermingled with medical remedies, computistical texts and scientific treatises, among other genres.<sup>53</sup> It is also common to see alterations to private prayers, such as those which change the grammatical gender to suit a speaker of the opposite sex: for example, a ‘peccator miser’ (wretched sinner) becomes a ‘peccatrix misera’. Thus, the prayer is made more intimate and appropriate for the speaker.<sup>54</sup>

The rubrics to private prayers, where any are given, also tend to differ from those in liturgical manuscripts. The headings in a collectar, for example, designate precisely how each prayer and hymn functions within a given service, and for which feast and Hour they are intended.<sup>55</sup> Private prayers often have no rubrics at all, or are simply labelled as ‘oratio’ (prayer) or ‘bona oratio’ (good prayer). On the rare occasions when more extensive rubrics do appear, they are of a kind that specifies beyond doubt that the prayer is private. For example, the prayer ‘Qui in hunc mundum’ in the *Galba Prayerbook* is prefaced with a rubric stating:

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<sup>52</sup> For the dialogue confession, see Muir, *Prayer-Book*, no. 62.

<sup>53</sup> This can be seen in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, as shown in a simplified table of this manuscript’s contents, table 2.2, in Chapter Two below.

<sup>54</sup> Bernard Muir argues that formal liturgical manuscripts would have been considered too precious to be annotated in this manner, an idea with which Stephan Waldhoff agrees. Muir, *Prayer-Book*, xvii; Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, 38.

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, E. S. Dewick and W. H. Frere, eds., *The Leofric Collectar*, HBS 45 and 56, 2 vols. (London: Harrison and Sons, 1914 and 1921), I, cols. 1-2 and plate 1. The collectar opens with the rubrics, ‘Dominica I. de adventu Domini’ and ‘Ad vesperam’, with the antiphon, capitula and collect all marked with abbreviations in the text.

In quacumque die cantauerit hom(o) hanc orationem nec diabolus nec ullus homo impedimentum ei facere poterit, et quod petierit dabitur ei (*Prayer-Book*, 61, ll. 1-3).<sup>56</sup>

This implies that the prayer is for voluntary use; furthermore, the text also employs the grammatical singular. Where a prayer has been written with singular verbs and pronouns, this tends to indicate that the text was composed specifically for private use, or it has been adapted from a liturgical setting with the plural forms changed to singular ones. There would be no use for the singular number in the liturgy, although Waldhoff has noted that private prayers could also use the plural form on occasion.<sup>57</sup>

Although Latin is the main language of private prayer, there is not always a self-conscious preference for Latin over English: sequences of prayers in the *Portiforium of St Wulstan* and the *Galba Prayerbook* include prayers in both languages.<sup>58</sup> In other manuscripts, such as Arundel 155, Latin prayers are comprehensively glossed in Anglo-Saxon.<sup>59</sup> The vernacular would not have been used in formal liturgical situations, and therefore its appearance implies a more unofficial setting, and perhaps a desire for greater understanding or intimacy with God. As English was used more widely in ecclesiastical settings than most of the other vernacular languages of Europe in the eleventh century, this is a significant issue, and one which is of great interest to scholars at present.<sup>60</sup> Accordingly, the issue of language choice will be raised throughout this thesis.

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<sup>56</sup> 'On whatever day a man should sing this prayer, neither a devil nor another man will be able to create any hindrance for him, and what he has asked for will be given to him.'

<sup>57</sup> Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, 37-8.

<sup>58</sup> For example, Muir, *Prayer-Book*, nos. 64-5; Hughes, *Portiforium*, II, 14-15.

<sup>59</sup> Holthausen, 'Altenglische Interlinearversionen'; Jackson J. Campbell, ed., 'Prayers from MS. Arundel 155', *Anglia* 81 (1963): 82-117.

<sup>60</sup> See, for example, Gittos, 'Is There Any Evidence?', 75-82; Victoria Thompson, 'The Pastoral Contract', and Ursula Lenker, 'Signifying Christ in Anglo-Saxon England: Old English Terms for the Sign of the Cross', in Jolly, Karkov and Keefer, *Cross and Cruciform*, 233-75.



For ease of reference, I have given a name to each prayer that I discuss, which remains the same when the same prayer appears with minor variations in different manuscripts. These prayer names are sometimes by necessity rather arbitrary choices: because many prayers begin with similar opening invocations, they are often based on the second, not the first, sentence of the prayer. For example, I have given one prayer, quoted above, the title ‘Qui in hunc mundum’, as it begins:

Domine Ihesu Christe *qui in hunc mundum* propter nos peccatores de sinu patris aduenisti (*Prayer-Book*, 61, ll. 4-5).<sup>61</sup>

Each chapter ends with a table of all the private prayers which were examined in any detail during the chapter, noting their appearances in the main manuscripts which I discuss. These tables are not intended to be a comprehensive study of the manuscript record for each prayer, but simply to indicate approximately how widely they are distributed in a range of major sources.

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<sup>61</sup> Emphasis mine. ‘O Lord Jesus Christ, who came into this world from the bosom of the Father because of us sinners.’

## CHAPTER 1

**THE BACKGROUND TO LATE ANGLO-SAXON PRIVATE PRAYER****Introduction**

In order to understand the meaning of late Anglo-Saxon private prayer, it is first necessary to consider its contexts. By the ninth century, a tradition of English private prayerbooks already existed, which was matched by the emergence of the ninth-century *libelli precum* on the Continent. In later centuries, a similar pattern would be seen in the composition of the *Regularis concordia*, a customary describing ideal practices for the tenth-century English church, which was influenced by native Anglo-Saxon practices as well as by earlier Continental reform movements.<sup>62</sup>

In this chapter, I will set the prayerbooks of late Anglo-Saxon England in their context by exploring the prayers, prayer programmes and attitudes to prayer which existed in the ninth century, many of which were associated with Alcuin of York or his pupil Hrabanus Maurus. As this is an extremely broad topic, I intend to discuss only a selection of the available texts, which I will introduce at the beginning of the chapter. I will then examine the attitudes to prayer expressed by Alcuin in his

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<sup>62</sup> Patrick Wormald has studied Æthelwold and the *Regularis concordia* in the light of Continental reformers. In contrast, Antonia Gransden has stressed the continuity of Anglo-Saxon practices throughout the tenth century. Patrick Wormald, *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early English Christian Society and its Historian*, ed. Stephen Baxter (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 169-206, particularly 181-3; Antonia Gransden, 'Traditionalism and Continuity During the Last Century of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40:2, 159-207 (1989): 164-70.

letters, many of which were addressed to former pupils, and often include Alcuin's teachings on prayer, and on occasion actual prayers for the recipient.

After a brief discussion of a selection of prayer compilations from the ninth century, I introduce the three main themes which will be the subjects of the remaining three chapters. The first of these is prayer at the canonical Hours. Amongst Carolingian tracts on the Divine Office, this chapter explores how Hrabanus Maurus' *De institutione clericorum* explained and justified the Offices in a time of monastic reform, and how Alcuin's letter *Beatus igitur David* renewed the tradition of private Hours. Alongside these two tracts, this chapter also analyses a series of prayers recorded in the early ninth century, known as the *Prayers ad horas*. In this chapter I will focus on the early development of these prayers, while Chapter Two explores their later appearance in the *Galba Prayerbook*. I will also discuss two private prayer programmes which draw on the reader's knowledge of the psalms, which were the most important part of monastic worship.

Chapter Three examines devotion to the cross in the late Anglo-Saxon church, and thus Chapter One draws attention to Carolingian interest in this subject by discussing Hrabanus' sequence of *carmina figurata* known as *In honorem sanctae crucis* and the contribution which he made to cross symbolism. Like the psalm programmes mentioned above, this text emphasises the importance of sincere and voluntary private prayer. It also gives visible expression to the inexpressibly glorious holy cross, a theme which is likewise prevalent in the late Anglo-Saxon prayer collections.

Private confession, the subject of Chapter Four, is represented in Chapter One by a prayer from the *Book of Cerne* and a confession which Alcuin wrote for Charlemagne. These prayers draw on the tradition of the *lorica*, a prayer for

protecting the body, which features significantly in the early Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks. This section also goes on to explore how the Carolingian church distinguished between ‘public’ and ‘private’ penance; however, as Alcuin’s letters show, private confessional prayers remained controversial. Alcuin’s prayer ‘Deus inaeestimabilis misericordiae’ is therefore a kind of confession which is notably different from that which would be made to a priest, and it is significant that this distinction between private and sacerdotal confession appears to have continued into the tenth and eleventh centuries.

### **1.1: An introduction to the texts and authors**

The compilers of the late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks drew their prayers from two ninth-century traditions: the early Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks and the Carolingian *libelli precum*. Both kinds of manuscript have been associated with the eighth-century scholar Alcuin. Accordingly, this chapter will focus on texts written in or just before the ninth century, many of which were associated with Alcuin’s name or accompany his works in the manuscript tradition.

Born *c.* 740, Alcuin was brought up in the cathedral community of York, and met Charlemagne twice whilst travelling in continental Europe in the 770s and 80s.<sup>63</sup> While on the second of these journeys, probably in 781, the king asked the Anglo-Saxon scholar to become a member of his court.<sup>64</sup> Alcuin was associated with Charlemagne’s entourage for two periods, each lasting no more than a few years.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> D. A. Bullough, ‘Alcuin’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eds. Brian Harrison and H. C. G. Matthew, 60 vols., I, 602-8 (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2004), 602-4. For Alcuin’s early life in the cathedral community of York, see Donald A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation, Being Part of the Ford Lectures Delivered in Oxford in Hilary Term 1980*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 16 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 164-76.

<sup>64</sup> Bullough, ‘Alcuin’, 604.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 604-5. For Alcuin’s involvement in the court of Charlemagne, see Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, 331-42.

Nevertheless, he contributed greatly to the literary, religious and educational life of the Carolingian court through his prolific letters and poetic and doctrinal works.<sup>66</sup> Of particular significance for this chapter is the letter ‘Beatus igitur David’, written in response to a request from Charlemagne, in which Alcuin expounds the reasons for praising God at the canonical Hours. Alcuin also wrote a private confession which, in a few manuscripts, appears alongside this very letter. Towards the end of his career, Alcuin was appointed abbot of St Martin’s in Tours, where he died in 804.<sup>67</sup>

Hrabanus was born in Mainz *c.* 780 and became a child oblate at the monastery of Fulda.<sup>68</sup> He later studied with Alcuin at Tours, from whom he gained the nickname Maurus (the name of St Benedict’s favourite pupil) and was ordained as a priest in 814.<sup>69</sup> Hrabanus also served as head of the Fulda school, which grew in reputation as a result of his leadership, and he was appointed as Abbot of Fulda in 822, during a great period of growth for the monastery.<sup>70</sup> In 847, he was appointed Archbishop of Mainz, and he died in 856.<sup>71</sup> Primarily a writer of Biblical commentaries and educational texts, Hrabanus is also known for his series of *carmina figurata*, *In honorem sanctae crucis*.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Bullough, ‘Alcuin’, 605.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 605-7.

<sup>68</sup> Raymund Kottje, ‘Hrabanus Maurus’, in *Dictionary of German Biography*, eds. Walther Killy and Rudolf Vierhaus, 10 vols., 204-5 (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2001-6), V, 204.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* *In honorem sanctae crucis* is also known as *De laudibus sanctae crucis*.

*Table 1.1: Private prayer texts from the late eighth and ninth centuries*

Early medieval prayerbooks	Early Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks: <i>Book of Cerne</i> , <i>Book of Nunnaminster</i> , <i>Royal Prayerbook</i> , Harley 7653
	Carolingian <i>Libelli precum</i> : <i>Libellus Trecensis</i> , <i>Libellus Parisinus</i> , <i>Libellus Turonensis</i>
Alcuin's writing on prayer	'Beatus igitur David'
	'Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae'
Prayer guides based on the psalms	<i>Psalmi de paenitentia</i>
	<i>De laude psalmorum</i>
Prayers for the Hours	<i>Prayers ad horas</i>
Texts by Hrabanus Maurus	<i>De institutione clericorum</i>
	<i>In honorem sanctae crucis</i>

### *Early medieval prayerbooks*

This chapter will be primarily concerned with private prayers relating to the Hours, the adoration of the cross and private confession, as these are the main subjects for consideration in the following chapters. However, the early history of the private prayerbook in general also requires consideration. Alcuin made an important contribution to the genre through his florilegium *De laude Dei*. This text survives in El Escorial B-IV-17 and Bamberg, Stadtbibliothek Msc. Patr. 17 (B. II. 10): respectively, these are a possibly southern French manuscript of the second half of the ninth century, and an early eleventh-century manuscript from Mainz.<sup>73</sup> A large proportion of the text is composed of short excerpts from several different Biblical books, which, Donald Bullough notes, have been taken from a mixture of variant texts of the Bible.<sup>74</sup> Longer prayers, along with extracts from the works of the church Fathers, are to be found in the latter part of the third book of *De laude Dei*, followed by a final book of quotations from Christian poets and liturgical texts.<sup>75</sup> The collection, as preserved in the surviving manuscripts, may date to Alcuin's years in Francia while revealing the reading which he undertook in York. It is therefore of

<sup>73</sup> Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, 177.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

great value as it evidently records what he wished to preserve, either for his teaching or for his own private spiritual development.<sup>76</sup>

Also dating from this era is a group of English books dedicated chiefly to private prayers, with a relatively smaller proportion of Biblical extracts. In fact, it has been argued that the private prayerbook was invented in the British Isles, since Anglo-Saxon and Irish Christians were not native Latin speakers and many therefore lacked the capability to pray spontaneously in Latin in accordance with the teaching of the church Fathers.<sup>77</sup> Four prayerbooks, or fragments of prayerbooks, survive from eighth- and ninth-century England: Cambridge, University Library Ll. 1. 10 (the *Book of Cerne*);<sup>78</sup> London, British Library Royal 2 A. xx (the *Royal Prayerbook*);<sup>79</sup> Harley 2965 (the *Book of Nunnaminster*);<sup>80</sup> and London, British Library Harley 7653, a fragment which comprises a litany and a small number of private prayers.<sup>81</sup>

The *Book of Cerne* contains a wide variety of private prayers to Christ and the saints, with a particular emphasis on confession, including a number of texts which can also be found in the late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks. For example, the Marian prayer 'Exaudi me et miserere mihi' (*Cerne*, no. 58) later appears in

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<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 177-8. More details of *De laude Dei*, particularly of its liturgical sources, can be found in Donald A. Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age', in *Carolingian Essays: Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal, 1-69 (Washington D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1983), especially 4-12.

<sup>77</sup> Patrick Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England 600-800*, CSASE 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 277.

<sup>78</sup> A. B. Kuypers, ed., *The Prayer Book of Aedelwald the Bishop, Commonly Called the Book of Cerne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902); Gneuss, no. 28; Ker, no. 27. A doctoral thesis on the Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks, focusing in particular on these four early examples, is currently being written by Kirsty March of University College Cork.

<sup>79</sup> The *Royal Prayerbook* has been edited as an appendix to Kuypers, *Cerne*, 201-25; Gneuss, no. 450; Ker, no. 248.

<sup>80</sup> Walter de Gray Birch, ed., *An Ancient Manuscript of the Eighth or Ninth Century Formerly Belonging to St. Mary's Abbey, or Nunnaminster, Winchester* (London and Winchester: Simpkin and Marshall, 1889); Gneuss no. 432; Ker, no. 237.

<sup>81</sup> F. E. Warren, ed., *The Antiphony of Bangor: an Early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan*, HBS 4 and 10, 2 vols. (London: Harrison and Sons, 1892-5), II, 83-6; Gneuss, no. 443; Ker, no. 244.

*Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, London, British Library Arundel 155 and the *Portiforium of St Wulstan*.<sup>82</sup> However, *Cerne* differs significantly from the later manuscripts in its inclusion of Biblical material: the private prayers are preceded by the Passion narratives from all four gospels (*Cerne*, 5-79) and followed by a large collection of verses from the psalms (174-98). Although the *Book of Cerne* is of Mercian origin, Bullough notes a link between this manuscript and the north of England: parts of it appear to derive from a Northumbrian collection, and three prayers, including 'Exaudi me et miserere mihi', are attributed to Alchfrith, an anchorite from late eighth-century Northumbria whose letters are associated with Alcuin's in the manuscript tradition.<sup>83</sup>

The other early prayerbooks are of particular interest as they appear to have been used by women, an issue which will be raised again in Chapter Two in relation to the eleventh-century prayerbooks.<sup>84</sup> The *Royal Prayerbook*, like *Cerne*, begins with Biblical extracts – in this case, the openings of the four gospels (ff. 2r-11v) – followed by the psalter canticles (ff. 13v-16v), prayers and hymns (ff. 17r-51v).<sup>85</sup> *Nunnaminster*, by contrast, is distinctly different from the others. After the Passion narratives (*Nunnaminster*, 39-57) and the long prayer 'Dominator dominus omnipotens' (58-60), which is known to the later prayerbooks, most of

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<sup>82</sup> Michelle P. Brown, *The Book of Cerne: Prayer, Patronage and Power in Ninth-Century England* (London, Toronto and Buffalo, NY: British Library and University of Toronto Press, 1996), 140; Beate Günzel ed., *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii), HBS 108 (London: Boydell Press, 1993), no. 51.7 (from the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary); Ferdinand Holthausen, ed., 'Altenglische Interlinearversionen Lateinischer Gebete und Beichten', *Anglia* 65, 230-54 (1941): 254; *Portiforium*, II, 8.

<sup>83</sup> Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, 178-9. A full description of *Cerne* and its contents can be found in Brown, *Book of Cerne*, 18-20.

<sup>84</sup> Michelle P. Brown, 'Female Book-Ownership and Production in Anglo-Saxon England: the Evidence of the Ninth-Century Prayerbooks', in *Lexis and Texts in Early English: Studies Presented to Jane Roberts*, eds. Christian J. Kay and Louise M. Sylvester, Costerus New Series 133, 45-67 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2001), 51-9; Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 280-1.

<sup>85</sup> Kuypers, *Cerne*.



*Nunnaminster* is composed of a sequence of short prayers dedicated to different parts of Christ's life, particularly the Passion (61-81).

A range of theories have been proposed regarding the use of these prayerbooks. Patrick Sims-Williams has noted that *Royal* and Harley 7653 are particularly concerned with protecting their readers from physical and spiritual harm, a feature which indicates their difference from contemporary Continental prayerbooks.<sup>86</sup> He has also drawn attention to the presence of the morning prayer 'Mane cum surrexero' in Harley 7653 and *Royal*, from which he argues that some of the prayers in these two manuscripts were intended for use in a course of daily prayer.<sup>87</sup> By contrast, Bernard Muir has proposed that *Royal* emphasises the healing work of Christ, while both *Nunnaminster* and *Cerne* focus on his Passion.<sup>88</sup> Most noteworthy of all, however, is Sims-Williams' observation of tenth-century glosses in both *Royal* and Harley 7653.<sup>89</sup> These indicate the continued use of those manuscripts in later centuries, suggesting that they would have been used alongside the late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks and had an important effect upon their contents.

Another major influence on the later prayerbooks are the Carolingian private prayer collections now known as the *libelli precum*, which arose in places influenced by England and in particular by Alcuin himself.<sup>90</sup> Jonathan Black has noted that, since the Carolingian reforms replaced native liturgical traditions with the Benedictine Offices, 'prayerbooks for private usage served as a possible outlet for

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<sup>86</sup> Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 285-6.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 284-5.

<sup>88</sup> Bernard J. Muir, 'The Early Insular Prayer Book Tradition and the Development of the Book of Hours' in *The Art of the Book: its Place in Medieval Worship*, eds. Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir, 9-19 (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998), 15.

<sup>89</sup> Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 280-1.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 276.

material from the suppressed traditions.<sup>91</sup> Four of these prayerbooks were edited by Wilmart under the title *Precum libelli quattuor aevi Karolini*, and I will use three of those in my discussion of Carolingian prayer.<sup>92</sup> The *Libellus Trecensis* (Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 1742) dates from the first decade of the ninth century, and therefore was written at around the time of Alcuin's death.<sup>93</sup> The *Libellus Parisinus* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 5596) dates from the first quarter of the ninth century,<sup>94</sup> while the *Libellus Turonensis* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 13388) dates from the mid-ninth century.<sup>95</sup> The study of the *libelli precum* began with Wilmart's edition of the four manuscripts. Wilmart's editions, however, removed what he considered to be private prayers from their manuscript contexts, whereas more recent studies accept that private and liturgical prayer are closely linked and sometimes difficult to distinguish from one another.<sup>96</sup>

The prayers edited by Wilmart are noteworthy for their consistent use of first person singular grammatical forms, which strongly indicates that they were used in private. Special emphasis is placed upon confession, forgiveness and the protection of the speaker's body and soul; however, they include far fewer prayers to the cross than the Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks. A number of programmes for private devotion are to be found in the *libelli precum*, particularly in the *Libellus Turonensis*, where psalms and prayers are combined with collects to form a carefully-planned act of

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<sup>91</sup> Jonathan Black, 'The Divine Office and Private Devotion in the Latin West', in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, eds. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, 45-71 (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 2001), 64.

<sup>92</sup> André Wilmart, ed., *Precum libelli quattuor aevi karolini* (Rome: Ephemerides Liturgicae, 1940). Another prayerbook of this kind, from early ninth-century St Emmeran, Ratisbon, survives as a fragment, with a similar selection of prayers. M. Frost, ed., 'A Prayer Book from St Emmeran, Ratisbon', *JTS* 30 (1928): 32-45; Maurice Frost, ed., 'Te Deum Laudamus', *JTS* 28 (1927): 403-7.

<sup>93</sup> Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, 5.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>96</sup> Susan Boynton, 'Libelli precum in the Central Middle Ages', in *A History of Prayer: the First to the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Roy Hammerling, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 13, 255-318 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 257.

private worship. Most importantly for this chapter, these manuscripts also contain early versions of the letter ‘*Beatus igitur David*’, the confession ‘*Deus inestimabilis misericordiae*’ and the *Psalmi de paenitentia*, all of which will be introduced below.

Of particular note is the fact that some of the prayers in the *libelli precum* can also be found in the late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks, such as a group of six prayers beginning with three to the individual members of the Trinity.<sup>97</sup> These begin by addressing each member in distinctly creedal terms: for example, the Spirit is addressed as:

Domine sancte spiritus deus omnipotens qui aequalis coaeternus et  
 consubstantialis patri filioque existens, ab eis inenarrabiliter procedis  
 (*Libellus Trecensis*, no. 1.9).<sup>98</sup>

The speaker prays to the Trinity for mercy, grace and love, and that he may attain a vision of God. These four prayers are linked by the words ‘*te adoro, te laudo, te glorifico*’ (nos. 1.7-10).<sup>99</sup> Although these prayers are not discussed in depth in the following three chapters of this thesis, they are of importance because they are likewise found in later prayerbooks and reflect a tradition derived from the Carolingian *libelli precum* rather than from earlier Anglo-Saxon sources. Furthermore, they reflect the use of private prayer to unite theological concerns with the love and praise of God.

#### *‘Beatus igitur David’*

At some point in time, Charlemagne appears to have asked Alcuin for guidance on private prayer, as the letter ‘*Beatus igitur David*’ responds to such a request with a

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<sup>97</sup> See table 2.1 in Chapter Two below.

<sup>98</sup> ‘O Lord, Holy Spirit, almighty God, who, being coequal, co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father and with the Son, ineffably proceed from them.’

<sup>99</sup> ‘I adore you, I praise you, I glorify you.’

justification of prayer at the times of the Hours and a series of psalm verses to be said upon rising from bed.<sup>100</sup> This letter was evidently taken, in the decades and centuries following, to be a useful guide for private devotion, as it was copied into three later private prayerbooks.<sup>101</sup> Stephan Waldhoff has argued that ‘Beatus igitur David’ originally prefaced a personal prayerbook which Alcuin compiled for Charlemagne, and Waldhoff has attempted to reconstruct this prayerbook from two manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 2731A and Oxford, Bodleian Library d’Orville 45.<sup>102</sup> Jonathan Black, by contrast, has expressed caution with regards to Waldhoff’s assumption that Alcuin compiled such a prayerbook at all, as well as about the viability of his attempt to reconstruct it.<sup>103</sup> For the purposes of this study, it is not necessary to determine whether or not this prayerbook existed: what is important is that the texts in it circulated widely from the ninth century onwards and were associated with Alcuin’s name. Nevertheless, I use Waldhoff’s edition of ‘Beatus igitur David’ in Paris 2731A, in preference to that printed by Dümmler in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, as it is the most recent edition of the text.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Stephan Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch für Karl den Grossen: Seine Rekonstruktion und seine Stellung in der frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte der libelli precum*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 89 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2003), nos. 1a-2a. All texts cited from this edition can be found in the appendix, on pages 341-91. The numbering used is that used by Waldhoff in this appendix.

<sup>101</sup> These are: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 2731A; Oxford, Bodleian Library d’Orville 45; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 5596 (the *Libellus Parisinus*). Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, nos. 1 and 1a; Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, 33-4.

<sup>102</sup> Waldhoff bases this argument on ch. 15 of the *Vita Alcuini*, which lists in detail the contents of a prayerbook compiled by the scholar for the king. He then demonstrates that these contents are closely matched by the prayers found in d’Orville 45 (ff. 26r-50r) and Paris 2731A (ff. 40r-64r). Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, 113-26. Waldhoff accepts the datings of d’Orville 45 to 1067/8 and Paris 2731A to the tenth century: *ibid.*, 120, 123.

<sup>103</sup> Jonathan Black, ‘Review of *Alcuins Gebetbuch für Karl den Grossen*, by Stephan Waldhoff’, *Speculum* 83, 772-4 (2008): 773-4.

<sup>104</sup> On the inadequacy of Dümmler’s *MGH* edition of ‘Beatus igitur David’, see Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, 139-4. Bullough comments that ‘[t]he text *inc. Beatus igitur David rex* in the form in which it was printed by Dümmler as *ep. no. 304* is almost certainly not genuinely Alcuin’s, but a more authentic form may exist.’ Nevertheless, he does acknowledge that some version of the letter is ‘acceptably his’. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, 36 and 7.

*‘Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae’*

In Paris 2731A and d’Orville 45, ‘Beatus igitur David’ is directly followed by a confession for private use, which would become one of the most commonly-copied private prayers in the late Anglo-Saxon period.<sup>105</sup> Even where it does not accompany this letter, ‘Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae’ is often headed by rubrics which state that it is part of an *ordo* to be said in the morning.<sup>106</sup> This prayer is generally agreed to be the genuine work of Alcuin: it is accepted as such by Black, and also by Bullough, who comments that it does not appear to have been originally designed for use with a priest.<sup>107</sup>

Evidence for Alcuin’s authorship is found in rubrics to the prayer in two manuscripts: the *Prayerbook of Charles the Bald* and the ninth-century psalter Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 18.<sup>108</sup> In addition, both Black and Waldhoff argue that a Carolingian letter addressed to a high-status laywoman refers to ‘Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae’: it recommends the ‘confessionem quam beatae memoriae Alcuinus <domno Karolo> dedit’<sup>109</sup> and the *Psalmi de paenitentia*, which is

<sup>105</sup> Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, nos. 1a-3a and 1-3.

<sup>106</sup> Eleven of the thirty-two manuscripts which Black uses for his edition contain these rubrics. In the case of d’Orville 45, the *Prayerbook of Charles the Bald* and the *Libellus Parisinus*, the rubrics are part of the letter ‘Beatus igitur David’, from which they ultimately originate. Jonathan Black, ed., ‘Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks: Alcuin’s *Confessio peccatorum pura* and the Seven Penitential Psalms (Use 1)’, *Mediaeval Studies* 65, 1-56 (2003): 18-19 and n. 50.

<sup>107</sup> Black, ‘Alcuin’s *Confessio*’, 2-5; Bullough, ‘Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven’, 15. A collated edition of ‘Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae’ and the penitential psalm devotional *Psalmi de paenitentia* can be found in Black, ‘Alcuin’s *Confessio*’, 30-49. However, this edition takes into account all of the variants found in later manuscripts, whereas in this chapter I am concerned specifically with these texts in their early forms. Consequently, I use Waldhoff’s edition in Paris 2731A. Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, nos. 3a-4a.

<sup>108</sup> For example, in the *Prayerbook of Charles the Bald*, the prayer is titled, ‘CONFESSIO QUAM ALCHUINUS COMPOSIT KAROLO IMPERATORI’ (‘the confession which Alcuin composed for the Emperor Charles’). Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, 161-2. The *Prayerbook of Charles the Bald*, in the Munich Schatzkammer, is no. 4 in Herbert Brunner, *Schatzkammer der Residenz München: Katalog*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (Munich: Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, 1970).

<sup>109</sup> ‘The confession which Alcuin, of blessed memory, gave <to Lord Charles>.’ D. A. Wilmart, ed., ‘Lettres de l’époque carolingienne’, *Revue bénédictine* 34, 234-45 (1922): 241, ll. 52-3.

introduced below, for morning prayer.<sup>110</sup> Waldhoff notes that this letter specifically states that the prayer was to be used in private:

in exemplo illius secreta et, si potest, coram altari et coram deo et angelis eius faciatis ('Lettres de l'époque carolingienne', 241, ll. 53-4).<sup>111</sup>

'Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae' exists in a large number of manuscripts dating from the ninth century to the twelfth.<sup>112</sup> Some manuscripts contain a shortened or defective version of the prayer, including one which was attributed to Anselm.<sup>113</sup>

There is also an Old English confession containing a partial translation of this prayer, which will be discussed further in Chapter Four.<sup>114</sup>

*Prayer guides based on the psalms: the 'Psalmi de paenitentia' and 'De laude psalorum'*

In the surviving manuscripts, 'Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae' is typically followed by a guide to prayer based on the seven penitential psalms which I have entitled the *Psalmi de paenitentia*.<sup>115</sup> Each psalm is followed by the *Kyrie eleison*,

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<sup>110</sup> Jonathan Black, ed., 'Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks: Alcuin and the Preface to *De psalmodium usu*', *Mediaeval Studies* 64, 1-60 (2002): 20-1; Waldhoff, *Gebetbuch*, 162-3. Wilmart suggested that this letter may be by Hrabanus Maurus to Judith, wife of Louis the Pious; Black cautiously accepts this possibility, whereas Waldhoff is less certain. Wilmart, 'Lettres de l'époque carolingienne', 238-42; Black, 'Alcuin and the Preface', 20; Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, 253-4. It should be noted that the reference to 'domno Karolo' is an editorial emendation for a blank space which appeared in the only known copy of this letter, Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale 127, now no longer extant, although Black as well as Wilmart believes that this refers to Charlemagne. Black, 'Alcuin's *Confessio*', 3-4.

<sup>111</sup> 'You are to perform it secretly after his example and, if you can, before the altar and in the presence of God and his angels.' See Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, 179-80.

<sup>112</sup> For a full list of manuscripts, see Black, 'Alcuins *Confessio*', 26-8.

<sup>113</sup> Black, 'Alcuin and the Preface', 22-3.

<sup>114</sup> This is in London, British Library Royal 2. B. v and Cotton Tiberius A. iii. H. Logeman, 'Anglo-Saxonica Minora', *Anglia* 11, 97-120 (1889): 111-5; Phillip Pulsiano and Joseph McGowan, eds., 'Four Unedited Prayers in London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A.iii', *Mediaeval Studies* 56, 189-216 (1994): 206-8. See pages 263 and 270 below.

<sup>115</sup> The relationship between the confession and the *Psalmi de paenitentia* is explained in detail in Black, 'Alcuin's *Confessio*', 18-21. Black does not give this text a name, but refers to it simply as the 'program of penitential psalms'.

the *Paternoster*, a number of capitula and a collect.<sup>116</sup> Interestingly, one manuscript containing the *Psalmi de paenitentia*, the *Libellus Trecensis*, is likely to have been written during Alcuin's final years, or not long after his death.<sup>117</sup> However, there is no reason to believe that he was the compiler of this prayer programme.<sup>118</sup>

While the *Psalmi de paenitentia* focuses on the penitential psalms alone, a similar, roughly contemporaneous guide to prayer is based on eight groups of psalms, of which the penitential psalms are only one. *De laude psalmodum* begins with a preface explaining the importance of the psalms, and then lists eight situations in which one should sing particular psalms, before concluding with a brief epilogue. Each of the eight situations is accompanied by a brief list of psalms and a comment on the effects that will be brought about by singing them.

*De laude psalmodum* appears as the preface to the ninth-century prayer guide *De psalmodum usu*.<sup>119</sup> Once attributed to Alcuin, the authorship of *De psalmodum usu* was challenged by André Wilmart and is now assigned to an anonymous writer.<sup>120</sup> However, Wilmart, and following him Black and Bullough, accepts *De laude psalmodum* as genuinely by Alcuin.<sup>121</sup> Waldhoff, drawing on the work of Jean Chazelas, argues against this attribution.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, no. 4a. The collects are derived from various versions of the Romana series of psalter collects. Waldhoff, 'Alcuin's *Confessio*', 22-4; Louis Brou and André Wilmart, eds., *The Psalter Collects from V-VI<sup>th</sup> Century Sources (Three Series)*, HBS 83 (London: Boydell Press, 1949, repr. 2009), Romana series nos. 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 142.

<sup>117</sup> Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, 5.

<sup>118</sup> For example, Black refers to this text as an 'independent program' contemporary with Alcuin. Black, 'Alcuin's *Confessio*', 1.

<sup>119</sup> Alcuin, *De psalmodum usu liber*, PL 101, cols. 465B-508D; *De laude psalmodum* can be found in cols. 465B-468A.

<sup>120</sup> André Wilmart, ed., 'Le manuel de prières de saint Jean Gualbert', *Revue Bénédictine* 48, 259-99 (1936): 262-5.

<sup>121</sup> Wilmart, 'Manuel de prières', 263; Black, 'Alcuin and the Preface', 3-7. Bullough argues that it is the first text in which saying the penitential psalms is thought to be good for those who wish to undergo penitence and to find the mercy of God. Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven', 19-20.

<sup>122</sup> Waldhoff notes that, in many manuscripts, the text is in fact either attributed to Augustine or Jerome, or left anonymous, whereas the attribution to Alcuin occurs only in the context of prayerbooks like *De psalmodum usu*, and appears to have been made in order to give such works an

*The 'Prayers ad horas'*

Finally, the *libelli precum* cannot be discussed without mentioning a sequence of prayers which will be of great relevance to Chapter Two. It has already been seen that, in the letter 'Beatus igitur David', Alcuin instructs Charlemagne to pray at the times of the monastic Hours. Waldhoff has noted that these include the second Hour and the twelfth Hour, which were not among the usual canonical Hours, and that this sequence coincides exactly with the Hours chosen for a group of short prayers which is found further on in Paris 2731A.<sup>123</sup> This sequence of prayers will be referred to throughout this thesis as the *Prayers ad horas*.<sup>124</sup> As well as in Paris 2731A, they appear in the Carolingian prayerbooks *Trecensis*, *Turonensis* and *Parisinus*.<sup>125</sup> In *Parisinus*, the full sequence immediately follows 'Beatus igitur David', suggesting that the compiler of that manuscript understood the prayers to be a means of fulfilling the advice given in the letter.

The prayers for Prime, Terce, Sext, None and Vespers were derived from the sacramentary tradition: they appear as *orationes* for the canonical Hours in the both the *Gregorian* and *Gellone Sacramentaries*, and in the *Liber Sacramentorum*.<sup>126</sup> It would therefore appear that a prayerbook compiler around the ninth century constructed a series of prayers for the Hours by putting together some prayers from

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authoritative status. Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, 272-6. Black has accepted that Waldhoff's argument has some weight, but adds that there is an earlier text of *De laude psalmodum* than he allows for, in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1008, probably dating from before the year 800. Black, 'Review of *Alcuins Gebetbuch*', 773.

<sup>123</sup> Waldhoff even goes so far as to argue for Alcuin's authorship of the prayers on these grounds. Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, 230-4 and nos. 19a-26a.

<sup>124</sup> The term *Prayers ad horas* is taken from R. A. Banks, ed., 'Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers from British Museum MS. Cotton Galba A.xiv', *NQ*, n. s. 12.6, 207-13 (1965): 210.

<sup>125</sup> *Libellus Trecensis*, nos. 2.1-8, *Libellus Turonensis*, 7.2-7, and *Libellus Parisinus*, nos. 1.2-8, in Wilmart, *Precum libelli*.

<sup>126</sup> Jean Deshusses, ed., *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien: ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn., Spicilegium Friburgense 16, 24 and 28, 3 vols. (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1992), III, nos. 4406-9; A. Dumas and Jean Deshusses, eds., *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis: Textus*, CCSL 159 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), nos. 2120, 2122-4, 2132; Alcuin, *Liber sacramentorum*, PL 101, cols. 445B-66A, at cols. 462D-463B. Of these three sacramentaries, the prayer for Vespers only appears in *Gellone*. For more details about which of the prayers appears in which of the sacramentaries, see table 2.6 on page 138 below.



the sacramentaries and then adding, and perhaps composing, accompanying prayers so that there was one for each Hour. Since *Trecensis* dates to the first decade of the ninth century,<sup>127</sup> it is apparent that, by the time of Alcuin's death, two separate traditions of the *Prayers ad horas* had emerged: in the sacramentaries, a group of loosely-connected prayers for Prime, Terce, Sext, None and sometimes Vespers; and in the private prayerbooks a complete programme for all the Hours, including the second and twelfth Hours, and sometimes Compline. These two separate traditions of the *Prayers ad horas* were still in existence in the late Anglo-Saxon era, and therefore these prayers will be of particular significance for Chapter Two.

In the private prayerbooks, the *Prayers ad horas* usually appear as a group of prayers unconnected by other liturgical elements. However, the *Libellus Turonensis* contains an *ordo* in which some of the prayers are used as collects built around the hymns for the Hours (*Libellus Turonensis*, no. 7). Here, it can be observed that items from the monastic liturgy were taken from their contexts and put together to create *ordines* which became private liturgies in their own right. This pattern can also be seen in the Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks which will be examined in Chapter Two.

#### *De institutione clericorum*

The liturgies of the Hours and of the Mass were explained and re-interpreted many times in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, including in the eleventh-century *Old English Benedictine Office*, hereafter referred to as the *Benedictine Office*. This was not itself a text for use in liturgical practice, but a tract intended to teach secular

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<sup>127</sup> Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, 5.

clerics why the monastic Offices were celebrated and what form they took.<sup>128</sup> The *Benedictine Office* can be understood in the light of similar works which preceded it, and, in particular, of Hrabanus Maurus' *De institutione clericorum*, which is its main source.

In his dedicatory prologue to Haistulf, Archbishop of Mainz, Hrabanus explains that he wrote the book in response to questions which his brothers asked him about their religious duties.<sup>129</sup> However, as Detlev Zimpel notes, *De institutione* originated from something more complex than simply these requests. Hrabanus was writing in an age of liturgical reform, in which it had become necessary to reconcile the widely varying liturgical customs followed in the Carolingian empire, and to explain and justify the forms of worship in use in the monasteries.<sup>130</sup> It is therefore understandable, Zimpel argues, that his brothers would ask for clarification on liturgy and monastic customs, and that works such as *De institutione* and Amalarius of Metz's *Liber officialis* would be written to meet these needs.<sup>131</sup>

Once assessed as less popular in the Anglo-Saxon era than in late medieval England,<sup>132</sup> works of Hrabanus are now known to survive in fourteen manuscripts written or owned in England dating from the late ninth to the late eleventh century, including three which contain excerpts from *De institutione*.<sup>133</sup> Additional evidence for Anglo-Saxon knowledge of this text can be found in an inventory of Latin books,

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<sup>128</sup> For more details on the *Benedictine Office*, see pages 126-32 below.

<sup>129</sup> Detlev Zimpel, ed. and trans., *Hrabanus Maurus: De institutione clericorum, Über die Unterweisung der Geistlichen*, Fontes Christiani 61 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), I, 106-8.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 18-20.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 20-21.

<sup>132</sup> For example, by William Schipper, 'Hrabanus Maurus', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: a Trial Version*, eds. Frederick M. Biggs *et al.*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 74 (Binghamton, NY: State University of New York, 1990), 131.

<sup>133</sup> Gneuss, nos. 12, 59, 65.5, 73, 131, 140, 178, 243, 258, 398, 644, 749, 779, 919.3. Nos. 59, 73 and 131 contain excerpts from *De institutione*, and nos. 65.5 and 644 include the *Old English Benedictine Office*.

from eleventh- or twelfth-century Peterborough, which includes ‘Rabanus De institutione clericorum’.<sup>134</sup>

*In honorem sanctae crucis*

The *carmen figuratum* is a poem written out letter by letter on a grid, which is decorated to form patterns or pictures; the letters within those pictures contain lines of verse which are not readable without the pictures, and are thus known as *versus intertexti*. Hrabanus made a particularly sophisticated contribution to the genre in his *In honorem sanctae crucis*. Following a prologue on prayer and the meaning of the crucifixion, the first book of this work consists of twenty-eight *carmina figurata*, each accompanied by a *declaratio*: a prose text explaining the symbolism of the images and the *versus intertexti* which are to be found within the images.<sup>135</sup> The second book is made up of twenty-eight short prose commentaries and prayers, each one relating to a chapter in Part One. Hrabanus’ *carmina figurata* feature particularly detailed designs such as Christ on the cross, the cherubim and seraphim, and his own self kneeling before a cross, all of which contain *versus intertexti*. Some manuscripts begin with a number of poems and images dedicating the work to the still living Louis the Pious: for example, reference is made to the arrival of Persian envoys at Louis’ court in 831; whereas the emperor himself died in 840, meaning that *In honorem* must have been composed during the fourth decade of the ninth century.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 143-7, item no. 59.

<sup>135</sup> M. Perrin, ed., *Rabani Mauri In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100 and 100A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997).

<sup>136</sup> Herbert Schutz, *The Carolingians in Central Europe, their History, Arts and Architecture: A Cultural History of Central Europe, 750-900*, Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions: Medieval and Early Modern Peoples 18 (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2004), 180-1; Perrin, *In honorem*, 11, 1. 28.

As discussed above, Gneuss lists fourteen manuscripts written or owned in England up until 1100 which contain the works of Hrabanus in some form. Three of these codices include all or part of *In honorem sanctae crucis*, as does the twelfth-century manuscript London, British Library Royal 8. D. 18.<sup>137</sup> In addition, Rosalind Love has shown how two lines from *In honorem sanctae crucis* were reused in a partly metrical charter made in 940,<sup>138</sup> while Helmut Gneuss has observed that an image of St Dunstan in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F. 4. 32 is based on the final poem of *In honorem sanctae crucis*.<sup>139</sup> *In honorem sanctae crucis* may also, as Matti Kilpiö has argued, have been a source for *The Dream of the Rood*.<sup>140</sup> From all these examples, then, it appears that Hrabanus' *carmina figurata* were both copied and responded to in a variety of ways in Anglo-Saxon literature. His ideas on the meaning of the cross and the presence of its sign throughout heaven and earth were therefore arguably influential on some monastic liturgies of the cross feasts and private devotions to the cross.

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<sup>137</sup> Gneuss, nos. 12, 178 and 919.3; Helmut Gneuss, 'Dunstan und Hrabanus Maurus zur HS. Bodleian Auctarium F. 4. 32', *Anglia* 96, 136-48 (1978): 142-3. For an introduction to *In honorem* through the tenth-century manuscript Cambridge, Trinity College B. 16. 3, see William Schipper, 'Reading the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England', in Karen Louise Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov and Sarah Larratt Keefer, eds., *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 1, Medieval European Studies 9 (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2008), 321-42.

<sup>138</sup> R. C. Love, 'The Sources of Charter S473', 1997, *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register*, <<http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/>>, accessed 06 November 2008; Walter de Gray Birch, ed., *Cartularium Saxonicum: a Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History* (London: Whiting, 1885-93), II, no. 751. This is Charter 473 in P. H. Sawyer, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 8 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968), 184-5.

<sup>139</sup> The saint is depicted kneeling before Christ just as Hrabanus kneels before the cross in his Poem 28, and a verse alongside the image is a clear adaptation of the *versus intertexti* from this poem. Gneuss, 'Dunstan und Hrabanus Maurus', 136-9; Perrin, *In honorem*, 221, ll. 62-3. A facsimile of the folio from Auctarium F. 4. 32 appears in E. C. Teviotdale, 'Latin Verse Inscriptions in Anglo-Saxon Art', *Gesta* 35:2, 99-110 (1996): 101.

<sup>140</sup> Matti Kilpiö, 'Hrabanus' *De laudibus sanctae crucis* and *The Dream of the Rood*', *Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki* 45 (1987): 177-91.

## 1.2: Alcuin's letters on prayer

Alcuin's fame as a scholar lasted for many centuries, and the fact that prayer *ordines* were incorrectly distributed under his name merely serves to show how great his reputation for writing prayer was. Several of his genuine letters record his advice on prayer to his many friends and pupils, often in language which drew heavily on his reading of the Bible and the Fathers.<sup>141</sup> Therefore, Alcuin's letters are extremely useful for understanding prayer in the Carolingian court and church. They teach the importance of training oneself through a rigorous spiritual regime of the Hours and Masses, holy reading and personal prayer. Indeed, Alcuin emphasises that it is essential to pray constantly, both in community and in private, as both kinds of prayer bind a monk to God. Private prayer in particular strengthens the relationships between fellow believers. Significantly, Alcuin connects sacred reading with prayer and regards it as a form of prayer in itself.

Upon his appointment to the archbishopric of York, Alcuin's pupil Eanbald received this advice from his former teacher:

Omnia vestra honeste cum ordine fiant [1 Cor. 14:40].<sup>142</sup> Tempus statuatur lectioni; et oratio suas habeat horas; et missarum solemniam proprio tempore convenient ( *Epistolae*, 168, ll. 1-2).<sup>143</sup>

There is a proper time for everything, whether it be Mass, reading or private prayer: they are all important to the religious life. Together, these comprise a kind of

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<sup>141</sup> Bullough discusses Alcuin's letter-writing and the rhetorical influences on it in *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, 293-300.

<sup>142</sup> Bullough comments that Alcuin regularly misquotes this verse, perhaps confusing it with 1 Cor. 12.24. Dümmler emended the manuscript reading from Alcuin's 'honesta' to the Vulgate's 'honeste'. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, 190.

<sup>143</sup> 'May all your deeds be done decently and with regularity. May a time be appointed for reading, may prayer have its hours, and may the celebrations of Masses take place at an appropriate time.' Ernst Dümmler, ed., *Epistolae Karolini aevi (II)*, MGH, Epistolae 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), <<http://www.dmgh.de/>>. Accessed 02 December 2008. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, 128.

spiritual training which will lead the reader towards God. This is evident in a letter to one of Alcuin's former pupils:

Tu vero, fili carissime, in caritate te ipsum exerce, et in ecclesiasticis officiis ornare vitam tuam memento; vigiliis et orationes frequentans, et in lectionis studio die noctuque desudans quaere Christum in litteris prophetarum praedictum, et in evangelica ostensum auctoritate (132, ll. 14-18).<sup>144</sup>

Prayer, mentioned separately from the ecclesiastical Offices, is part of this training of oneself in love.

The distinction between communal and private prayer is clear in Alcuin's letters; however, he links them closely, and emphasises that they are both essential.

This line of thought is developed further in a letter to Bishop Aedilberctus of Hexham and the congregation of the church of St Andrew:

si unius iuxta apostolum 'multum valet deprecatio iusti' [Iac. 5:16], quanto magis et totius sanctissimae congregationis in Christo, quorum cotidie canonicis horis pacificae unanimatis postulationes caelum penetrare credendum est, etiam et singularis uniuscuiusque in secreto oratio ad aures omnipotentis Dei pervenire non dubitandum est. Quapropter cum omni petitionis humilitate me ipsum etiam utrumque et communi omnium et speciali singulorum, quantum mea valet apud vestram pietatem deprecatio, commendo orationi; ut per vestrae sanctitatis preces meorum catenis peccatorum absolutus, vobiscum, fratres carissimi, vitae ianuas ingredi merear (72, ll. 21-9).<sup>145</sup>

Here, Alcuin affirms the importance of private prayer by citing Scripture itself. He praises personal and communal prayer in similar terms. Community prayers at the

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<sup>144</sup> 'So, most dear son, train yourself in love, and remember to equip your life with the ecclesiastical Offices, frequenting vigils and prayers, and, exerting yourself in the study of reading by day and by night, seek Christ, foretold in the writings of the prophets, and shown in the Gospel's authority.'

<sup>145</sup> 'If, as according to the Apostle, 'the continual prayer of a just man availeth much', then how great is that of the whole of a most holy congregation in Christ, whose pleas of peaceful unanimity, every day at the canonical Hours, must be believed to pierce through to heaven; and it is not to be doubted that even the individual prayer of each person in secret reaches the ears of Almighty God. On account of which, with all the humility of a request, I commend myself to your prayer, both to the common prayer of all and to the particular prayers of individuals, as far as my plea may prevail with your piety; so that, through your prayers of holiness, freed from the chains of my sins, most beloved brothers, I may merit to go in with you through the doors of life.'

canonical Hours ‘pierce through to heaven’, and the prayer of one person likewise ‘reaches the ears of Almighty God’. In this letter, it is particularly clear that Alcuin is discussing *private* prayer: he specifies that it is undertaken ‘in secreto’. Although communal and private prayer are different from one another, both create a direct link with God.

Such prayers also, as this letter shows, create bonds between fellow monks. Alcuin’s frequent references to private prayer are understandable, given that they are in the context of letters between friends who depend on one another for intercession with God. Therefore, like many of his letters, this one ends with a request that the recipients may pray for him:

Iterum iterumque obsecro, ut mei nominis inter familiares vestros memoriam habere dignemini. Almitatem vestram pro tota Dei intercedentem ecclesia ipse deus Christus exaudiat vosque ad aeternae beatitudinis gloriam pervenire concedat, carissimi fratres (73, ll. 17-20).<sup>146</sup>

In the act of asking for the church’s prayers, Alcuin expresses his wishes for their eternal glory, indicating that he is praying for them too.

This willingness to pray for others in his letters is particularly clear in Alcuin’s letter to Charlemagne after the death of his queen, Liutgarda. The letter is addressed at times to Charlemagne himself, and at times to Christ, including its very opening. At one point, Alcuin writes in the voice of God himself:

Nolo, a Deo dicatur tibi: ‘O anima, quid gemis? quid plangis iudicia mea? Ego dedi, ego abstuli. Quid habes absque me?’ (325, 28-30).<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> ‘Again and again I pray, that you may deign to have the memory of my name among your household. May Christ God hear your kindness interceding for the whole church of God and may he allow you to come to the glory of eternal bliss, dear brothers.’

<sup>147</sup> ‘I do not want God to say to you: ‘O soul, what are you lamenting? Why are you bewailing my judgements? I have given, I have taken away. What do you have without me?’ Cf. Job 1:21, ‘Dominus dedit Dominus abstulit.’ (‘[T]he Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away.’)

Here, Alcuin considers the prayer relationship from God's perspective by adapting a quotation from the book of Job. It would presumably not be appropriate to put non-Biblical words into God's mouth. The end of the letter is itself a prayer for Liutgarda's forgiveness and salvation:

Domine deus Iesu, mitis et misericors, miserere illius, quam abstulisti a nobis. Exaudi nos per medicinam vulnerum nostrorum, quae pependit in ligno, et sedens ad dexteram tuam interpellat pro nobis ... et anima, quae semper victura erit, semper dicat: 'Laudabo Deum meum in vita mea, psallam Deo meo, quamdiu ero' [Ps. 145:2] (326, ll. 13-15, 21-2).<sup>148</sup>

In this letter, Alcuin therefore not only offers to pray for Charlemagne, but does so within the letter itself. Parts of the letter are themselves prayer, and Alcuin uses Biblical language to imagine what God and the departed Liutgarda might say in prayer.

Spiritual reading has already been mentioned above as another way in which Alcuin exhorted his correspondents to devote themselves to God. Alcuin advises one pupil,

Disce ... sciens tibi loqui Deum, dum illius sacratissimas legeris scripturas, et versa vice te loqui Deo, dum compuncto corde oraveris ad Deum. Quid dulcius est quam hac vicissitudine frui cum Deo. Cogita illum tibi semper esse praesentem, et illius sacratissima praesentia te prohibeat ab omni peccato et inhonestate verbi vel facti (429, ll. 6-10).<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> 'O Lord Jesus Christ, mild and merciful, have mercy on her whom you have taken away from us. Hear us through the medicine for our wounds, which hung on the cross, and intercedes for us, sitting at your right hand ... and may her soul, which will always live, always say: 'In my life I will praise my God, I will sing to my God as long as I will be.'

<sup>149</sup> 'Learn ... knowing that God will speak to you while you read those most sacred writings, and that you in turn speak to God when you have prayed to him with an inspired heart. What is sweeter than to enjoy this interchange with God? Think of him as being always present to you, and may his most sacred presence restrain you from every sin and shameful word or deed.'



Reading and learning are therefore no less than direct communication with God, in which his presence is especially close. Reading can be considered either as a form of prayer in its own right, or as an inspiration for prayer.

Alcuin's letters teach that spiritual progress involves making time for both the communal liturgy of the Hours and individual devotion to God through private prayer and reading. This message has important implications for the development of private prayer, because it emphasises that it is not enough merely to observe the Offices, or even to pray privately in an undisciplined way, but that all should follow a regime for private prayer and reading, which is precisely what some Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks provide. Communal and personal worship are different from one another, yet complementary. It should also be remembered that, even though prayer was said in private, it still bound a monk to his fellow Christians both inside and outside of the monastery. Finally, Alcuin's association of reading with prayer is an important reminder that prayer exists in a context. The reading of saints' legends or the Bible inspired and created prayers, and a few Anglo-Saxon religious poems could arguably be considered to be prayers in their own right. As Alcuin's letter shows, the boundary between prayer and other genres is one which should continually be questioned.

### **2.1: Early Christian private prayer and the history of the Hours**

Having introduced the private prayerbook traditions and Alcuin's teachings on prayer, I will now turn to the monastic Offices and analyse how they were adapted for private use. As was shown in the Introduction, private prayer is built into Christianity as a part of Christ's teaching, and this practice continued in the

following centuries.<sup>150</sup> Thus St Cyprian (c. 200-58) offers private prayers for his correspondents, specifying that these are prayers made ‘in secessu’, as opposed to public rites involving many people:

Et nos quidem uestri diebus ac noctibus memores, et quando in sacrificiis precem cum pluribus facimus et cum in secessu priuatis precibus oramus, coronis ac laudibus uestris plenam domini fauentiam postulamus (*Epistula* no. 37, ll. 15-18).<sup>151</sup>

Following Jewish customs, early Christian communities also prayed at appointed periods of the day, as is evident from *Acts* 3:1. in which Peter and John go to the temple ‘ad horam orationis nonam’.<sup>152</sup> Tertullian wrote that, although Christians are forbidden to pray on the street corners, they are still expected to pray in all places (*De oratione*, ch. 24, ll. 1-7).<sup>153</sup> He also found justifications in the New Testament for prayer at the third, sixth and ninth hours of the day (ch. 25, ll. 1-8). These were initially, as Jungmann stresses, times for private rather than liturgical prayer, as is evident from the *Apostolic Tradition*, in which Hippolytus instructs his readers to pray at home at Terce, Sext and None (*Apostolic Tradition*, ch. 36.1-6).<sup>154</sup> Indeed, Hippolytus’ work also ushered in a new mode of understanding for these Hours.<sup>155</sup>

The third Hour was honoured as the time when Christ was nailed to the cross, the

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<sup>150</sup> See pages 1-2 above.

<sup>151</sup> ‘And certainly, we pray, mindful of you, by day and night, both in the sacrifices with many people and we also pray in seclusion with private prayers. We ask full favour of the Lord for your crowns and praises.’ G. F. Diercks, ed., *Sancti Cypriani episcopi epistularium: Cyprianus epistulae 1-57*, CCSL 3B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994).

<sup>152</sup> ‘At the ninth hour of prayer.’ Paul F. Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church: a Study in the Origin and Early Development of the Divine Office* (London: SPCK, 1981), 1-2; Josef A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great* (London: Darton, Longmann and Todd, 1959), trans. Francis A. Brunner, 99. A comprehensive history of the Offices can be found in Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: the Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1986, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1993).

<sup>153</sup> Ernest Evans, ed., *Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani De oratione liber: Tertullian’s Tract on the Prayer* (London: SPCK, 1953).

<sup>154</sup> Jungmann, *Early Liturgy*, 98-9; Gregory Dix, ed., *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St Hippolytus of Rome, Bishop and Martyr* (London: SPCK, 1937), repr. with corrections by Henry Chadwick (London: SPCK, 1968), ch. 36.1-6.

<sup>155</sup> Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer*, 47-55.

sixth as the time when he hung upon it, and the ninth as when he was pierced upon it (*Apostolic Tradition*, ch. 36.2-6).<sup>156</sup> Hippolytus also teaches that one should pray before sleep and at midnight (ch. 36.7-8). Early Christianity therefore set a pattern not only for prayer, but for private prayer, at specific Hours of the day, recollecting Christ's crucifixion.<sup>157</sup>

In the sixth century, the plan for the daily Offices in St Benedict's *Regula* originated in the monastic tradition of Rome and from the earlier *Regula Magistri*.<sup>158</sup> Benedict writes that divine service should be performed at the Hours of Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline (*Rule*, ch. 16.1-5).<sup>159</sup> The basis of this sevenfold *ordo* for worship had been justified in *De institutis coenobiorum* (book 3, ch. 4) by John Cassian, who cites Psalm 118:164: 'septies in die laudem dixi tibi' (*De institutis*, 39, ll. 21-2).<sup>160</sup> Because of this verse, God should be worshipped seven times a day, a custom which, he notes, comes from eastern monasteries (ll. 22-8). Like Cassian, Benedict refers to Psalm 118:164, and he justifies the night Office of Nocturns by verse 62 of the same psalm, '[m]edia nocte surgebam ad confitendum tibi' (*Rule*, ch. 16.4).<sup>161</sup> These verses would continue to be cited by later writers who sought to justify or explain the Offices.

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<sup>156</sup> This chapter begins with the instruction to read spiritual books at home and immediately afterwards gives instructions for private prayer at the Hours, which indicates how closely reading and prayer were linked. Dix, *Apostolic Tradition*, ch. 36.1.

<sup>157</sup> A longer discussion of early Christian private prayer can be found in L. Edward Phillips, 'Prayer in the First Four Centuries A.D.', in *A History of Prayer: the First to the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Roy Hammerling, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 13 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 31-58.

<sup>158</sup> Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer*, 136-40.

<sup>159</sup> Timothy Fry *et al.*, eds. and trans., *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981). All translations from the *Rule* are from this edition.

<sup>160</sup> 'Seven times a day I have given praise to thee.' Michael Petschenig, ed., *De institutis coenobiorum, De incarnatione contra Nestorum, CSEL 17* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004). Adalbert de Vogüé has studied the earlier history of this verse, and its use by Eusebius. Adalbert de Vogüé, "'Septies in die laudem dixi tibi': aux origines de l'interprétations bénédictine d'un texte psalmique", *Regulae Benedicti Studia*, 3-4 (1974-5): 1-5.

<sup>161</sup> 'At midnight I arose to give you praise'.

The *Regula Benedicti* is mainly concerned with the observance of the Offices in choir and does not contain any specific teachings on how to pray in private. However, it does make brief reference to the fact that formal liturgical worship could, and should, take place outside of the community. Chapter 50 states the following:

Fratres qui omnino longe sunt in labore et non possunt occurrere hora competenti ad oratorium – et abbas hoc perpendet, quia ita est – agant ibidem opus Dei, ubi operantur, cum tremore divino flectentes genua. Similiter, qui in itinere directi sunt, non eos praetereant horae constitutae, sed ut possunt agant sibi et servitutis pensum non neglegant reddere (ch. 50.1-4).<sup>162</sup>

Although the *Regula* does not give clear instructions for how this ought to take place, it is evident that private observance of the canonical Hours was not only allowed for, but required. Therefore, even at this early stage in Benedictine monasticism, the need for a private *ordo* based on the Hours can be seen.

## **2.2: *De institutione clericorum***

The influence of the Offices upon private worship took place partly through explanations of the monastic liturgy. The first full exposition of the liturgy in western Christianity was *De ecclesiasticis officiis* by Isidore of Seville, whose work was later used in the education of clergymen during the Carolingian reforms.<sup>163</sup> As a result, the late eighth and early ninth centuries saw an increase in the number of new *expositiones missae*.<sup>164</sup> One of these was Hrabanus Maurus' *De institutione*

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<sup>162</sup> 'Brothers who work so far away that they cannot return to the oratory at the proper time – and the abbot determines that is the case – are to perform the Work of God where they are, and kneel out of reverence for God. So too, those who have been sent on a journey are not to omit the prescribed hours but to observe them as best they can, not neglecting their measure of service.'

<sup>163</sup> Christopher A. Jones, 'The Book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Speculum* 73:3, 659-702 (1998): 666-9. For the knowledge of Isidore in Anglo-Saxon England, see the 'Catalogue of Classical and Patristic Authors and Works Composed before AD 700 and Known in Anglo-Saxon England' in Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, 309-13.

<sup>164</sup> Jones, 'Book of the Liturgy', 669-70.

*clericorum*, which was completed in 819.<sup>165</sup> In this book, Hrabanus examines the ideals of the monastic life: the different grades of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the sacraments, the celebration of the different Hours, prayer, fasting and the correct use of secular knowledge.<sup>166</sup>

The second book of *De institutione clericorum* begins with the subject of the monastic Hours, which Hrabanus contrasts with the sacraments discussed in the previous book. Only to the priest is it granted to make the sacrifice of the Mass, but the Offices of the Hours are celebrated by the whole church: ‘preces et orationes generaliter sine differentia universae domino offerre decet ecclesiae’ (*De institutione*, book 2.1).<sup>167</sup> This distinction between the sacraments and the Offices is an important one for private prayer. While an unordained monk or nun could not celebrate Mass, the prayers and psalms for the Hours and other liturgies were said by the whole community. Consequently, and importantly for Chapters Two and Three, these prayers could be adapted for private use.

Hrabanus begins his discussion of the Hours by explaining why they are so essential to the monastic life. Christ taught that one should not pray in the public streets, like the Pharisees, and yet both Paul and the Psalmist teach the importance of praising God and raising the hands of prayer in every place (book 2.1).<sup>168</sup> Hrabanus resolves this contradiction by reading the verses from Paul and the Psalms figuratively: they refer ‘ad interna’ (‘to internal things’), so one should constantly pray to God, and raise pure hands up to him in one’s heart, by doing good works (*De institutione*, book 2.1). This is why it is necessary to keep the canonical Hours

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<sup>165</sup> Zimpel, *De institutione*, I, 16.

<sup>166</sup> A summary of the text can be found in Zimpel, *De institutione*, I, 26-45.

<sup>167</sup> ‘It is right for the whole church, generally and without distinction, to offer requests and prayers to the Lord.’

<sup>168</sup> This passage draws on Isidore’s *Etymologies*. Zimpel, *De institutione*, II, 248; W. M. Lindsay, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarvm sive originvm libri XX*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911, repr. London: Oxford University Press, 1957), I, 6.19.59.

established by the Fathers: so that the church may fulfil the Biblical obligation to pray at all times (book 2.1).<sup>169</sup> Similarly, this obligation is carried out by doing all things to the glory of God, by following the right way of life at all times, an argument which Hrabanus justifies by quoting 1 Cor. 10:31 (*De institutione*, book 2.1).<sup>170</sup> Like Cassian and Benedict, Hrabanus justifies the seven day Hours by quoting Psalm 118:164; and, like Cassian, he refers to Daniel's praying at the third, sixth and ninth hours (*De institutione*, book 2.1).<sup>171</sup> The Hours are set apart for prayer so that, even though we are prevented from constant praise by the busyness of life, we can still worship God throughout the day (*De institutione*, book 2.1).

Hrabanus does not, of course, argue against private prayer – in fact, these chapters on the Hours are immediately followed by three on prayers outside of the liturgy (book 2.10-12), and in the second of these Hrabanus insists upon private prayer according to the example of the Fathers, because of Christ's command to pray without ceasing (book 2.11). However, his argument in *De institutione* ch. 2.1 implies that the Offices have a higher status than individual private prayer. If the Hours exist as a way of fulfilling the command to pray constantly, then prayer outside of the Offices becomes less important.

After the introduction to book 2, the chapters immediately following explain why one should pray at each of the canonical Hours – Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, Compline and Nocturns – drawing on Biblical precedents, many of which are taken from the Psalms (book 2.2-9).<sup>172</sup> For example, it was at the morning

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<sup>169</sup> Zimpel, *De institutione*, II, 250; Ps. 33:2; 1 Th. 5:17. Zimpel notes that, though chapter 16 of the *Regula Benedicti* mandates these canonical Hours, Hrabanus is here describing a situation which, at the time, was yet to exist in reality. This demonstrates the prescriptive nature of *De institutione*.

<sup>170</sup> Zimpel, *De institutione*, II, 250. 1 Cor. 10:31: 'sive ergo manducatis sive bibitis vel aliud quid facitis omnia in gloriam Dei facite.' ('Therefore, whether you eat or drink, or whatsoever else you do, do all to the glory of God.')

<sup>171</sup> Petschenig, *De institutis coenobiorum*, 39, ll. 21-2.

<sup>172</sup> This is not the unusual sequence of Hours found in 'Beatus igitur David' and the *Prayers ad horas*. Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, 230-4.

vigil that God led the Israelites through the Red Sea and that Christ also saved his people by rising from the dead (*De institutione*, book 2.2). Significantly, Hrabanus follows the tradition set by Hippolytus by relating the Hours of Terce, Sext and None to the events leading up to the death of Christ, but not to the same events.<sup>173</sup>

According to Hrabanus, Jesus' passion began at the third Hour, he ascended the cross at the sixth, and he died at the ninth (book 2.4-6).<sup>174</sup> So, for the sixth Hour,

Hrabanus writes:

Sexta autem hora Christus in aram crucis ascendit, aeterno patri semetipsum offerens, ut nos a potestate inimici et a perpetua morte liberaret; atque ideo convenit, ut ea nos hora orantes et deprecantes in laudibus eius inveniatur, qua ipse nos per suam passionem ad vitam aeternam restauravit (*De institutione*, book 2.5).<sup>175</sup>

*De institutione clericorum* is, of course, far more concerned with liturgy than with private prayer. However, it has important consequences for the understanding and development of private prayer in the following centuries. Hrabanus' work explains a traditional way of understanding the canonical Hours, one which maps the whole course of the day onto the narrative of Christ's death and resurrection, bringing about a scheme of unceasing prayer as required by the Scriptures. These insights would in turn influence the observance of the canonical Hours in private prayer. Hrabanus' distinction between the sacraments and Offices is also important: by stating that the sacraments are celebrated by the priest, and the Hours by the

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<sup>173</sup> See pages 50-1 above.

<sup>174</sup> Zimpel compares these chapters to Cassian and Isidore, although neither is a direct source. Zimpel, *De institutione*, II, 254; Petschenig, *De institutis*, book 3.3; Christopher M. Lawson, ed., *Sancti Isidori Episcopi Hispalensis De ecclesiasticis officiis*, CCSL 113 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), book 1, ch. 19.

<sup>175</sup> 'For at the sixth hour, Christ ascended the altar of the cross, offering himself to the eternal Father, so that he might free us from the power of the enemy and from eternal death; and therefore it is right that that hour, in which he restored us through his passion to eternal life, should find us praying and interceding in accordance with his praises.'

whole church generally, he opens up the possibility of observing the Hours in private.

### 2.3: 'Beatus igitur David'

While Hrabanus' teaching was aimed at monks, Alcuin, in his role as the advisor to a royal court, adapted the Divine Office for the private prayer lives of laypeople, and his teachings on private observance of the Hours would later influence monastic practice.

The letter 'Beatus igitur David' evidently responds to a request by Charlemagne for advice on private prayer:

Sed quia uos rogastis, ut scriberemus uobis breuiarum comatico sermone, qualiter homo laicus, qui adhuc in actiua uita consistit, per dinumeratas horas has deo supplicare debeat ... sed quia rogastis, dicemus breuiter quod sentimus (*Alcuins Gebetbuch*, no. 1a, ll. 13-14).<sup>176</sup>

In this letter, Alcuin explains why it is necessary to observe the Hours. It has already been shown that Cassian and Benedict find a precedent for the Hours in Ps. 118:164. Alcuin likewise follows suit, regarding this verse as a 'psallendi regulam' (l. 2; 'rule for psalm-singing'). Again, like Cassian, Alcuin notes that Daniel prayed to God at three set times during the day, while additional psalms indicate further times at which prayer should be undertaken: this results in a total of three night Offices and seven day Offices (ll. 5-12). He does not, however, link the times of prayer to the sufferings of Christ on the cross.

Instead of the monastic Offices themselves, under Alcuin's scheme the reader is given a specific prayer programme to say in the morning:

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<sup>176</sup> 'But because you asked that we might write to you, in a short letter, of the prayers by which a layman who until now has been in the active life, may be expected to pray to God by means of these enumerated Hours ... but because you asked, let us briefly tell what we know.'



Cum enim de lectulo stratus uestri surrexeritis dicendum uobis est. Dic primum: Domine iesu christe, filii [*sic*] dei uiui, in nomine tuo leuabo manus meas [Ps. 62:5]. Deus, in adiutorium meum [Ps. 69:2]. tres uitibus (no. 2a, ll. 1-3).<sup>177</sup>

This is followed by the incipits of a number of psalms, the *Paternoster* and certain *preces*, in the middle of which the reader is to stand again (ll. 4-14).<sup>178</sup> The programme ends with as many psalms as the reader wishes (l. 15), and in many manuscripts is followed by the confession ‘Deus inestimabilis misericordiae’ which will be discussed below.

What is evident from this letter and the accompanying prayer programme is that, although a layman would not be expected to take part in the Divine Office alongside monks, he could nevertheless keep the Hours in his own way, for the same reasons derived from the Bible. The verse ‘Deus in adiutorium meum intende’ (Ps. 69:2) is the opening of the monastic Offices (*Rule*, ch. 18.1), so lay worship is consciously patterned according to a monastic precedent. A prayer programme of this kind is significant, as it enriched a layman’s spiritual life with customs taken from monastic worship. While people in the secular world would not have had the time or inclination to dedicate themselves to the observance of the monastic Offices, nevertheless they could sanctify the different periods of the day by recalling Christ’s sufferings on the cross and by asking for God’s mercy. In this way, also, Charlemagne and those who followed him could share a little in the continual worship of God which took place in the monasteries.

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<sup>177</sup> ‘So, when you have risen from your bed, you are to say this, prostrate. Say this: ‘O Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, I will lift up my hands in your name.’ ‘O God, come to my assistance ...’ three times.’

<sup>178</sup> ‘Et surgens incipiat uersum: Domine, labia mea aperies’ [Ps. 50:17], 2a, l. 11. (‘And, rising, may he begin the verse ‘O Lord, thou wilt open my lips’.’)

#### 2.4: *Psalmi de paenitentia*

The canonical Hours were centred around the recitation of the psalms, and the *Regula Benedicti*, of course, provides instructions for which psalms were to be chanted at which Hour, ensuring that the whole psalter was covered every week (*Rule*, chs. 8-18). Monks were, however, also instructed to read the psalms privately: the *Regula* specifies that '[p]ost refectioem autem vacent lectionibus suis aut psalmis' (ch. 48.13).<sup>179</sup> Even outside of the Offices, the psalms were clearly regarded as the best way of praying to God. Through them people could give voice to their needs, be this a desire to praise, to confess, or to seek aid in times of trouble.

The various guides to prayer which emerged during the ninth century show how the psalms, which the monks knew intimately from their weekly chanting of the whole psalter, created and shaped private prayer. Of particular importance were Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129 and 142, which were first identified as the penitential psalms by Cassiodorus in his *Expositio psalmsorum*.<sup>180</sup> These were used as the basis for the anonymous Carolingian private prayer guide which I have titled the *Psalmi de paenitentia*. According to the introductory rubric in the version of the text in Paris 2731A, these seven psalms are those

QUAE UNAQUAEQUE ANIMA, QUAE DEO PLACERE DESIDERAT, PRO REMISSIONE  
PECCATORUM SUORUM CANERE DEBET (*Alcuins Gebetbuch*, no. 4a, l. 1).<sup>181</sup>

Each psalm, marked in the text with its incipit, is followed by the *Paternoster*, a series of *preces* taken from the psalms, and a collect asking for forgiveness (ll. 2-51).

A prayer programme of this kind foregrounds the psalms and the *Paternoster* as the

<sup>179</sup> 'Then after their meal they will devote themselves to their reading or to the psalms.'

<sup>180</sup> Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven', 19-20; M. Adriaen, ed., *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Expositio Psalmsorum I-LXX*, CCSL 97 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), Ps. 6, ll. 39-54.

<sup>181</sup> 'Which every soul who wants to please God ought to sing for the remission of his/her sins.'

most important kind of prayer, and takes them further from their Biblical and liturgical contexts by using them as the basis for a kind of private liturgy.

### **2.5: *De laude psalorum***

The power of the psalms to express one's deepest needs to God is stated particularly explicitly in *De laude psalorum*. In the course of this prayer programme, the writer comments,

nullatenus potes tua propria lingua nec humano sensu tam perfecte miseriam tuam ac tribulationem angustiamque diversarum temptationum explicare et illius misericordiam implorare quam in his psalmis et ceteris his similibus (*De laude psalorum*, ll. 164-70).<sup>182</sup>

The best way of approaching God and giving voice to one's sufferings is through these psalms, which the monks knew from their daily observance of the Offices. Yet even though God sees and knows all, the reader still needs to express to him the difficulties which he is undergoing. *De laude psalorum*, therefore, takes what was a universal part of communal worship and uses it as the basis of individual prayer.

The structure of this text is as follows:

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<sup>182</sup> Black, 'Alcuin and the Preface', 53. 'You cannot in any way, in your own language, nor in human thought, so perfectly explain your suffering, and the trouble and constriction of various temptations, and ask his mercy as in these psalms and in others similar to them.'

Table 1.2: *De laude psalmorum*

Line nos. in edition <sup>183</sup>	Section no. and incipit	Psalms and summary
83-140	Introduction: 'Quia etiam prophetiae spiritus'	It is through the psalms that you can best praise God in your innermost heart and find the deepest form of prayer for every situation in life.
141-55	1: 'Si vis pro peccatis agere'	<b>Pss. 6, 37, 101, 142, 31, 50, 129:</b> to confess and do penance for your sins. Through these psalms you will quickly find God's mercy.
156-70	2: 'Si vis orare'	<b>Pss. 24, 70, 85, 69, 53, 66, 16:</b> if you want to pray, you cannot explain your sufferings to God in any better way than through these psalms.
171-86	3: 'Si vis omnipotentem Deum laudare'	<b>Pss. 102-3, 104-6, 110-5, 116, 117, 134-5, 145-50:</b> if you want to praise God and thank him for all his gifts from the creation to the incarnation, through these psalms you will offer him the sweet gift of milk and honey.
187-201	4: 'Si diversis tribulationibus afflictis sis'	<b>Pss. 21, 63, 68:</b> if you are afflicted by tribulation or constricted by temptation, and it seems that God has abandoned you, God will help you to withstand the temptations through these psalms.
202-10	5: 'Si tibi praesens vita fastidiosa'	<b>Pss. 41, 83, 62:</b> if you are living an exacting life and want to contemplate God and his kingdom, God will console your mind through these psalms
211-19	6: 'Si te in tribulationibus a Deo derelictum intellegas'	<b>Pss. 12, 43, 55, 54, 30:</b> if you understand yourself to have been abandoned by God in your troubles, with these psalms God will gladden you in your anguish
220-31	7: 'Post autem acceptam quietem'	<b>Pss. 33, 102, 144 + the 'Hymnus trium puerorum':</b> to praise God in times of calm and prosperity.
232-45	8: 'Si volueris intima mente exercere te in divinis laudibus'	<b>Ps. 118:</b> to occupy yourself in God's praises, this psalm should be contemplated for the rest of your life, as every verse in it is the way of God, or his word or command.
246-61	Conclusion: 'In psalterio solo usque ad obitum vitae'	Only in the psalms is there reading matter in which you will find all the different kinds of scripture, if you read them carefully in your innermost mind.

<sup>183</sup> Black, 'Alcuin and the Preface', 47-60. Black's edition of *De laude psalmorum* is presented in parallel with an edition of Radulphus of Rivo's *Tractatus de psalterio observando*, which opens with an extra eighty-two lines. Hence, the edition of *De laude psalmorum* begins at l. 83. I have based the psalm numbers upon Black's interpretation of the psalm incipits listed in the text.

The defining feature of this text is its emphasis on the individual wants and needs of the person praying. Unlike the other programmes for private prayer discussed in this thesis, it is not in the form of an *ordo* which needs to be followed everyday by everybody, but rather a list of eight situations that readers may experience and the right psalms to be said on those occasions. In fact, seven of the eight reasons that the text gives for singing the psalms are introduced with the word ‘si’ (‘if’; ll. 141, 156, 171, 187, 202, 211, 232), and of those seven, four begin ‘si uis’ (‘if you wish’) or ‘si volueris’ (‘if you have wished’). For example, point one reads:

Si vis pro peccatis tuis paenitentiam agere et confessionem peccatorum tuorum et veniam rogare delictis ... (ll. 141-4).<sup>184</sup>

This treatise is not a fixed prescription for all people, but a guide from which one can pick and choose to suit one’s own personal circumstances.

At three points during *De laude psalorum*, one is told to sing psalms ‘intima mente’. When in trouble, the reader is instructed: ‘intima mente decanta illos psalmos quorum caput est ...’ (194-6).<sup>185</sup> Elsewhere, it is written,

Si volueris intima mente exercere te in divinis laudibus ac praeceptis et mandatis caelestibus, psalmum *Beati immaculati* [Ps. 118] decanta’ (ll. 232-5),<sup>186</sup>

and the treatise ends by telling the reader of all the wisdom which is to be found in the psalms ‘si intima mente perscruteris’ (258-9).<sup>187</sup> This repetition of ‘intima mente’ suggests that these psalms may have been intended to be read silently rather

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<sup>184</sup> ‘If you wish to undergo penance and confession for your sins and ask for the forgiveness of your sins ...’

<sup>185</sup> ‘In your innermost mind, chant those psalms whose beginnings are ...’

<sup>186</sup> ‘If you have wished to occupy yourself in the divine praises and precepts and heavenly commands with your innermost mind, chant the psalm ‘Blessed are the undefiled.’

<sup>187</sup> ‘If you have read [them] thoroughly in your innermost mind.’

than aloud. Other expressions of interiority also appear from time to time in *De laude psalmodum*. The introduction explains:

Vox enim psalmodiae cum per *intentionem cordis* agitur, per hanc omnipotenti Domino *ad cor iter paratur*, ut *intentae menti* vel prophetiae mysteria vel compunctionis gratiam infundat (ll. 93-8).<sup>188</sup>

The phrase ‘*intenta mente*’ (with an intent mind) occurs another three times in the introduction to *De laude psalmodum*, all of which are within a few lines of one another (ll. 117-26). This phrase also appears in the section on the fifth reason for singing psalms, and reads:

Si tibi praesens vita fastidiosa sit, et animum tuum delectet supernam patriam contemplare et omnipotentem Deum ardenti desiderio, *intenta mente* hos psalmos decanta (ll. 202-6).<sup>189</sup>

The heart, too, is to be employed in the singing of psalms: it is ‘*compuncto corde*’ (‘with a goaded heart’) that one is to sing when in times of trouble (l. 212).

Overall, then, *De laude psalmodum* testifies to the closeness of the relationship between liturgical and private prayer. It aims to meet whatever needs and desires the reader has, but it does so through the psalms, which were the central part of the monastic life, and in which all human experience could be understood. As will be discussed further in Chapter Two, there are signs that *De laude psalmodum* had an influence on private prayer programmes used in late Anglo-Saxon England,<sup>190</sup> while the *Psalmi de paenitentia* would continue to be widely copied in later centuries, including in two of the three late Anglo-Saxon private

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<sup>188</sup> Emphases mine. ‘For the voice of psalmody, when it is made through the intention of the heart, makes a journey to the heart through that [intention] by the almighty Lord, that it may pour grace into the intent mind either by the mystery of prophecy or of compunction.’

<sup>189</sup> ‘If you are living an exacting life, and your spirit delights to contemplate the celestial homeland and Almighty God with burning desire, chant these psalms with an intent mind.’

<sup>190</sup> See pages 111-13 below.

prayerbooks.<sup>191</sup> The popularity of these two texts indicates an ongoing trend for creating private devotional programmes based on liturgical sources, which would culminate in the late Anglo-Saxon prayer *ordines* analysed in Chapter Two.

### **3: *In honorem sanctae crucis***

The Carolingian *libelli precum* place noticeably less emphasis on prayer to the cross than the late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks do. In seeking understanding of prayer to the cross in this period, it is necessary to examine another kind of text, which, though not being a prayerbook *per se*, was also intended to inspire prayer and meditation on the cross, which will be the subject of Chapter Three. It has already been discussed how Alcuin regarded sacred reading as a form of prayer in itself. Hrabanus Maurus' *In honorem sanctae crucis* was similarly intended to inspire prayer and reverence. Hrabanus' concern with the theology of the cross is evident from his versions of the legends of the Invention and Exaltation of the Holy Cross.<sup>192</sup> *In honorem sanctae crucis* opens with a prose prologue which is useful in itself, as it indicates something of why and how prayer should be offered to God:

Hortatur nos lex diuina ad deferendum Domino dona; nec excipit aliquem, sed ab omnibus spontaneam expetit oblationem, cum Moysi Dominus praecepit ita dicens: *Loquere filiis Israhel, ut tollant mihi primitias, ab omni homine qui offert ultroneus accipietis eas* [Ex. 25:2]. Vbi nullus excusationi locus datur, quando uoluntas prompta quaeritur et non necessitas imponitur, sed uniuscuiusque proprio arbitrio relinquitur, unde ipse haec legens, animum deuotum impendens, offerebam has primitias, in laudem sanctae crucis expensas, quae columna est caelestis aedificii, in qua uidelicet constructa est domus Christi: ipsi arbitri interno qui me conspicit, non superba intentione, sed humili deuotione, quicquid sua gratia possum, in eius laudem uolo

<sup>191</sup> Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, no. 74; Bernard James Muir, ed., *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book (BL MSS Cotton Galba A.xiv and Nero A.ii (ff. 3-13))*, HBS 103 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988), no. 28.

<sup>192</sup> Boninus Mombritius, ed., *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, 2 vols. (Paris: Albertum Fontemoing, 1910), 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1978), I, 376-381.

conferre, qui non secundum faciem, sed secundum cor iudicans, non aestimat quantitatem muneris, sed quantitatem deuotionis (*In honorem*, 17, ll. 1-16).<sup>193</sup>

From the start of the introduction, it is made clear that this book of *carmina figurata* is intended to draw the reader into prayer. Everyone must offer his or her own prayers to God of their free will. God values each person's contributions according to their sincerity and judges the inner heart. Praise of the holy cross is of the greatest importance: the cross is a pillar from which the church of Christ is built.

The cross also illuminates the world and acts as a means by which the faith can be understood and God approached:

Nec enim arbitror me posse aliquid sanctae cruci decoris conferre, quae claritate sua cuncta clarificat; sed claritatem eius et maiestatem perpetuam, laudibus quibuscumque possum, conseruis meis praedico, ut saepius eam legentes ac sedulo conspicientes, nostram in ea redemptionem assidue cogitemus, Redemptorique nostro incessanter gratias agamus (17, ll. 17-22).<sup>194</sup>

By frequently contemplating the cross, the reader can consider his or her salvation more deeply and praise God. As will be discussed further in Chapters Three and Four, prayer to the cross is different from, for example, confessional prayer. The latter is concerned with human sinfulness, and requires a person to enumerate and analyse their sins, whereas the cross is a symbol of God and can never be fully

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<sup>193</sup> 'The divine law urges us to offer gifts to the Lord; it does not excuse anyone, but it requires voluntary prayer from all: wherefore the Lord taught Moses, saying thus: 'Speak to the children of Israel, that they may bring firstfruits to me: of every man that offereth of his own accord, you shall take them'; whereby no place is given to excuse, when the eager will is sought, and no necessity is imposed, but it is given up from the free will of everyone. From which, reading this, employing my devoted soul, I was offering these first fruits, given in praise of the holy cross, a column which is of the heavenly building in which the house of Christ was built. By his grace, I want to give in his praise whatever I can – not with arrogant intent, but with humble devotion – to the inner judge who observes me: he who, judging not according to the appearance, but according to the heart, does not reckon the quantity of service, but the quantity of devotion.'

<sup>194</sup> 'For I do not judge myself to be able to confer something of holy glory on the cross, which enlightens with all its brightness, but I can proclaim to my companions its clarity and perpetual majesty, with whatever praises I can, so that, while reading this frequently and carefully observing it, we might ponder our redemption through it, and give thanks unceasingly to our Redeemer.'



comprehended. The *carmen figuratum* is a pictorial artform as well as a verbal one, allowing many meanings to be expressed at one time, and therefore particularly suitable for praise of the holy cross.

The *declaratio* to the first poem of *In honorem* states more clearly what the purpose of the sequence is. It depicts Christ standing with his arms outstretched, in the form of the cross (26); Hrabanus comments,

Ecce imago Saluatoris membrorum suorum positione consecrat nobis saluberrimam, dulcissimam et amantissimam sanctae crucis formam ... ut quotiescumque crucem aspiciamus, ipsius recordemur, qui pro nobis in ea passus est (29, ll. 1-3, 5-6).<sup>195</sup>

The very shape of the cross is made holy by the one who hung upon it. This explains, as Celia Chazelle argues, why there is no actual cross in this image: because it is meant

to teach viewers that the crucified humanity exemplified the cross's shape and thereby sanctified it.<sup>196</sup>

'Crucem aspiciamus' is ambiguous: it could refer to 'a cross' or to 'the cross', and 'aspiciamus' could imply either contemplating the cross or actually looking at a physical object. Therefore the possible meanings are 'however often we look at a cross' and 'however often we contemplate Christ's cross'. The first interpretation implies that the mind should envisage the Christ's cross within one's heart, and the second the use of the image of the cross in worship. It would be wrong, however, to suggest that these two interpretations are exclusive: as the introduction to *In*

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<sup>195</sup> 'Here the image of the Saviour consecrates the form of the most health-giving, sweet and loving holy cross for us in the position of his members ... so that, however often we look at a cross, we may remember him who suffered on it for us.'

<sup>196</sup> Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 115-6.

*honorem* implies, the contemplation of the symbol of the cross leads to the contemplation of the redemption achieved through the crucifixion.

Hrabanus' explanation of the form of Christ in this *declaratio* emphasises the importance of Christ's corporeality. The *versus intertexti* in this *carmen* run around the edges of his form and outline it (*In honorem*, 26). Of these verses, Hrabanus writes,

Sunt ergo uersus quinque, qui in linea humani corporis speciem forinsecus circumdante conscripti sunt, quorum primus incipit a medio digito dextrae manus, et sic in indicem transit, postea in pollicem se erigens et per brachium dextrum ascendens, in uertice capitis finitur. Qui talis est: DEXTRA DEI SVMMI CVNCTA CREAVIT IESVS (32, ll. 107-112).<sup>197</sup>

What is noticeable about this is that Hrabanus draws attention to the fact that these verses are in the form of 'a human body', without mentioning at this point that it is Christ's body: corporeally, he was the same as any other man. Although Christ's divinity makes him unique, he is unique amongst men, and so it is by his similarity to other men that he is able to effect their salvation. As will be discussed further in Chapter Two, similar devotions to Christ's body appear in prayers to the cross in the eleventh-century *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*.<sup>198</sup>

Consciousness of the speaker's own body is particularly characteristic of private prayer, for example, in blessing oneself with the cross, or in confessions such as Alcuin's 'Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae', which will be discussed below. *In honorem sanctae crucis* is especially relevant to understanding early medieval private prayer because it demonstrates the context out of which prayer grew, the

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<sup>197</sup> 'So there are five verses which are written in a line surrounding the form around the outside edge of a human body, of which the first begins from the middle digit of the right hand, and moves to the index finger, afterward to the thumb, raising itself up and ascending through the right arm, and is ended at the top of the head; which is the following: 'Jesus created all things at the right hand of God Most High'.'

<sup>198</sup> See pages 110, 169-70 below.

contemplation of sacred images and the continual contemplation of one's salvation through holy reading. Most importantly, it develops the complex relationship between the cross of Christ and the idea that any image of the cross stands for God's immaterial presence in the physical world. This idea will be explored further in Chapter Three.

#### **4.1: Confession and the *Book of Cerne***

The subject of Chapter Four is private confessional prayer in late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, which is a fundamentally different topic from those of Chapters Two and Three. The liturgies of the Hours and of the feasts of the cross could be adapted and simplified for private use, as they were not sacramental and did not require a priest. Confession was different. Alcuin, as will be discussed below, insisted that one could not escape the wrath of God on Judgement Day without having confessed all of one's sins to a priest. One's own prayers would not be sufficient, and similar warnings are found in tenth- and eleventh-century English texts. On the other hand, confession was not clearly regarded as a sacrament in the same way as baptism and the Mass were. This is evident in the first book of *De institutione clericorum*, which concludes with a discussion of the holy sacraments. Quoting Isidore's *Etymologiarum sive originum*, Hrabanus writes, '[s]unt autem sacramenta: baptismum et chrisma, corpus et sanguis' (*De institutione*, book 1.24).<sup>199</sup> After a brief explanation of the sacraments, the remainder of book 1 is concerned with a Christian's progress through these sacraments: baptism, the catechumenate, holy anointing by the bishop, and finally the body and blood of Christ (book 1.24-34).

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<sup>199</sup> 'These are the sacraments: baptism and chrism, the body and the blood.' Lindsay, ed., *Etymologiarum sive originum*, I, 6.19.39-43.

Confession is not one of them, and is not discussed until the second book, after Hrabanus' explanation of the Hours (2.13-14).

This thesis is primarily a study of how prayers were used by eleventh-century monks and nuns using the prayerbooks of their own era. References in later chapters to prayers which are found in the eleventh-century *Galba Prayerbook*, for example, are not intended to imply that the prayers were original to that prayerbook. My concern is with the prayers as they were used and found in eleventh-century manuscripts. Nevertheless, it is also helpful to examine these prayers in their earlier contexts. For example, Bernard Muir highlights six prayers which appear in both the *Book of Cerne* and in the *Galba Prayerbook*.<sup>200</sup> These are mostly prayers of confession. On folios 48r-50r of *Cerne* appears the prayer 'Ego humiliter te adoro', with the rubric 'Alma confessio' (*Cerne*, no.10; 'nourishing confession').<sup>201</sup> This begins in a style which is typical of the later prayerbooks, praising God through synonyms and repetition. For example:

Tú és rex regum et dominus dominantium . Tú és arbiter omnis saeculi. Tú és redemptor animarum ... (no. 10, 95, ll. 2-3).<sup>202</sup>

After a long passage in this style, the speaker asks for mercy:

Ego té peto remisionem [*sic*] omnium peccatorum deus meus iesu christe . Tú qui nemminem uis perire sed omnes saluos fieri et ad agnitionem ueritatis uenire [1 Tim. 2:4] (96, ll. 11-14).<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> Muir, *Prayer-Book*, xxvii-xxviii.

<sup>201</sup> This prayer will be discussed again in Chapter Four in relation to the *Portiforium*: see pages 261, 269 and 271 below.

<sup>202</sup> 'You are the king of kings and lord of lords. You are the judge of all the world. You are the redeemer of souls ...'

<sup>203</sup> 'I ask of you forgiveness of all sins, O Jesus Christ my God, you who want no-one to perish, but all to become saved and to come to knowledge of the truth.'

The speaker then lists how he has sinned, initially with a long list of sins, but following that according to a list of several parts of the body. For example:

peccauī per superbiam et per malitiam peccauī per fornicationem et per gulam ... peccauī in manibus et in pedibus . peccauī in lingua et guttore ... (97, ll. 7-8, 17-18).<sup>204</sup>

This prayer asks God's mercy repeatedly, and asks that God may not turn his face against the speaker's prayer (99, ll. 1-2). 'Ego humiliter te adoro' is a private confession which nevertheless resembles the *lorica* tradition of the early Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks by listing different parts of the body, not that they may be blessed, but that they may be forgiven.<sup>205</sup> However, in this prayer the list of sins remains merely a list, which is not merged with the *lorica*. This tradition of the confessional *lorica* was developed by Alcuin in his prayer 'Deus inestimabilis misericordiae'. This prayer should be seen in the light of Carolingian thought on private confession, and, most importantly, of Alcuin's own.

#### 4.2: Confession in the Carolingian church

The status of confession between the ninth and eleventh centuries can be best understood in the context of the changes which confession had undergone in the previous centuries. Alexander Murray has explained how, in the early church, the repentance which Christ preached was enacted by becoming a Christian in the first place, but, as Christianity spread and lapses became recognised as inevitable, the ceremony of canonical penance, performed by a bishop and only once in an

<sup>204</sup> 'I have sinned through pride and through malice. I have sinned through fornication and through appetite ... I have sinned in the hands and in the feet. I have sinned in the tongue and in the gullet ...'

<sup>205</sup> For an example of a *lorica* known to the compilers of the early Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks, see the 'Lurica lodgen'. Kuypers, *Cerne*, no. 4; Birch, *Nunnaminster*, 90-5.

individual Christian's lifetime, was instituted.<sup>206</sup> For understandable reasons, this was usually performed when the believer was dying, although Pope Leo I, in 459, allowed exceptions to be made for soldiers, whose lives would of course be most at risk.<sup>207</sup> 'Tariffed' penance, which was repeatable and which prescribed different penances for sins of different gravity, appears to have originated amongst the Irish and was spread to Continental Europe by Irish and Anglo-Saxon missionaries.<sup>208</sup> The earliest surviving mention of such penance was made by the Council of Toledo in 589, to whom it was a shocking novelty.<sup>209</sup>

The combination of the old and new forms of penance led to what is now known as the 'Carolingian dichotomy': that public, unrepeatable penance could be done for public sins, and that the penitential tariff would be used for sins committed in private.<sup>210</sup> However, Mayke de Jong warns against misunderstanding the difference between 'public' and 'private' sins and penance. While there was a distinction between *paenitentia publica* and *paenitentia occulta*, the latter involved public restitution in the form of alms and fasts, and so does not refer to secret penance.<sup>211</sup> 'Occult' penance was simply that done for 'occult' sins: those which had not caused any public scandal or loss of reputation and did not require absolution from the bishop after public confession.<sup>212</sup> The secrecy to which *paenitentia occulta*

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<sup>206</sup> Alexander Murray, 'Confession before 1215', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6:3, 51-81 (1993): 54-5.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>211</sup> Mayke de Jong, 'What was *Public* about Public Penance? *Paenitentia publica* and Justice in the Carolingian World', *La Giustizia nell'alto Medioevo (secoli ix-xi)*, 2 vols., Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 44, 11-17 aprile 1996 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1997), II, 893.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 893-4.

refers is therefore that of the sin, not of the penance, as *paenitentia publica* did: ninth-century concepts of ‘privacy’ are not those of the present day.<sup>213</sup>

However, what is important to note is that public penitential rites and confessions to a priest involved confessing different kinds and different numbers of sins. Murray notes that, although canonical penance involved voluntarily confessing one’s sins to the bishop, tariffed penance reinforced the idea that the seriousness of the penance should be commensurate with the seriousness of the sin.<sup>214</sup>

Furthermore, tariffed penance required the penitent to think over each sin he or she had committed and to consider its circumstances.<sup>215</sup> One could do no better than to summarise this issue using Rob Meens’ argument that, rather than trying to create a system for confession for lay people, the bishops of the Carolingian era wished to establish one form out of the many which existed at the time, caring more for how it was performed than how often.<sup>216</sup> A similar pattern can be seen in the Anglo-Saxon church after the Benedictine Reform, in which two distinct kinds of confession had emerged: public ceremonies presided over by a bishop, and tariffed confession to a priest.<sup>217</sup> It is in this context that private confessional prayers, to be said before God alone, were composed.

### **4.3: Alcuin’s letters on confession**

Two of Alcuin’s letters have a great deal to say on the subject of confession, and his concerns reflect those of tenth- and eleventh-century England. His teachings on confession and penance are outlined in his letter *Ad pueros Sancti Martini*, which is

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<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 894-5.

<sup>214</sup> Murray, ‘Confession before 1215’, 57.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>216</sup> Rob Meens, ‘The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance’, in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, eds., Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis, York Studies in Medieval Theology 2, 35-61 (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 1998), 36-7.

<sup>217</sup> These will be discussed in full in Chapter Four, pages 230-41, 243-51 below.

aimed at both the boys of the monastery of St Martin's in Tours and at their elders, who were expected to guide them into a life pleasing to God. This letter is particularly useful for understanding Alcuin's concerns because, as Abigail Firey has noted, it considers the sinful intent in the soul, which secular law had hitherto disregarded.<sup>218</sup> In the Carolingian period, feelings of shame, which could provoke a sinner to conceal a sin or to repent of it, became part of his or her correction.<sup>219</sup> In this letter, Alcuin emphasises that, sins will be forgiven, but only 'si confiteri non erubescas et per paenitentiam purgare curaberis' (*Ad pueros*, 50, ll.7-9).<sup>220</sup> Although a sin may be hidden from others, God can still see it, and it is necessary to bring hidden sin into the open by confessing it, even though it causes shame.

The use of medical metaphors in 'purgare' and 'curaberis' is typical of Alcuin. In this letter, both God and the confessor are referred to as being like a good doctor (52, l. 12; 54, l. 4), and penitence is the medicine with which God treats the wounds of sin:

Si nullus est sine peccato, quis est, qui paenitentia non indigeat? Quae sine confessione vix fructuosa fieri valet ... Scit enim conditor noster fragilitatem naturae nostrae, ideo medicamenta paenitentiae vulneribus nostris perdonavit (58, ll. 21-3, 26-7).<sup>221</sup>

Penitence on its own is not enough: it will not heal the sinner unless it comes after confession, and confession must be made to a priest:

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<sup>218</sup> Abigail Firey, 'Blushing Before the Judge and Physician: Moral Arbitration in the Carolingian Empire', in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 14, 173-200 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 179.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 179-80.

<sup>220</sup> '[I]f you do not blush to confess them and if you [take care to purge them through penance]'. Michael S. Driscoll, ed. and trans., '*Ad pueros Sancti Martini*: a Critical Edition, English Translation, and Study of the Manuscript Transmission', *Traditio* 53, 37-61 (1998): 51. All translations from this text are from this edition.

<sup>221</sup> 'If no one is without sin, who is there who would not need penance? Without confession, penance can hardly be fruitful ... For our Creator knows the fragility of our nature, and gave our wounds the remedy of penitence.'



Datur nobis a benignissimo iudice locus accusandi nostmetipsos in peccatis nostris coram sacerdote Dei, ne iterum accuset nos in eis diabolus coram iudice Christo. Vult ut ignoscantur in hoc saeculo, ne puniantur in futuro (52, ll. 20-2).<sup>222</sup>

It is only by revealing one's sins to a priest in this life that one can escape the wrath of God on the Day of Judgement.

The idea is found, both in Caesarius of Arles and in the Irish penitential tradition, that minor sins could be confessed in private before God alone.<sup>223</sup>

However, Alcuin insists on the necessity of confessing to a priest rather than simply in private to God, as his letter to the monks in the land of the Goths reveals:

Dicitur vero neminem ex laicis suam velle confessionem sacerdotibus dare; quos a deo Christo cum sanctis apostolis ligandi solvendique accepisse potestatem credimus. Quid solvit sacerdotalis potestas, si vincula non considerat ligati? ... Multum offendisti Deum tuum, et alium non vis habere reconciliatorem nisi te ipsum? Confidis per orationes tuas salvari? (*Epistolae*, 216, ll. 27-9; 217, ll. 1, 23-5).<sup>224</sup>

For Alcuin, there is never any question about the fact that the mediation of a priest is ultimately necessary for complete forgiveness of sin: otherwise, there would be no need for the sacerdotal office at all. Although Alcuin's letters affirm the value of private prayer, it has its limits. Private prayer alone will not save a sinner.

Alcuin's insistence upon confession, and specifically confession to a priest, is echoed in the concerns of the tenth- and eleventh-century English church. As will be discussed further in Chapter Four, the metaphor of sin as a wound or sickness which

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<sup>222</sup> 'The most kindly judge gives us an occasion to accuse ourselves of our sins before a priest of God, in order that the devil may not accuse us of them before Christ the judge. He wishes them to be pardoned in this world so that they will not be punished in the world to come'.

<sup>223</sup> Allen J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 114-15.

<sup>224</sup> 'In fact, it is said that not one of the people wants to make his confession to priests, whom we believe to have accepted the power of binding and loosing from God and Christ, with his holy apostles. What does the priest's power release, if he does not examine the chains of the bound man? ... You have offended your God greatly, yet you do not want to have any other reconciler, unless it is you yourself? Do you expect to be saved through your [own] prayers?'

must be healed with the medicine of confession was used to urge people to make their confessions in late Anglo-Saxon England too.<sup>225</sup> There also, an emphasis was placed on the need to humiliate oneself before one man in this life, rather than before God and the whole world on the Day of Judgement. Finally, Alcuin's insistence that a priest is necessary for confession, and that private confession alone is insufficient, raises important questions about the status of private confessional prayers in the late Anglo-Saxon church.

#### **4.4: 'Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae'**

Alcuin's uncompromising stance on confession to a priest might lead one to make the assumption that he disapproved of private confessional prayers. Nevertheless, he did compose the prayer 'Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae' for Charlemagne, which would become extremely popular in the following centuries.<sup>226</sup> The private nature of this confession heavily influences how the speaker can confess his sins. 'Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae' is divided into four sections. The speaker begins with the speaker asking God's clemency upon all his sins ('Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae', 3a, ll. 2-3),<sup>227</sup> after which he confesses to having sinned in all possible ways: in thoughts, words and actions (ll. 4-7). Following this is a list of all the specific sins committed by each and every part of the speaker's body; this forms the main part of the prayer (ll. 8-26). It ends with the speaker admitting his sinfulness and making a plea to God to look with mercy upon him (ll. 27-33).

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<sup>225</sup> See pages 238-9 below.

<sup>226</sup> Bullough has noted the paradox of Alcuin's willingness to write a private confession while insisting in the above-quoted letters that confession to a priest was necessary. Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven', 15.

<sup>227</sup> Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*.

Examining the text in closer detail, it can be seen how the speaker of this prayer wishes to open up his whole heart to God and to confess all of his secret sins, in order to be completely clean before him:

tu, domine, occultorum cognitor, qui dixisti, paenitentiam te malle  
peccatorum quam mortem, Tibi omnia cordis mei reuelabo archana (l. 29).<sup>228</sup>

This would be particularly important in a private confession, in the heart is opened before God alone.

The speaker's sins can be divided into the traditional categories of thought, word and deed.<sup>229</sup> He has sinned:

in cogitationibus pessimis, in meditationibus prauis, in consensu malo, in  
consilio iniquo, in concupiscentia atque delectatione immunda, in uerbis  
otiosis, in factis malitiosis, in uisu, in auditu, in gustu, in odoratu, in tactu  
(l. 4).<sup>230</sup>

It is these five senses which act as the gateways between the speaker and the outside world, offering temptations to sin or the means of its expression. A similar idea is found in the following list of sins committed by each and every part of the body. Some of these are rather inventive: for example, 'humera mea [*sic*] ad portandum nequitiae onera subdidi' (l. 16).<sup>231</sup> Allen Frantzen argues that listing so many limbs and organs and all the kinds of sins committed by them was especially necessary when confessing to God in private.<sup>232</sup> Confessions to a priest, he writes, had no need of a 'long recitation of imagined offenses', but private prayers like 'Ego humiliter te

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<sup>228</sup> 'You, O Lord, are the recogniser of hidden things, you who said that you prefer penitence of sinners rather than their death; to you I will reveal all the secrets of my heart.'

<sup>229</sup> For the history of this division, see pages 263-4 in Chapter Four below.

<sup>230</sup> 'In the worst thoughts, in perverse meditations, in evil consent, in wicked counsel, in impure lust and delight, in superfluous words, in malicious deeds, in sight, in hearing, in taste, in smell and in touch.'

<sup>231</sup> 'I have put my shoulders to carrying the burdens of wickedness.'

<sup>232</sup> Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 87-9.

adoro' and 'Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae', which confess more sins than anyone was likely to have committed,

served an obvious purpose. They were a way to ensure that the penitent had confessed completely; and they were sure to impress on the sinner his weakness and his need to guard against it.<sup>233</sup>

So while not every user of this prayer may have committed every sin in this list, these prayers were intended to cover all possible sins, leaving nothing unconfessed, and to ask for total spiritual cleanness. Thus, the speaker concludes his catalogue of body parts by saying, 'ut astra caeli atque arena maris ita mea innumerabilia cognosco delicta' ('Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae', l. 27).<sup>234</sup> This emphasis on totality and comprehensiveness a particularly important concept for dealing with private confessional prayer, which will be explored further in Chapter Four.

As distinct from confession to a priest, in which the penitent was asked which sins he or she had committed, private confessional prayer expresses contrition for one's overall sinfulness, as well as faith in God's power to have mercy on all sin: he is 'Deus inestimabilis misericordiae, Deus immensae pietatis' (l. 2).<sup>235</sup> Yet, though the speaker immoderately accuses himself of complete sinfulness, the prayer does not demand complete holiness from him, but realistically achievable goodness. The list of sins begins with the confession, 'in membris singulis nature modum excessi' (l. 7).<sup>236</sup> The speaker confesses to having run into 'malum sequendo libidinem supra modum' (l. 8).<sup>237</sup> Finally, the speaker concludes, 'in omnibus membris meis me

<sup>233</sup> Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 88.

<sup>234</sup> 'I know my crimes to be as innumerable as the stars of heaven and the sand of the sea.' Cf. Gen. 22:17.

<sup>235</sup> 'God of inestimable mercy, God of immeasurable pity.'

<sup>236</sup> 'I have exceeded the measure of nature in all my members.'

<sup>237</sup> 'Evil in the way of lust beyond measure.'

reum intellego super mensuram' (l. 27).<sup>238</sup> The prayer therefore consistently emphasises the importance of moderation in human behaviour, and the dangers of falling into extremes of sin. While it would, of course, be wrong to take this to mean that the speaker is expected to be moderately sinful, this private confession refrains from demanding full perfection just as it does not claim to offer the absolution which only a priest could give.

The list of sins and body parts in 'Deus inestimabilis misericordiae' also indicates the posture which may have been used for prayer in Alcuin's time. It includes the phrase, '[g]enua mea ad fornicationem potius quam ad orationem flexi' (l. 10).<sup>239</sup> However, something different is suggested by 'Mane cum surrexero'. This prayer is common to the Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian prayerbook traditions.<sup>240</sup> In a passage asking God to protect each part of the speaker's body, it includes the words,

Custodi pedes meos ne circumeant domos otiosas, sed stent in oratione dei.  
Custodi manus meas ne porrigantur saepe ad capiendum munera, sed potius  
eleventur in precibus domini munde et pure (*Libellus Trecensis*, no. 1.2).<sup>241</sup>

Since these two prayers originated at around the same time, it would appear that prayer was undertaken either standing or kneeling.

As 'Deus inestimabilis misericordiae' was so widely copied in later centuries, its concerns are very much those of late Anglo-Saxon private confessions. The whole heart must be opened up to God, and what is secret must be made known

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<sup>238</sup> 'In all my members I know myself to be guilty beyond measure.'

<sup>239</sup> 'I have bent my knees in fornication more than in prayer.'

<sup>240</sup> *Libellus Trecensis*, no. 1.2; *Libellus Parisinus*, no. 2.3; Kuypers, *Cerne*, no. 6; *Royal*, 209-10. In *Trecensis* and *Cerne*, 'Mane cum surrexero' is attributed to Jerome, and in *Parisinus*, *Cerne* and *Royal* it is marked as a morning prayer.

<sup>241</sup> 'Guard my feet lest they wander around idle homes, but let them stand in prayer of God. Guard my hands, lest they are frequently stretched out to take gifts, but let them rather be raised cleanly and purely in the prayers of the Lord.'

to him. Whereas *In honorem sanctae crucis*, and other texts in praise of the cross, cannot express the depth of the cross's glory, confessional prayers must list, enumerate and analyse the sins which the speaker may have committed. All sins must be confessed in order to ensure total forgiveness, and in order to ensure this, the penitent emphasises that his sins are nevertheless innumerable. These features of private confessional prayer distinguish it from the confessional manuals used by priests, and so appear to be what made private confession acceptable both to Alcuin and to those who came after him.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have considered a wide range of evidence for private prayer in the ninth century, focusing on the three main themes of the Hours, the cross and private confession. Alcuin's letters show that prayer cannot be considered as a distinct category of writing: it is sometimes indistinguishable from sacred reading or even from letter-writing. It is also clear that Alcuin placed equal emphasis on liturgical and private prayer.

Prayers for the Hours, and explanations of the monastic Offices, bear witness to the symbiotic relationship between liturgy and private worship. The Hours were originally instituted as times for private prayer amongst laypeople, but became the most important part of communal worship in the monasteries. By the start of the ninth century, however, the monastic Hours had been adapted for private use, as can be seen in Alcuin's letter 'Beatus igitur David'. Prayers for the Hours from the sacramentary tradition were also used to form private prayer sequences. The most important part of the Divine Office was the psalter, with which monks would have been thoroughly familiar. As the psalms were regarded as the best form of prayer,

their words were reused for every situation in which a believer might find him- or herself. Although the psalms were known from communal worship, the readers of prayer guides were encouraged to express their inner lives through them.

Prayer and sacred reading are linked again in Hrabanus' *In honorem sanctae crucis*. In the prose parts of this work, Hrabanus emphasises the importance of sincere and voluntary prayer, into which the *carmina figurata* are intended to draw the reader. The cross is a mystery which cannot be fully expressed, and so it is best understood through the complex symbolism of the poetry, images and texts in Hrabanus' work. This emphasis on the inexpressibility of the cross sign will be a major theme of Chapter Three, as it is a defining feature of prayers to the cross in late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

The nature of confession in the early Middle Ages is difficult to define. It is only by considering the Carolingian division between 'private' and 'public' penance that confessional prayers such as 'Ego humiliter te adoro' and Alcuin's 'Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae' can be understood. Although confession was not necessarily considered to be a sacrament, the role of the priest was essential if the penitent were to be certain of forgiveness: Alcuin in particular warns against a reluctance to undergo a full confession. However, private confessional prayers were still written and used in the Carolingian church. Related to the *lorica* tradition of protecting each part of the body through prayer, private confessions emphasise the speaker's general sinfulness, and the speaker is expected to confess to a wide range of sins in order that none may be left unconfessed. This tension between private and sacerdotal confession would remain in the late Anglo-Saxon church.

Table 1.3: The private prayers referred to in this chapter in my main manuscripts.

Name	Page nos. above	Carolingian libelli precum				Early Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks			Late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks/compendia				Anglo-Saxon psalters		
		Trecensis	Parisinus	Turonensis	Paris 2731A	Cerne	Harley 863	Royal 2 A. xx	Portiforium	Galba	Aelfwine	Tib A. iii	Arundel 155	Bury	Vesp A. i
Exaudi et miserere mihi	31-2					no. 58			8		no. 51.7		no. 28		
Qui coequalis, coaeternus et consubstantialis <sup>242</sup>	35	no. 1.9		no. 16.3	no. 29a		cols. 449-50		2		no. 52.3			no. 8	
Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae <sup>243</sup>	37-8, 74-8	no. 1.18		no. 2.4	no. 3a					no. 26		no. 1 <sup>244</sup>	no. 17	no. 17	no. 5 <sup>245</sup>
Prayers ad horas <sup>246</sup>	40-1	no. 2.1-8	no. 1.2-8	no. 7.2-7	nos. 19a-26a					no. 65					
Ego humiliter te adoro	68-9					no. 10			5-7	no. 31				no. 9	
Mane cum surrexero	77	no. 1.2	no. 2.3			no. 6		209-10	7-8	no. 67					

<sup>242</sup> See also table 2.1.

<sup>243</sup> This text is far more widespread than this table can show: see Black, 'Alcuin's *Confessio*', 26-8. The Tiberius A. iii translation departs radically from its source after the opening.

<sup>244</sup> Pulsiano and McGowan, 'Four Unedited Prayers'.

<sup>245</sup> Sherman M. Kuhn, ed., *The Vespasian Psalter* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1965).

<sup>246</sup> See also table 2.6.



## CHAPTER 2

**LATE ANGLO-SAXON PRIVATE PRAYERBOOKS  
AND THE MONASTIC HOURS**

In the previous chapter, I examined attitudes towards private prayer in the eighth and ninth centuries, and the ways in which the Hours were observed, the cross was adored and confession made in private devotion at that time. In Chapters Two to Four, I consider how these texts and traditions were received by monks and nuns in the late Anglo-Saxon period, beginning in this chapter with the private observance of the Hours and other uses of personal prayerbooks, and followed in Chapters Three and Four by private cross devotion and confession. This involves the examination of a number of manuscripts with their origins in the Winchester monasteries, of which certain sections, at least, seem to have been used for private prayer.

This chapter aims to give an overview of late Anglo-Saxon private prayer: the features which distinguish it from liturgical prayer, the most important manuscripts in this field, the kinds of prayer which were transmitted, and their manuscript contexts. To begin with, I examine the features of prayer sequences which suggest that they may have been used in private prayer: the use of the singular grammatical number, the willingness to alter a manuscript to make gender changes, and the relatively frequent use of the vernacular language. After this, I give a full introduction to three eleventh-century manuscripts, all of which appear to have been personal compendia for monastic use rather than formal liturgical books, and

therefore contain sequences of private prayers. These are: *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, the *Portiforium of St Wulstan*, and the *Galba Prayerbook*.

Having narrowed down the field of research, I demonstrate that there was a difference between the various kinds of private prayer which can be found in these manuscripts: some prayers are specific to private prayerbook traditions, while others were derived from liturgical rites. Furthermore, different kinds of prayers were found in different contexts within the prayerbooks. They could, for example, be copied into blank spaces at the ends of folios, while other texts appear as simple sequences of prayers, or form *ordines* for private prayer which reached varying levels of complexity. Bernard Muir has drawn attention to these prayer programmes, noting that they are based on the liturgy for particular feasts but intended for personal use: by building on his observations, I argue that it was from these programmes that the Special Offices emerged, such as those of the Virgin or the Trinity, which had arisen by the early eleventh century.<sup>247</sup>

The influence of the Divine Office itself can also be seen in private prayers. For example, prayers attached to psalters indicate that the psalms could be chanted for the good of one's soul or for those of one's friends and family; moreover, the text known as the *Old English Benedictine Office* explains why it was considered important to observe the Divine Office at this time. In the light of these works, I present a brief source study of a series of vernacular prayers for the Hours in the *Galba Prayerbook*, which are translations of the Latin *Prayers ad horas* found in the Carolingian *libelli precum*, although the origin of these texts derives from the sacramentary tradition. Again, extending a theory propounded by Muir, I argue that

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<sup>247</sup> Bernard James Muir, ed., *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book (BL MSS Cotton Galba A.xiv and Nero A.ii (ff. 3-13))*, HBS 103 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988), 147, n. 1.

the translation and alteration of these prayers show the development of the private observance of the Hours in the eleventh century and beyond.<sup>248</sup>

Beginning with an overview of late Anglo-Saxon monastic private prayer and ending with one specific case study, this chapter acts as a basis for the studies of prayer to the cross and confessional prayer in the following two.

### **Evidence for private prayer**

It is evident that the monastic life involved prayer beyond that which was required for the Divine Office and the Mass. This is implied in the *Regula Benedicti*, where the list of good works in Chapter Four includes the command,

orationi frequenter incumbere, mala sua praeterita cum lacrimis vel gemitu cotidie in oratione Deo confiteri (*Rule*, ch. 4.56-7).<sup>249</sup>

Prayer should normally be brief, although in private one might pray at length when inspired to do so (ch. 20.4). Monks were also permitted to pray alone in the oratory at any time (ch. 52.2-4). Furthermore, during Lent, they were expected to undertake extra prayer and spiritual reading (ch. 49.4).

St Benedict's precepts for the practice of daily monastic life and worship were revised for the tenth-century English church in the *Regularis concordia*, a customary intended for use in English monasteries and convents.<sup>250</sup> It arose from the 973 Synod of Winchester, and was intended to be part of the reformation of the

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<sup>248</sup> Bernard J. Muir, 'The Early Insular Prayer Book Tradition and the Development of the Book of Hours' in *The Art of the Book: its Place in Medieval Worship*, eds. Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir, 9-19 (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998), 19.

<sup>249</sup> '[D]evote yourself often to prayer. Every day with tears and sighs confess your past sins to God in prayer'. Timothy Fry *et al.*, eds. and trans., *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981).

<sup>250</sup> Lucia Kornexl, ed., *Die Regularis concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 17 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1993).

English church in this period.<sup>251</sup> This document is therefore of great importance in demonstrating which aspects of the monastic life were considered essential enough to be restated or reformed. Noticeably, the *Regularis concordia* contains more references to private prayer than the *Regula Benedicti*. Again, private prayer in the oratory is referred to, but now includes voluntary prayer after Mass and Compline (*RC*, ll. 87-91, 477, 600-4). Furthermore, when a monk rises for Nocturns, he is expected to say verses and psalms on the way to the oratory, and, once he arrives, to say the penitential psalms, interspersed with three collects (ll. 257-96). Indeed, the *Regularis concordia* also incorporates time for private prayer, psalms and spiritual reading during the day (ll. 366-73, 530). The *Regula Benedicti* and *Regularis concordia* therefore both insist upon private prayer, but the latter takes a far more prescriptive attitude to it. The compilers of the later customary were apparently more certain of which prayers were effective to use, which suggests that the reformers placed a greater emphasis upon private prayer than did Benedict.

Although it is clear that private prayer was required in the eleventh century, it is nonetheless difficult to define. It cannot always be easily distinguished from liturgical prayers, partly because the liturgy is very often a source for private texts, but also because manuscripts do not usually differentiate between them, or regard the two as separate categories. It is rare, for example, to find a rubric stating specifically that a particular act of worship should be conducted alone.<sup>252</sup> Nevertheless, there are a number of criteria by which private prayer sequences can be identified.

The grammatical number and gender used in a particular manuscript copy of a prayer can suggest its suitability for private use. The prayers to the individual members of the Trinity, common in the *libelli precum* tradition, have already been

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<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, xvi. For more details on the origins of the text, see xvi-xxx.

<sup>252</sup> Two examples of such rubrics will be discussed on pages 111-14 below.

discussed in Chapter One.<sup>253</sup> Wherever these prayers occur, it cannot be doubted that they were intended for private use, as indicated by first person singular verbs and pronouns:

DOMINE IESV CHRISTE, FILI DEI VIVI ... te laudo, te adoro, teque glorifico. Ne me obsecro perire patiaris, sed per ineffabilem bonitatem tuam salua et adiuua me gratuito munere tuo (*ÆP*, no. 52.2).<sup>254</sup>

Prayers in the first person would be inappropriate in a liturgical context, in which the community prays together. The presence of a large number of prayers containing singular grammatical forms thus indicates that the part of the manuscript in which they appear was probably used for private devotion.

A prayer does not, however, need to be derived from the prayerbook tradition in order to be classified as private, as the meaning of a such a text is determined more by its use than by its origin. Many manuscripts include prayers of liturgical derivation, such as long sequences of different collects that have been taken out of their ritual contexts. Often, these have been grammatically altered so that their plural pronouns and verbs have been replaced by singular forms. For example, the fourteenth-century *Missale ad usum Westmonasteriensis* preserves the following prayer, ‘Qui uiuorum dominaris’, as a collect for the Mass ‘Pro uiuis atque defunctis’:

Omnipotens sempiternus deus ... te supplices exoramus ut pro quibus effundere preces decreuimus quosque uel presens seculum adhuc in carne retinet uel futurum iam exutos corpore suscepit pietatis tue clemencia.

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<sup>253</sup> See page 35 above.

<sup>254</sup> ‘O Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God ... I praise you, I adore you, and I glorify you. I beseech that you not allow me to perish, but save me through your ineffable goodness and aid me with your voluntary gift.’ ‘Splendor et imago patris’, Beate Günzel ed., *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook* (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii), HBS 108 (London: Boydell Press, 1993). *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook* will be introduced on pages 92-5 below.

omnium delictorum suorum ueniam et gaudia consequi mereatur eterna  
(*Westmonasteriensis*, II, col. 1179).<sup>255</sup>

Bernard Muir identifies this collect as an analogue for an almost identical prayer in the eleventh-century *Galba Prayerbook*.<sup>256</sup> However, in *Galba*, ‘exoramus’ and ‘decreuimus’ have been replaced with ‘exoro’ and ‘decreui’ (*Prayer-Book*, 104, ll. 4-5), transforming this collect into a prayer in which one person speaks to God about those for whom he or she has already prayed, and asks God to bring about their future glory.

While the prevalence of prayers in the grammatical singular can indicate that a section of a manuscript was intended for private use, this pattern does not always hold true, as some prayers contain both singular and plural forms. For example, the prayer directly before ‘Qui uiuorum dominaris’ in the *Galba Prayerbook* is a prayer that calls upon St Benedict for protection, which appears to have been taken straight from a liturgical source, and still contains the plural form ‘quesumus’ (103, l. 1; ‘we ask’).<sup>257</sup> A prayer could therefore be made more suitable for private devotion by being adapted for grammatical number, but this did not always take place, perhaps because monks and nuns were not always skilled enough in Latin to make these alterations.<sup>258</sup> Nevertheless, the removal of a liturgical prayer from the context of a particular Mass in itself suggests that it was being used for ‘unofficial’ purposes.

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<sup>255</sup> ‘Almighty and eternal God ... we humble people implore you for those for whom we have chosen to pour out prayers: whether he retains this present world here in the flesh, or whether he has already received the world to come, by the mercy of your pity may he deserve the pardon of all his sins, and to follow those who have cast aside this body to attain eternal joy.’ ‘Qui uiuorum dominaris’, John Wickham Legg, ed., *Missale ad Usam Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, 3 vols., HBS 1, 5 and 12 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1891-7). Moeller, no. 4064.

<sup>256</sup> Muir, *Prayer-Book*, 104. This manuscript will be introduced in more detail on pages 96-9 below.

<sup>257</sup> Cf. Anselm Hughes, ed., *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 391)*, HBS 89-90, 2 vols (Leighton Buzzard: Faith Press, 1960), II, 1, ll. 25-7. The *Portiforium of St Wulstan* will be introduced on pages 95-6 below.

<sup>258</sup> See Stephan Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch für Karl den Grossen: Seine Rekonstruktion und seine Stellung in der frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte der libelli precum*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 89 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2003), 21 n. 57, and 37-8.

Alongside singular and plural word forms, grammatical gender also provides a clue to how prayers were used, and this can take place in two ways. A prayer can appear in the masculine gender in one manuscript, and in the feminine in another; alternatively, the manuscript copy of a prayer can be altered by a later user of the opposite sex, either by erasure or by interlinear correction. In both cases, it is clear that the users believed that prayers could be made more appropriate to their own use by adapting it to reflect their own gender. For example, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* contains several prayers that have had feminine forms added by a twelfth-century user. 'Te adoro, Domine' appears in the Office of the Trinity and includes these amendments:

Deus, propitius esto mihi *peccatori/trici*, quia non sum *dignus*, ego *peccator/trix*, leuare oculos meos ad celum (*ÆP*, no. 49.9).<sup>259</sup>

This adaptation is not entirely consistent, as 'dignus' has not been altered to 'digna'; however, it is clear that, in reusing a prayerbook from a previous century, a female reader has made the prayer more intimate by making it reflect her own voice.<sup>260</sup>

When changes of gender and number are combined together, they provide strong evidence for a complete change of context, as can be seen in a collect for the

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<sup>259</sup> Emphases mine. 'God, be favourable to me, a sinner, because I, a sinner, am not worthy to lift my eyes to heaven.' Günzel marks the added feminine forms in two ways: some she incorporates into the text, others she mentions in footnotes, e.g. '[s]ucurrere mihi, queso, omnes sancti Dei, ad quorum ego miser et peccator/trix patrocinia confugio' (no. 76.51; hasten to me, I ask, all the saints of God, and to those in whose protection I, wretched and a sinner, take refuge). 'Miser', a footnote reveals, has been 'changed into *miser*a by a later hand.' T. A. M. Bishop's *English Caroline Minuscule* includes a facsimile of this particular folio, revealing that the 'a' of 'miser'a' was inserted into the main body of text without breaking the line, whereas 'trix' has been added in superscript, above the final two letters of 'peccator' and the space after it. As far as can be told, these two kinds of gloss have been added by the same hand, but Günzel edits them differently on the grounds of where the gloss letters appear in relation to the original script. T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 23 and plate 23.

<sup>260</sup> It should be noted that not all of the feminine grammatical forms in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* were added by a later user. The final sequence of private prayers (no. 76) contains some feminine forms despite having been written during *Ælfwine's* time: Günzel suggests that these may have been copied in from the exemplar, which serves as a reminder that the gender of a text does not always prove who is using it. Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, 4.

Mass ‘Pro prelati et subditis’, which has been identified, again by Muir, as an analogue for a prayer in the *Galba Prayerbook*.<sup>261</sup> In the *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, the collect takes this form:

Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui facis mirabilia magna solus. pretende super famulos tuos et super cunctas congregaciones illis commissas spiritum gracie salutaris. ut et in ueritate tibi complacent perpetuum eis rorem tue benedictionis effunde (*Westmonasteriensis*, II, cols. 1143-4).<sup>262</sup>

The version in the *Galba Prayerbook*, which contains a wide range of gendered forms, has:

pretende super me, m(i)sera(m) famulam tuam, et super cunctam congregationem mihi indignam commissam (*Prayer-Book*, 99, ll. 2-3).<sup>263</sup>

This collect began as a prayer for a congregation on behalf of its male leaders, but was then altered for the benefit of a single female superior praying for herself, now a ‘miseram’ (‘pitiable’) servant, that she might fulfil her own duties as a good abbess or prioress. The prayer retains the status conferred upon it by its liturgical origins, but in private use its purpose changes. Interestingly, this particular prayer appears again in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, but in that manuscript it is a prayer not for superiors in general, but for ‘famulum tuum, abbatem nostrum’ (*ÆP*, no. 76.6; ‘your servant, our abbot’).

One final aspect of the gendering of prayer texts is that it also indicates how manuscripts travelled between monasteries and convents in the eleventh century. It is noteworthy that all three of the prayerbooks which will be introduced below

<sup>261</sup> Muir, *Prayer-Book*, 99.

<sup>262</sup> ‘Qui facis mirabilia magna solus’: ‘Almighty and eternal God, who alone perform great wonders, extend to your [male] servants, and to all the congregations committed to them, a spirit of saving grace and, so that they may please you in truth, pour down on them the dew of your blessing.’ Moeller, no. 3938c.

<sup>263</sup> ‘Extend to me, your pitiable [female] servant, and to all this unworthy congregation committed to me.’



originate from Winchester, or have a Winchester exemplar. This city was home not only to the Old and New Minsters, but also to the Nunnaminster, where the nuns would have had male chaplains to celebrate Mass for them.<sup>264</sup> A large number of Latin prayers were copied into the *Galba Prayerbook* with feminine grammatical forms, yet all of the Old English texts in the same manuscript are specifically gendered masculine, except for one which appears to have been written for a woman and then adapted for a man.<sup>265</sup> If the translations were made for the benefit of those who did not know Latin well, then it is evident that men as well as women needed assistance with Latin. Alternatively, this text may indicate a desire to pray in one's mother tongue, which again would seem to apply to men as well as women. The presence of feminine Latin prayers, meanwhile, suggests that there were at least some educated women in the convent to which the manuscript belonged, and the Winchester prayerbooks provide an insight into the communication between monasteries and convents.

Another important sign of a manuscript's private use is a relatively high proportion of texts in the vernacular language. Old English is not unknown in late Anglo-Saxon liturgical books: it appears in rubrics, calendars of the saints and in penitential texts for the laity.<sup>266</sup> Furthermore, in the eleventh century, considerably more vernacular texts related to the liturgy appeared, and Dumville notes that, while there is

no evidence that the liturgy was about to be translated for performance ... the testimony of the latest manuscripts hints that in time all of an English liturgical manuscript's rubrics and directions (as well as much of any

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<sup>264</sup> Muir, *Prayer-Book*, xiv.

<sup>265</sup> This is *Prayer-Book*, no. 65, the *Prayers ad horas*, which will be examined in detail on pages 132-53 below.

<sup>266</sup> David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 5 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 129-32.

accompanying computistical expositions) would routinely have been written in the vernacular.<sup>267</sup>

As an explanation for this trend, Dumville offers a range of different possibilities including a general rise in vernacular literacy, changing attitudes amongst high-ranking churchmen towards vernacular literature, or perhaps a decline in the production of Latin texts that allowed writers to concentrate on English books.<sup>268</sup> Nevertheless, he maintains that church liturgy was not celebrated in English: it is at least reasonable to suppose that texts in Old English were used in less formal contexts, such as visiting the laity, teaching, or private prayer.

The *Galba Prayerbook* exemplifies Dumville's argument well, as it includes a number of prayers in Old English, all of which use the grammatical singular, and, where they are known to be translations, are generally very accurate.<sup>269</sup> An example of this is the set of Latin prayers for the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, which in both *Galba* and the *Portiforium of St Wulstan* appear alongside a translation into Old English.<sup>270</sup> For example, the second prayer begins thus:

*Domine Ihesu [sic] Christe, glorioſissime conditor mundi, qui cum sis splendor glorie coeternus patr(i) sanctoque spiritui ...*

*Drihten hælend Crist, se wuldorfullesta middaneardes scippend, þeah þu sy wuldres beorhtnes efenece þinum fæder and þam halegum gaste ...*  
(*Prayer-Book*, 145, ll. 4-5, 14-16).<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, 130-2.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>269</sup> These texts are the following: a translation of a prayer for victory over enemies; the rubric explaining a Latin prayer for making offerings; a list of prayers for curing the foot; 'In naman þære halgan þrynesse', a prayer of confession and forgiveness; the *Prayers ad horas*; the prayers for the Veneration of the Cross; and a pair of medical recipes. Muir, *Prayer-Book*, nos. 12, 13, 34, 65, 68, 70.

<sup>270</sup> The *Portiforium of St Wulstan* will be introduced on pages 95-6 below.

<sup>271</sup> 'Gloriosissime conditor mundi': 'O Lord Jesus Christ, most glorious creator of the world, who while you are the splendour of glory, coeternal with the Father and the Holy Spirit ... Lord Saviour Christ, the most glorious creator of the world; although you are the brightness of glory, coeternal with your Father and the Holy Spirit ...' An almost identical translation of this prayer and the preceding one, 'Adoro te', appears in the *Portiforium*, written several decades later, indicating that the translation was not made specifically for *Galba*. Hughes, *Portiforium*, II, 20-22.

Although the translator freely alters ‘*Domine Ihesu Christe*’ (‘O Lord Jesus Christ’) to ‘*Drihten hælend Crist*’ (‘Lord Saviour Christ’), the text generally stays close to the original, and it can be seen in this quotation that the subjunctive ‘*cum sis*’ (‘while you are’) has been adapted to the vernacular equivalent ‘*þeah þu sy*’ (‘although you are’) without any difficulty. Furthermore, the translations of the Veneration of the Cross prayers indicate that, even if it was not used in public worship, the vernacular evidently mattered enough for someone to produce accurate, high-register translations of important liturgical texts. Muir draws attention to this trend, noting that some vernacular texts include new words designed to translate complex Latin theological terminology.<sup>272</sup> As an example of this, I would suggest the word *efenece* (‘coeternal’), a striking neologism used in the quotation above: ‘*efenece þinum fæder and þam halegum gaste*’ (*Prayer-Book*, 145, ll. 15-16).<sup>273</sup> *Efenece* reappears at the end of the same prayer, expanding the Latin ‘*qui uiuis*’ to ‘*ðe mid þinum efenecean* <fæder leofast and ricsast in annysse halig(e)s gastes’ (146, ll. 4-5).<sup>274</sup> *Galba*’s translation of ‘*Gloriosissime conditor mundi*’ therefore suggests that the eleventh century was an era which not only saw the acceptance of private prayer and informal liturgies in English, but also placed a high value on translating complex theological terms into the vernacular.

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<sup>272</sup> Muir, *Prayer-Book*, xxiii.

<sup>273</sup> ‘Coeternal with your Father and the Holy Spirit.’ The word *efenece*, or its alternative spellings *efeneche*, *efnece*, *euenece* and *emnece*, appears in thirty surviving Old English texts. While it can be found in fourteen of the homilies, it is equally common in glosses: it appears in thirteen gloss texts and one glossary. Such distribution may indicate something about the status of the word. Very often, *efenece* is used to translate the Latin *coeternus* in theological texts, such as a glossed version of the *Athanasian Creed* in the *Vespasian Psalter* (*Vespasian*, no. 3.6). On the other hand, *efenece* is noticeably rare in poetry, occurring only in *Christ I* and *Christ II*. This usage suggests that the word *efenece* was beginning to make the transition from technical theological vocabulary to being understood by the audience of the Old English homilies. Antonette diPaolo Healey, John Price Wilkin and Xin Xiang, eds., *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus in Electronic Form* (University of Toronto, November 2009), <<http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doecorpus/>>, accessed 03 and 04 December 2007; George Philip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, eds., *The Exeter Book*, ASPR 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), ‘Christ I’, 6, l. 122a; ‘Christ II’, 16, 465a; Sherman M. Kuhn, ed., *The Vespasian Psalter* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1965). All textual references to Kuhn’s edition are taken from his Appendix II.

<sup>274</sup> ‘You who live and dwell in the unity of the Holy Spirit with your coeternal Father.’

None of these criteria – the use of the grammatical singular, the removal of a prayer from its liturgical context, a willingness to alter texts for gender, and the presence of vernacular texts – is a simple indicator that a particular prayer is or is not a ‘private prayer’. However, the presence of one or more of these factors is a good indication that a sequence of prayers was copied for private use. Even though many of the prayers in private prayer sequences are of liturgical origin, I argue below that what makes prayers private is not their origin, but their context and usage.

### **An introduction to the eleventh-century prayerbooks**

Although a large number of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts include private prayers, in this chapter I will focus on the genre of the eleventh-century private prayerbook.

Arguably, there are no manuscripts extant from this period which were specifically intended for the purpose of private prayer alone. There are, however, three manuscripts which appear to have been personal compendia and contain sequences of various kinds of private prayer: *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, the *Portiforium of St Wulstan*, and the *Galba Prayerbook*.

#### *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*

London, British Library Cotton Titus D. xxvii + xxvi, now separate codices, are believed originally to have been a single codex, and consequently have been edited as one volume by Beate Günzel under the name *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*.<sup>275</sup> It is a particularly small manuscript, measuring only c. 130 mm. x 95 mm.<sup>276</sup> Indeed,

<sup>275</sup> Gneuss, no. 380; Ker, no. 202. The unity of the two manuscripts is evident from five factors: (1) from their listing in the early Cotton catalogues; (2) the fact that each mentions their owner, Ælfwine, Dean of New Minster, Winchester; (3) the unusually small size which they share; (4) the appearance of the same two main hands in each; and (5) the changing, by the same hand, of masculine grammatical forms in each manuscript to feminine forms. Günzel, *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, 4-5.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

Barbara Raw pairs *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* with the *Galba Prayerbook* because of their unusually small sizes, commenting that the earlier Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks are larger because they were probably used publicly.<sup>277</sup> Ker notes that the obits attached to the Easter table are in the main scribe's hand up until 1023, and that the prayerbook belonged to Ælfwine, Dean of the New Minster, Winchester, which can be seen from entries in the calendar and from a cryptographic note on folio 13 of D. xxvii.<sup>278</sup> Since Ælfwine became abbot in 1035, the main text of *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* dates to between 1023 and 1035.<sup>279</sup>

The prayers in the manuscript are personalised by the naming of Ælfwine himself in the heading to a miniature of the crucifixion (*ÆP*, plate 1), and in the prayer 'Qui es iustorum gloria':

Deus, qui es iustorum gloria et misericordia peccatorum, pietatem tuam humili prece deposco, ut me, famulum/am tuum/am .ÆLFWINE., benignus respicias (no. 76.28).<sup>280</sup>

As this quotation indicates, the manuscript had at least one other user and this must have been a woman, as a prayer using only feminine grammatical forms was later added to the manuscript (no. 47).<sup>281</sup> Additionally, many of the existing prayers were glossed with feminine forms, presumably by the same woman. On these grounds, Ker proposes that the manuscript was owned by a woman in the twelfth century.<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> Barbara C. Raw, *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought*, CSASE 21 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 175, n. 36.

<sup>278</sup> Ker, 265; Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, 70, 109. Günzel has corrected Ker's misstatement that Ælfwine was a deacon: he was, in fact, a dean (*decanus*). *Ibid.*, 2-3.

<sup>279</sup> Ker, 264-5.

<sup>280</sup> 'God, you who are the glory of the just and the mercy of sinners, I ask your love with a humble prayer, that you may graciously consider me, your servant Ælfwine.' Moeller, no. 1591.

<sup>281</sup> For the date of this prayer, see Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, 3.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4; Ker, 266.

Although most of the entries are in two hands, this manuscript includes work by eleven scribes from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>283</sup>

While a sixth of the manuscript is taken up with an incomplete collectar,<sup>284</sup> additional folios contain numerous short texts, many of which concern computus, scientific knowledge and prognostics, while others focus on liturgy and prayer. Of particular interest are three Special Offices, two sequences of miscellaneous private prayers, a series of personal devotions to the cross, and an *ordo* for morning prayer. A simplified table of contents (table 2.2), foregrounding the private prayer texts, can be found in the discussion of prayer sequences on page 106 below. Many of these private prayers have liturgical sources and appear in many other manuscripts, including the *Galba Prayerbook*.<sup>285</sup> In addition, there are more extensive correspondences between the prayers in the collectar and other, more complete collectars.<sup>286</sup>

As *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* is not a formal liturgical book, it is important to understand what its purpose may have been. According to D. H. Turner, the role of dean could involve managing estates away from the monastery's principal site.<sup>287</sup>

With this in mind, Corrêa suggests that a portable service book may have been of use

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<sup>283</sup> A table of folios, items and the scribes who wrote them can be found in Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, 10-11. Simon Keynes has argued that Hand B is in fact that of Ælfwine himself, to whom he also attributes the three miniatures in the manuscript. However, this evidence is too slender to make this argument persuasive, and it has been rejected by Catherine Karkov. Simon Keynes, ed., *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester, British Library Stowe 944, Together with Leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A. VIII and British Library Cotton Titus D. XXVI*, EEMF 26 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996), 112-3; Catherine E. Karkov, 'Text as Image in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*', in *The Power of Words: Anglo-Saxon Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg on his Seventieth Birthday*, eds. Hugh Magennis and Jonathan Wilcox, *Medieval European Studies* 8, 95-114 (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2006), 97-8. See also Ker, 266.

<sup>284</sup> Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, 59.

<sup>285</sup> Günzel provides a pair of tables showing the correspondences between the two sections labelled 'Private Prayers' and analogues in other manuscripts. *Ibid.*, 206-7.

<sup>286</sup> These correspondences are also tabulated in *ibid.*, 208-16.

<sup>287</sup> D. H. Turner, 'Prayer Book of Ælfwine', in *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966-1066*, eds. Janet Backhouse, D. H. Turner and Leslie Webster (London: British Museum Publications, 1984), no. 61.

if Ælfwine had conducted services in chapels on these other estates.<sup>288</sup> Günzel uses the size of the manuscript, along with the fact that the collectar is incomplete and only comprises a sixth of the book, to argue that *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* was never intended for use in public liturgy.<sup>289</sup> Instead, the manuscript would have been useful to someone whose role involved so much travel, as he could carry it with him for use in both his private prayers and his supervisory role in liturgical worship.<sup>290</sup>

*Ælfwine's Prayerbook* therefore appears to have been a personal handbook, containing all that Ælfwine and his successors needed for finding the date of Easter, participating in liturgical worship or praying in private.

#### *Portiforium of St Wulstan*

Another text with an interesting selection of private prayers is known as the *Portiforium of St Wulstan* and is believed to have been a compendium belonging to St Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester.<sup>291</sup> This is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, a manuscript measuring 225 mm. by 135 mm., written in Worcester in 1065-6 from a Winchester exemplar, as Hughes deduces from the overlap in texts with the *Galba Prayerbook*.<sup>292</sup> The chief contents of this manuscript are the Gallican Psalter, a collectar and the *commune sanctorum*, alongside a kalendar, hymns, blessings and prognostics and, on pages 581-681 of the manuscript, a sequence of private prayers.<sup>293</sup> R. W. Pfaff has concluded that:

The variety of contents in this fascinating and as yet not satisfactorily explained book makes sense best on the supposition that Bishop Wulstan

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<sup>288</sup> Alicia Corrêa, ed., *The Durham Collectar*, HBS 107 (London: Boydell Press, 1992), 113, n. 2.

<sup>289</sup> Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, 59.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>291</sup> For the use of the name 'Wulfstan' in reference to Wulfstan of Worcester, see n. 43 above.

<sup>292</sup> Hughes, *Portiforium*, II, v-vii.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, vi.

carried it around with him when he visited churches, and especially religious establishments, in his diocese.<sup>294</sup>

In this respect, the manuscript is similar to *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*.

Thomas Bestul notes the similarity of the selection of private prayers to that in the *Book of Cerne*, remarking that *Cerne* or similar books:

must have been in active use by the monastic community there [i.e. in Winchester] during the eleventh century, and the impression is left that at Winchester no special need was felt to change or enlarge upon the inherited models.<sup>295</sup>

The private prayers in the *Portiforium* are mostly confessional, with a number of prayers to the cross and some advice for how to pray when under persecution from enemies, both visible and invisible.

#### *Galba Prayerbook*

Another manuscript which appears to have been used for personal devotion is the composite manuscript London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. ii (ff. 3-13) + Galba A. xiv. Like *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, these are believed to have been originally one manuscript, which has been edited as one work by Bernard Muir, and I therefore refer to it as the *Galba Prayerbook*.<sup>296</sup> Ker argues for probable ownership at Nunnaminster in Winchester, on the grounds of the manuscript's devotion to Winchester saints and its use of feminine grammatical forms.<sup>297</sup> In terms of dating,

<sup>294</sup> R. W. Pfaff, 'The 'Sample Week' in the Medieval Latin Divine Office', in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship: Papers Read at the 1997 Summer Meeting and the 1998 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson, 78-88 (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Ecclesiastical History Society, Boydell Press, 1999), 82.

<sup>295</sup> Thomas H. Bestul, 'Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, eds. Paul E. Szarmach, assisted by Virginia Darrow Oggins, *Studies in Medieval Culture* 20, 103-26 (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 1986), 115-6.

<sup>296</sup> Muir, *Prayer-Book*; Gneuss, nos. 333 and 342; Ker, no. 157.

<sup>297</sup> Ker, 198, 201. Muir also notes a reference to 'Wentana': that is, Winchester. Muir, *Prayer-Book*, xiv, 166.



Muir notes that the computational table in Nero A. ii corresponds to the lunar cycle for 1029 to 1047, and the table in the Galba A.xiv to the cycles for 1034-5, 1029 and 1040.<sup>298</sup>

The Galba manuscript, which comprises nearly all of the prayerbook, was seriously damaged by the Ashburnham House fire of 1731, to the extent that several folios are partially or completely illegible, and the binding has been destroyed.<sup>299</sup> Consequently, some folios have been bound out of order and back to front.<sup>300</sup> Muir's edition places the texts in the sequence which was, as far as can be told, their original order, but using the foliation which was given to it when it was rebound in 1863.<sup>301</sup> The folios of both manuscripts are the same small size, only 138 mm. x 103 mm., and for this and other reasons, Ker is satisfied that the eleven leaves from Nero A. ii were originally part of Galba A. xiv.<sup>302</sup> Arguing against Michael Lapidge, Muir accepts this judgement.<sup>303</sup>

The genre of this manuscript is not easily classifiable. Its contents, which appear in an apparently random order, can be roughly arranged into the following groups: computational tables and other astronomical information; personal prayers; items relating to communal worship, such as collects from specific Masses; hymns, sometimes with interlinear musical notation; and miscellaneous texts, such as medical advice and Latin poetry. Many liturgical prayers appear in the manuscript

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<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, xv. Although, of course, the composite manuscript shows signs of use over a longer period, this information provides a more precise dating for at least part of it.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, ix.

<sup>300</sup> These are listed in *ibid.*, xii.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*, xi, n. 11. References here to folio numbers in Galba A. xiv use this numbering.

<sup>302</sup> Ker, 200-1.

<sup>303</sup> Lapidge notes that the litany in Nero A. ii does not name any prominent Winchester saints, and identifies it instead as a Cornish manuscript, as it includes saints venerated in British-speaking areas. He also questions why a manuscript would include the same prayer twice, 'Domine Deus omnipotens', which appears in both Nero and Galba. Muir, however, notes the presence of the British saints Petroc, Winnoc and Germanus in the Galba manuscript's two litanies as well as in Nero's, and argues that the repetition of texts is common enough in low-status manuscripts: Galba itself includes two versions of one text. Michael Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems as Evidence for the Reign of Athelstan', *ASE* 9, 61-98 (1981), 84-6; Muir, *Prayer-Book*, xi-xii.

taken out of their original contexts and with singular grammatical forms.

Furthermore, a number of items in the manuscript appear in Old English, including a series of prayers relating to the canonical Hours, and some prayers from the liturgy of the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, which are given in both Latin and Old English.

The lack of an obvious structure and genre to the *Galba Prayerbook* indicates that it was not a formal liturgical book. It is evident, from the way in which texts cross over quire boundaries, that the manuscript was originally a group of blank gatherings which were bound together into a book; Muir hypothesises that this was done because

Someone in a position of authority must have thought that it would be useful to have such a book at hand for recording texts that might be of general interest within the monastery.<sup>304</sup>

He also argues the *Galba Prayerbook* may have been used as a kind of exercise book for those who were being taught in the monastery or convent. This is evident from the fact that it was created during the early eleventh-century reform period, and from the poor quality of the script and Latin grammar.<sup>305</sup> Since the book is not a high-quality text, it is unlikely to have been used in communal worship, so it may have been intended for teaching or practising chants.

Nevertheless, some of the texts found in the manuscript are written in good Latin, with few errors: the prayers for the Veneration of the Cross are an example of this.<sup>306</sup> Since the first two of these prayers, along with their Old English

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<sup>304</sup> Muir, *Prayer-Book*, xvi.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, xiii, xvii. Muir draws particular attention to five texts – three prayers to saints, a confessional prayer, and a poem to Æthelberht the Martyr – which are so error-prone that he generally leaves their faults unedited. *Ibid.*, xxii.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 68.

translations, appear also in the *Portiforium*,<sup>307</sup> it is unlikely that the translations were specifically written for the *Galba Prayerbook*, and these particular texts were probably not educational exercises like those referred to above. Muir accepts that the manuscript did not have one particular use, referring to it as a ‘pre-Conquest prayer-book’, related to formal worship, but not, in the end, a liturgical book: its lack of structure and free use of alterations suggest that it was for personal use.<sup>308</sup> As will be discussed in this chapter, many features of the texts suggest their suitability for private devotion.

### **Types of early medieval prayer texts**

Although some definition of private prayer has already been given in this chapter, it is important to note that it is not a homogeneous category. Different kinds of prayers exist, bearing different relationships to the liturgy and to other prayers in the same sequence. Some prayers have few directions for use, and their relationship to the prayers immediately following is unclear. Other kinds are collected together into prayer *ordines*, creating what appear to be nascent Special Offices. I will introduce four categories into which private prayers can be roughly, though not unproblematically, grouped. These share certain characteristics and appear in the same kind of contexts, and I have given them the names ‘short prayers’, ‘long prayers’, ‘liturgical prayers’ and ‘short liturgical prayers’. Likewise, there are at least five different manuscript contexts in which private prayers can be found outside of communal liturgies.

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<sup>307</sup> Hughes, *Portiforium*, II, 18-22.

<sup>308</sup> Muir, *Prayer-Book*, xvi-xvii.

*'Short prayers'*

The 'short prayer' is only a few sentences long, and derived from the prayerbook tradition, rather than from the liturgy. First, the speaker addresses and praises God, then makes a request of him, and the prayer ends with a closing doxology. These prayers can be found in both the early Anglo-Saxon and the Carolingian prayerbook traditions. They generally appear in long series of such prayers, with no directions for use, although some have rubrics such as 'Oratio ad spiritum sanctum' or simply 'Oratio'.

'Splendor et imago patris', one prayer of this kind, has already been quoted in part.<sup>309</sup> Quoted in full from *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, it exemplifies this genre well:

ORATIO AD PERSONAM FILII. DOMINE IESU CHRISTE, FILI DEI VIVI, OMNIPOTENS et misericors Deus, splendor et imago patris et uita eterna, cui cum eterno patre sanctoque Spiritu una est substantia, equus honor, eadem gloria coeterna maiestas, te laudo, te adoro, teque glorifico. Ne me obsecro perire patiaris, sed per ineffabilem bonitatem tuam salua et adiua me gratuito munere tuo, quem dignatus es redimere sanguine tuo, qui cum Deo coeterno patre sanctoque Spiritu uiuis et regnas Deus (*ÆP*, no. 52.2).<sup>310</sup>

This prayer begins by addressing and praising Christ at length ('Domine Iesu Christe ... teque glorifico'), before making one relatively brief request in relation to the speaker's salvation ('Ne me obsecro ... sanguine tuo') and ending with a traditional formula ('qui cum Deo ...'). The prayer has a rubric which explains what it is intended for, but not how it is to be used: there is no indication that it should be said while prostrated before the cross, for example, or in the morning, or after the

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<sup>309</sup> See page 85 above.

<sup>310</sup> 'Prayer to the person of the Son. O Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, almighty and merciful God, splendour and image of the Father and eternal life, who with the eternal Father and with the Holy Spirit is one substance, to whom be equal honour and likewise glory and coeternal majesty, I praise you, I adore you, and I glorify you. I beg that you not allow me to perish, but save me through your ineffable goodness and aid me with your gift of grace, whom you deigned to redeem by your blood, you who coeternal with God the Father and with the Holy Spirit live and reign as God.'

penitential psalms. It does, however, appear as one of three prayers to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, which usually appear as part of a group including a further three prayers. These six texts can be found both in the Continental *Libelli precum*, in the early English prayerbook Harley 863, and in late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks and psalters. The strong association between these prayers, and the almost unchanging sequence in which they appear, can be seen in the following table:

*Table 2.1: A common sequence of 'short prayers'*<sup>311</sup>

	Paris 2731A	<i>Libellus Trecensis</i>	<i>Libellus Turonensis</i>	Harley 863	Bodleian d'Orville 45	<i>Portiforium</i>	<i>ÆP</i>	<i>Arundel 155</i>	<i>Bury Psalter</i>
Qui consubstantialem	no. 27a	no. 1.7	no. 16.1	col. 449	no. 27		no. 52.1		no. 5
Splendor et imago patris	no. 28a	no. 1.8	no. 16.2	col. 449	no. 28	2	no. 52.2		no. 6
Qui coequalis	no. 29a	no. 1.9	no. 16.3	cols. 449-50	no. 29	2	no. 52.3		no. 8
Aeterne et ineffabilis	no. 30a	no. 1.10	no. 16.4	col. 450	no. 30	2		no. 1	
Rex uirginum	no. 31a	no. 1.11	no. 16.5			2	no. 52.4	no. 2	
Singularis meriti/ gratiae <sup>312</sup>	no. 32a	no. 1.12	no. 16.6	col. 451		24	no. 51.5		

### 'Long prayers'

The second kind of prayer can be referred to as the 'long prayer'. Examples of this genre are found in both the early Anglo-Saxon tradition and in the *libelli precum*, although they are more common in the former. Unsurprisingly, they tend to be

<sup>311</sup> Paris 2731A and d'Orville 45 are edited in Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, 341-91; *Trecensis* and *Turonensis* in André Wilmart, ed., *Precum libelli quattuor aevi karolini* (Rome: Ephemerides Liturgicae, 1940); Harley 863 in E. S. Dewick and W. H. Frere, eds., *The Leofric Collectar*, 2 vols., HBS 45 and 56 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1914), I; Hughes, *Portiforium*, II; Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*; London, British Library Arundel 155 is edited in Ferdinand Holthausen, ed., 'Altenglische Interlinearversionen Lateinischer Gebete und Beichten', *Anglia* 65 (1941): 230-54; the prayers of the *Bury Psalter* are edited in André Wilmart, ed., *The Prayers of the Bury Psalter*, repr. from *Downside Review* 48 (1930): 198-216.

<sup>312</sup> The distribution and development of 'Singularis meriti' or 'Singularis gratiae' have been examined in John C. Hirsh, *The Boundaries of Faith: the Development and Transmission of Medieval Spirituality*, *Studies in the History of Christian Thought* 67 (Leiden, New York and Köln: E. J. Brill, 1996), 23-9.

rather lengthy and comprise many different sections of praise and requests made of God. The literary style frequently changes during these prayers, suggesting that they may contain many prayers subsumed into one; furthermore, they make free use of liturgical and Biblical quotation. Like the ‘short prayer’, they generally appear in series of similar prayers, and may be introduced with a rubric, but there are few indications of how they were intended to be used.

One such example is ‘Qui in hunc mundum’. This prayer appears in the *Book of Cerne* and in several eleventh-century manuscripts: the *Portiforium*, *Galba*, the *Bury Psalter* and London, British Library Arundel 155.<sup>313</sup> In *Galba*, it begins with a rubric promising that this prayer will protect the speaker from human and demonic harm on the day that he or she says it (*Prayer-Book*, 61, ll. 1-3).<sup>314</sup> This prayer is seven and a half folios long in *Galba* and is, therefore, far too long to quote in full, so a short summary follows below. It begins by addressing Christ and using several Biblical allusions to recall his mercy (61, ll. 4-7). The speaker then asks for God’s mercy, accusing himself at length of being a sinner (61, l. 7 – 64, l. 1). He makes several requests for protection, all following the same pattern, for example: ‘Domine deus omnipotens, libera me de protoplasto satane’ (64, ll. 3-4; cf. 64, l. 1 – 65, l. 6).<sup>315</sup> After this follow more requests for help to Christ, the Virgin Mary and the saints (65, l. 7 – 66, l. 11); a series of addresses to God, beginning ‘tu es’ (‘you are’; 66, l. 12 – 67, l. 2); and more invocations of the saints, angels and Christ (67, ll. 2-17). The speaker then accuses himself of a list of sins:

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<sup>313</sup> A. B. Kuypers, ed., *The Prayer Book of Aedelwald the Bishop, Commonly Called the Book of Cerne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), no. 18; Hughes, *Portiforium*, II, 3-5; Muir, *Prayer-Book*, no. 25; Wilmart, *Bury Psalter*, no. 3; Holthausen, ‘Interlinearversionen’, no. 18.

<sup>314</sup> This rubric, or something similar, prefaces ‘Deus inestimabilis misericordiae’ and ‘Qui in hunc mundum’ in Arundel 155, ‘Qui in hunc mundum’ in the *Bury Psalter*, and ‘Tempus meum prope est’ in the *Portiforium*. H. Logeman, ed., ‘Anglo-Saxonica Minora’, *Anglia* 11, 97-120 (1889): 115; Holthausen, ‘Interlinearversionen’, no. 18; Wilmart, *Bury Psalter*, no. 3; Hughes, *Portiforium*, II, 12, ll. 22-4.

<sup>315</sup> ‘O Lord God almighty, free me from the first-created Satan.’

Quia peccata mea innumerabilia sunt ego ueniam peto ad te, domine, pro peccatis meis neglegentiisque, pro uana gloria, pro concupiscentia carnali ... (67, l. 17 – 68, l. 2, cf. ll 2-7).<sup>316</sup>

Finally, the speaker pleads to God for mercy, using Biblical and liturgical quotations and allusions (68, l. 7 – 69, l. 17). It should be clear that this prayer is distinctly different from the ‘short prayer’ ‘Splendor et imago patris’.

*‘Liturgical prayers’*

The ‘liturgical prayer’ is one which has been taken straight from an official liturgy, such as a collect from a Mass. It is normally relatively short, and may or may not have been adapted with regards to its grammatical number. Its presence outside of the context of a service book alone places it in the category of private prayer.

‘Liturgical prayers’ may have a rubric identifying, for example, the saint to whom it is said. Like the two categories of prayer discussed above, in private prayerbooks they usually appear in series of similar prayers with few directions for use. One example of this genre in the *Galba Prayerbook* has been identified by Muir as the collect for the dead in the *Regularis concordia*:<sup>317</sup>

⟨Inuen⟩iant, quesumus, d⟨omi⟩n⟨e ani⟩me famulorum famularumque tu⟨o⟩rum lucis eterne consortium qui in hac luce positi tuum consecuti sunt sacramentum (*Prayer-Book*, 107, ll. 1-3).<sup>318</sup>

If Muir’s pagination is correct, The *Galba Prayerbook* contains at least two sequences of these ‘liturgical prayers’.<sup>319</sup>

<sup>316</sup> ‘Because my sins are innumerable, I ask mercy of you, O Lord, for my sins and neglects, for vainglory, for lust of the body ...’

<sup>317</sup> Muir, *Prayer-Book*, 107, n. 1; cf. *RC*, ll. 294-6; Moeller, no. 3192a.

<sup>318</sup> ‘We ask, O Lord, that the souls of your [male and female] servants may reach the community of eternal light, they who, placed in this light, have attained your sacrament.’

<sup>319</sup> For example, Muir, *Prayer-Book*, 99-112 and 117-22.

*'Short liturgical prayers'*

The final kind of private prayer is the 'short liturgical prayer', usually an antiphon or lines from a psalm used in private prayer. Prayers of this kind are linked together by means of psalms and *Paternosters*, and sometimes have directions for use.

*Ælfwine's Prayerbook* contains several folios of devotions to the cross which will be discussed in full below.<sup>320</sup> Within these is a series of seven short liturgical prayers linked by the repetition of the *Pater noster*. It begins:

CVM HOC DICIS, PROSTERNE IN TERRAM ET DIC.  
 Ecce lignum crucis, in quo salus mundi pependit, uenite adoremus.  
 Pater noster. Credo in Deum.  
 O crux gloriosa, o crux adoranda, o lignum pretiosum et admirabile signum,  
 per quod et diabolus est uictus, et mundus Christi sanguine est redemptus.  
 Amen.  
 Pater noster ... (*ÆP*, no. 46.9).<sup>321</sup>

These lines derive from antiphons for the feasts of the cross, and there is a clear direction for how to use them.<sup>322</sup> As antiphons, by their nature, are so short, they tend to be linked together for use in private prayer.

### **Types of private prayer sequences and the development of the Special Office**

Even in manuscripts which had the function of prayerbooks, sequences of prayers can be found interspersed with other kinds of text. *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* demonstrates the different contexts in which private prayers can be found: added

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<sup>320</sup> See pages 108-10 below.

<sup>321</sup> 'When you say this, prostrate yourself on the ground and say: 'This is the wood of the cross, on which the salvation of the world hung, come let us adore him'; 'Our Father'; 'I believe in God'; 'O glorious cross, O venerable cross, O precious wood and wondrous sign, through which even the devil was conquered, and the world was redeemed by the blood of Christ. Amen.' 'Our Father' ...'

<sup>322</sup> 'Ecce lignum crucis' is an antiphon for the Exaltation of the Holy Cross and for feria VI of Holy Week, and a response for the Invention; Hesbert, nos. 2522, 6597; 'O crux gloriosa' is an antiphon or response for the Invention and Exaltation of the Holy Cross; Hesbert, nos. 4018, 7266. Renato-Joanne Hesbert, ed., *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii 3: Invitatoria et antiphonae* and *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii 4: Responsoria, versus, hymni et varia*, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta Series Maior: Fontes 7-12* (Rome: Herder, 1963-79).



singly to the end of a folio or in a margin; in series of prayers; in series of prayers which show signs of being organised into a specific *ordo* for private worship; complete *ordines* for private worship; and the formal Special Office. These five ways of copying private prayers into manuscripts illustrate the process by which prayerbooks take individual prayers out of their contexts, group them together, transform these groups into programmes for devotion, and ultimately produce Special Offices.

*Ælfwine's Prayerbook* usefully shows the five different contexts in which private prayers can be found. In the following table I have shown each text in this manuscript which is related to private devotion, with the prayers which I discuss in detail indicated in bold type. Texts unrelated to private prayer are shown in italics and not listed individually.

Table 2.2: A simplified table of contents for Ælfwine's Prayerbook.<sup>323</sup>

Folios	Text no.	Contents
D. xxvii, 2-25v	1-33	<i>Scientific and computistical material, calendar</i>
26r-27r	34	Three prayers
27r-64v	35-43	<i>Scientific texts, divination, Ælfric's 'De temporibus anni', Passion according to St John</i>
64v	44	<b>'Ave alma crux', 'O sancta crux', 'Hoc signaculo sanctae crucis'</b> (followed by a blank, unnumbered folio)
65v-73v	45-6	Miniature of the crucifixion, <b>'Devotions to the Holy Cross'</b>
74r	47	'Credo quod sis angelus sanctus' (12 <sup>th</sup> century addition)
75v-85v	48-51	Miniature of the Trinity, <b>Special Offices of the Trinity, the Holy Cross and the Virgin Mary</b>
86r-93v	52	<b>'Private prayers' (1)</b>
D. xxvi, 2r-v	53	<b>'Directions for private devotions'</b>
3r-16r	54-68	<i>Numerical texts and prognostics</i>
16v	69	'Prayers with Old English Rubric': to be sung when cleansing the hands and eyes
17r-18r	70-71	<i>Boils medicine; decisions of a synod (followed by two blank pages)</i>
19v	72	Miniature of Ælfwine with St Peter
20r-46r	73	<i>Collectar, including 'Daily Prayers for Sinners' and 'Collects for the Day Hours'</i>
46v-50v	74	<b>Psalmi de paenitentia</b>
51r-56v	75	Litany
56v-79r	76	<b>'Private prayers' (2)</b>
79v	77	'Charm for the finding of a thief'
80r-v	78	<i>Beginning of the Gospel according to St John</i>

### Single private prayers

The simplest way in which a prayer can appear in a manuscript is when it is added into a blank space between other items. One example of this in Ælfwine's *Prayerbook* is item 44 in the table above, which comprises the three short liturgical prayers 'Ave alma crux', 'O sancta crux' and 'Hoc signaculo sanctae crucis', combined into a single prayer.<sup>324</sup> Since the prayer directly follows the Passion according to St John, and the next folio and recto are blank, it is reasonable to assume that the scribe intended the text to fill some blank space. In other

<sup>323</sup> This is based on Günzel's table of contents and uses the text names and numbers from her edition. Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, 10-11.

<sup>324</sup> For their appearance separately in the *Portiforium*, see pages 114-5 below.

manuscripts, prayers are added into the margins, often at a considerably later date, as in the case of the tenth-century prayers in the *Royal Prayerbook*.<sup>325</sup> Such prayers do not usually appear to be intended as part of a programme for private devotion.

*Series of private prayers*

Alternatively, prayers can be grouped together in a section of a manuscript lasting for several folios. In *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, this can be seen in items 52 and 76.

These are a pair of long series of private prayers, mostly of the kinds defined above as 'short' or 'liturgical' prayers. Many of these are headed by rubrics such as 'Collecta' or, more rarely, a rubric explaining why it is to be used, such as 'ORATIO AD SVFFRAGIA SANCTI POSTVLANDA BENEDICTI' (*ÆP*, no. 52.11).<sup>326</sup> Within a series of this kind, some prayers may be clustered together according to their theme (for example, no. 76.32-43, which are for the forgiveness of the dead), suggesting that the compiler was thinking about how his or her material could be organised.<sup>327</sup>

Otherwise, however, there are no further indications for how such prayers should be used. By contrast, the eleventh-century prayerbooks also contain a number of fully-developed programmes of private prayer, and occasionally they show signs of how these may have developed from simple series such as items 52 and 76.

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<sup>325</sup> These have been edited by Joseph P. Crowley, ed., 'Latin Prayers Added into the Margins of the Prayerbook British Library, Royal 2.A.XX at the Beginnings of the Monastic Reform in Worcester', *Sacris Erudiri* 45 (2006): 223-303.

<sup>326</sup> 'Prayer for asking the help of St Benedict.'

<sup>327</sup> The prayers for the dead begin with the rubric 'Pro defunctis' (*ÆP*, no. 76.32; 'for the dead'), and ask for the forgiveness and salvation of the speaker's fellow monks and nuns, parents and friends (e.g. no. 76.39). In some of these prayers, the speaker has the opportunity to pray for individuals by name: 'miserere anime famuli tui .N.' (no. 76.35; 'have mercy on the soul of your servant [name]').

*Prayer sequences: the development of programmes for private prayer*

One item in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, which Günzel titles 'Devotions to the Holy Cross' (no. 46), is worthy of particularly close examination. It appears to represent a halfway stage between the simple sequence of prayers and the fully-developed private prayer programmes which will be discussed afterwards. Table 2.3 presents a general overview of the prayers within these folios. The bold text and dotted lines indicate sections which appear to have been usable as a programme for private devotion in their own right, as will be argued below.

Table 2.3: *Ælfwine's 'Devotions to the Holy Cross', Cotton Titus D. xxvii, ff. 66r-73v.*

No. <sup>328</sup>	Rubrics	Description
46.1-7	'SI VIS ORARE ANTE CRVCIFIXUM HOS PSALMOS CANTA. AD PEDEM DEXTRVM', etc. <sup>329</sup>	<b>A psalm and a prayer for each one of seven parts of Christ's body: right foot, left foot, right hand, left hand, mouth, chest and ears</b>
46.8	'PRECES'	Biblical verses, with the refrain 'Domine, miserere nobis'
46.9	'CVM HOC DICIS, PROSTERNE IN TERRAM ET DIC' <sup>330</sup>	Antiphons and a prayer, linked by <i>Paternosters</i>
46.10	-	'Tuam crucem adoramus'
46.11	'ORATIO'	'Ave, crux gloriosissima'
46.12	'HAE SVNT .IIII. CAUSAE QVIBVS SANCTA CRVX ADORATVR' <sup>331</sup>	Four reasons for adoring the cross
46.13	'ORATIO AD CRVCEM CVM SEPTEM PETITIONIBVS' <sup>332</sup>	'Pro sancta cruce tua' (a simple <i>lorica</i> for the protection of seven parts of the body)
46.14	'ANTE CRVCEM DOMINI DEPRECATIO SANCTA LEGENDA' <sup>333</sup>	'Per gloriam et uirtutem'
46.15	'PASSIO HIC DOMINI BREVITER CONSCRIPTA TENETVR. AD SANCTAMQVE CRVCEM. BONA HIC ORATIO CONSTAT' <sup>334</sup>	'Deus, qui uoluisti pro redemptione mundi'
46.16	'ORATIO IN .I. MANE AD CRVCEM' <sup>335</sup>	<b>Psalm 5, <i>Gloria patri</i>, <i>Kyrie</i>, <i>Paternoster</i>, <i>Creed</i></b>
46.17	'PRECES'	<b>Psalm <i>preces</i></b>
46.18	'COLLECTA'	'Respice, quesumus'
46.19	'ALIA'	'Gregem tuum, quesumus'
46.20	'COLLECTA'	'Adesto familie tue'
46.21	'ORATIO'	<b>'Obsecro te, Domine Iesu Christe' (<i>lorica</i> for the protection of eight parts of the body) and a final blessing</b>

<sup>328</sup> I use Günzel's numbering for each item.

<sup>329</sup> 'If you wish to pray before a crucifix, chant these psalms. To the right foot ...'

<sup>330</sup> 'When you say this, prostrate yourself on the ground and say: ...'

<sup>331</sup> 'These are four reasons for which the holy cross should be adored.'

<sup>332</sup> 'Prayer to the cross with seven petitions.'

<sup>333</sup> 'A holy prayer to be read before the cross of the Lord.'

<sup>334</sup> 'The passion of the Lord is preserved briefly written here, and to the holy cross. A good prayer is found here.'

<sup>335</sup> 'Prayer in the early morning to the cross.'

These eight folios contain a number of prayers of the kind which I have designated as ‘short’ or ‘short liturgical’. However, it can be seen from the table above that nearly all of the texts have identifying rubrics or directions for use. It is therefore something more than a simple series of prayers, and yet it is not altogether clear that the entire text was intended to be used together. It may instead be that this item encompasses several short sequences of prayers, any one of which could be separated from the others and used on its own as a complete programme for private devotion. For example, immediately following the miniature of the crucifixion (*ÆP*, no. 45) is the rubric, ‘SI VIS ORARE ANTE CRVCIFIXUM HOS PSALMOS CANTA’, followed by antiphons to be said to seven named parts of Christ’s body (no. 46.1-7).<sup>336</sup> These seven prayers could stand alone, separate from the rest of the collection.

Similarly, towards the end of the section, appears the rubric ‘ORATIO IN .I. MANE AD CRVCEM’,<sup>337</sup> followed by a psalm, the *Gloria Patri*, *Kyrie eleison*, *Paternoster*, *Creed*, some *preces*, three collects, a short *lorica* and a final blessing before the end of the text (no. 46.16-21). It is not clear whether the rubric was intended to refer to all of the following prayers, but it is arguable that items 46.16-21 could have formed an act of devotion to the cross on their own. In these folios, prayers have been joined together with psalms and *Paternosters* as a formal act of private worship, which will be discussed further in Chapter Three (pages 194-203 below).

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<sup>336</sup> ‘If you wish to pray before a crucifix, chant these psalms.’ Catherine Karkov has written on the miniatures in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook* and the part which they play in creating a programme of devotion along with the prayers. Catherine E. Karkov, ‘Abbot Ælfwine and the Sign of the Cross’, in *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter*, eds. Karen Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov and Sarah Larratt Keefer, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 3, 103-32 (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2010), 105-10, 114; Karkov, ‘Text as Image’, 98-104.

<sup>337</sup> ‘Prayer in the early morning to the cross.’

*The complete private prayer programme (1)*

Transitional prayer sequences like Ælfwine's devotions to the cross appear to have evolved into complete, formalised acts of private worship, giving detailed descriptions of how, when and why to use them. Two particularly good examples can be found in late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks: the 'Directions for Private Devotions' in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* and an *ordo* for demonic persecution in the *Portiforium*. The 'Directions' are as follows:

- [1] Ælce sunnandæg bebeod þe ðære þrynnesse naman, þæt is fæder 7 sunu 7 se halga gast.  
 [2] 7 sing 'benedicite' 7 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' 7 'credo in Deum' 7 'pater noster' Criste to lofe, þonne gelimpð þe ealle wucan þe bet.  
 [3] Mihtest þu gewunian þæt ðu hit sunge ælce dæge, þonne ðu ærest onwoce.  
 [4] 7 cwep ðonne God ælmihtig, 'For þinre miclan mildheortnesse 7 for ðissa godes worda mægne, miltsa me, 7 syle me minra gedonra synna forgyfnesse, 7 ðara towardra gescildnessa, 7 þine bletsunga to eallum þingum 7 huru minre sawle reste on ðam ecan life 7 a ðine miltse.'  
 [5] 7 geþenc ælce frigedæge, þæt ðu strecce þe on eorðan godes þances, 7 sing 'DEVS misereatur nostri.' [Ps. 66]  
 [6] 7 do þis dihllice, þær ðu sylf sy.  
 [7] 7 geþenc þæt he ðrowode on þone dæg micel for eall mancyn.  
 [8] Ne mæg ænig mann on his agen geþeode þa geswinc 7 þara costnunga nearonessa, þe him onbecumað, Gode swa fulfremedlice areccan, ne his mildheortnesse biddan, swa he mæg mid þillicum sealnum 7 mid oþrum swilcum.  
 [9] Gyf þu ælce dæge þine tidsangas wel asingst, ne þearft ðu næfre to helle, 7 eac on þisse worulde þu hæfst þe gedefe lif.  
 [10] 7 gyf ðu on hwilcum earfeðum byst 7 to Gode clypast, he ðe miltsað 7 eac tīpað, þonne þu hine bitsð. Amen. (*ÆP*, no. 53).<sup>338</sup>

<sup>338</sup> (1) Every Sunday, pray in the name of the Trinity, that is the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit. (2) And sing 'Benedicite', 'Glory to God in the Highest', 'I believe in God' and 'Our Father' to the praise of Christ; then all the week will go the better for you. (3) You could get used to singing it every day, when you first wake up. (4) And then say to God Almighty, 'For your great mercy, and for the power of these words of God, have mercy on me, and grant me forgiveness of the sins I have committed, and protection against future ones, and your blessings in all things, and especially my soul's rest in eternal life, and your mercy forever.' (5) And every Friday, think to stretch yourself out onto the earth with thanks to God, and sing 'God have mercy on us'. (6) And do this secretly, where you are alone. (7) And think that he suffered greatly on that day for all mankind. (8) No man can tell God so effectively, in his own language, of the hardship and oppression of the temptations which come to him, nor ask his mercy, as he can with these psalms and with other such. (9) If you sing your Hours well every day, you need never go to hell, and in this world too you will have a good life. (10) And if you are in any kind of trouble and call to God, he will have mercy on you and also give to you, when you ask him. Amen.' This text has been written in a hand which Ker suggests may date from after Ælfwine's use of the prayerbook. Ker, 266.

This text outlines a complete programme of morning devotions: an invocation of the Trinity, the *Benedicite*, *Gloria in excelsis*, *Creed* and *Paternoster*, a vernacular penitential prayer; and, on Fridays, a period of reflection followed by a short psalm of penitence which is nevertheless not one of the usual seven. The reader is told when to pray and in which posture, what he or she should think about, and that it is important to pray alone. Indeed, this *ordo* also explains why it is important to pray in private: it will lead to blessings this week and in this life generally, as well as in heaven; furthermore, God will forgive the reader's sins and grant what he or she prays for. Unlike Ælfwine's 'Devotions to the Holy Cross', this text allows for no ambiguity in how it was expected to be used. The beginning and ending of this text, and its usage, are indisputable.

Although Günzel reports no analogues for the 'Directions', it is important to note that they have a direct link to the Carolingian tradition of private prayer: specifically, to the *De laude psalmorum* attributed to Alcuin, which was discussed on pages 39 and 59-63 above. The reader of the 'Directions' is taught:

Ne mæg ænig mann on his agen geþeode þa geswinc 7 þara costnunga nearonessa, þe him onbecumað, Gode swa fulfremedlice areccan, ne his mildheortnesse biddan, swa he mæg mid þillicum sealum 7 mid oþrum swilcum (*ÆP*, no. 53.8).<sup>339</sup>

The section of *De laude psalmorum* on the second use of the psalms includes the words,

nullatenus potes tua propria lingua nec humano sensu tam perfecte miseriam tuam ac tribulationem angustiamque diversarum temptationum explicare et

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<sup>339</sup> 'No man can explain to God so perfectly, in his own language, of the hardship and constriction of the temptations which come to him, nor ask his mercy, as he can with these psalms and with such others.'



illius misericordiam implorare quam in his psalmis et ceteris his similibus  
(*De laude psalmodum*, ll. 164-70).<sup>340</sup>

To date, it has not been observed that the Old English advice is almost an exact translation from the Carolingian text, apart from the absence of ‘nec humano sensu’ and the change from the second to the third person. The grammatical change is puzzling, considering that the rest of the Old English ‘Directions’ are in the second person: it implies that this advice is a kind of quotation from another, more authoritative source. *De laude psalmodum* therefore had a clear impact upon the concept of private devotion in later centuries. It shows how central the psalms were to creating a bond of prayer between the monk and God. Despite God’s complete knowledge of the speaker’s sufferings and temptations, he is expected to express to him, in the words of these most special prayers and psalms, his struggles with temptation in the present and need for mercy in the future.

A similarly detailed *ordo* for private prayer can be found in the *Portiforium of St Wulstan* and is to be said in cases of demonic persecution. This text was added to the manuscript in a hand of the eleventh or twelfth century,<sup>341</sup> and while it is too long to be quoted in full, a rough outline is provided below:

[1] GYF ðE ðYNCE þæt ðine fynd þwyrlice ymbe þe ðrydian ðonne gang þu on gelimplicere stowe · 7 þe ða halgan rode to gescyldnesse geciiġ 7 asetē þe aðenedum earmum 7 cweð þus ærest.

<sup>340</sup> ‘You cannot in any way, in your own language, nor in human thought, so perfectly explain your suffering, and the trouble and constriction of various temptations, and ask his mercy as in these psalms and in others similar to them.’ Jonathan Black, ed., ‘Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks: Alcuin and the preface to *De psalmodum usu*’, *Mediaeval Studies* 64, 1-60 (2002): 53.

<sup>341</sup> Ker, 114-15. The same text can be found in the eleventh-century manuscript London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A. iii. Phillip Pulsiano, ed., ‘British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, fol. 59rv: An Unrecorded Charm in the Form of an Address to the Cross’, *American Notes and Queries*, n. s. 4:1 (1991): 3-5. The Tiberius text is discussed in detail by R. M. Liuzza, who consequently argues that it is inappropriate to distinguish too sharply between a prayer and charm. R. M. Liuzza, ‘Prayers and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross’, in Karen Louise Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov and Sarah Larratt Keefer, eds., *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 1, *Medieval European Studies* 9, 276-320 (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2008), 308-20.

- [2] [Prayer: ‘Ave alma crux’]  
 [3] Sing ðonne þas salmas oð ende. Domine deus meus in te speraui [Ps. 7].  
 Vsquequo domine. Exaudi domine .iii.  
 [4] [Kyrie, Paternoster and preces]  
 [5] [Prayer: ‘Redemptor et saluator noster’]  
 [6] Stand þonne up sumhwile · 7 sing ðisne sealm oð ende aþenedum  
 earmum. Domine quid multiplicati sunt [Ps. 3]. 7 cweð þæræfter þas  
 bledsunge.  
 [7] [Blessing: ‘Hoc signaculo sanctæ crucis’]  
 [8] Sing þisne salm oð ende · 7 sing hine aþenedum earmum swa oft swa ðu  
 oftost mæge. Ad te domine leuau [Ps. 25].  
 [9] [Kyrie, Paternoster and preces]  
 [10] [Prayer: ‘Deus qui per crucem’]  
 [11] 7 wyrc swyþe gelome cristes rode tacen on ðinum heafde · 7 cweð þis  
 gelome. Ecce crucem domini. 7 cweþ ðis þonne. Hoc signaculo sanctæ  
 crucis (*Portiforium*, II, 24, ll. 3-31).<sup>342</sup>

The meaning of the cross sign and the prayers themselves will be examined further in Chapter Three. What is important here is the way in which these prayers have been consciously arranged as an *ordo* for specifically private use: it is addressed to a singular ‘þu’. The reader is told not only that these are good prayers to say, but also the precise situation in which they should be used: cases of demonic persecution.<sup>343</sup> He is instructed which posture and gestures to use, and precisely how much of each psalm to sing. This shows how private prayerbooks develop the uses of prayers.

Interestingly, the sequence of prayers in the *Portiforium* also demonstrates how prayers that appear in one manuscript as single items can be found in other manuscripts as parts of private rituals for particular purposes. It was noted above

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<sup>342</sup> ‘(1) If it seems to you that your enemies are thinking about you insolently, then go to a suitable place and call upon the holy cross for your protection, and sit down with outstretched arms, and firstly say thus ... (2) [‘Ave alma crux’] (3) Then sing these psalms to the end: ‘O Lord my God, in thee have I put my trust’, ‘How long, O Lord?’, ‘Hear, O Lord’ ... (4) [Kyrie, Paternoster and preces] (5) [‘Redemptor et saluator noster’] (6) Then, stand up for some time and sing this psalm to the end with outstretched arms: ‘Why, O Lord, are they multiplied?’ and after that, say this blessing ... (7) [‘Hoc signaculo sanctæ crucis’] (8) Sing this psalm to the end, and sing it with outstretched arms as often as you most frequently can: ‘To thee, O Lord, have I lifted’ ... (9) [Kyrie, Paternoster and preces] (10) [‘Deus, qui per crucem’] (11) And make Christ’s cross sign very frequently on your head, and say this frequently: ‘This is the cross of the Lord’; and say then this: ‘By this little sign of the holy cross’.’

<sup>343</sup> As will be examined further in Chapter Three, the prayers specifically refer to demonic persecution, although they ask for protection from human enemies also. See pages 176-8 below.

that the prayers ‘Ave alma crux’, ‘O sancta crux’ and ‘Hoc signaculo sanctae crucis’ have been added together to the end of a folio in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook* in the form of a single prayer (*ÆP*, no. 44).<sup>344</sup> In the *Portiforium* they appear as two separate prayers in this *ordo* for demonic persecution. This demonstrates that individual prayers from different sources could be assembled into fully-developed programmes for private devotion such as the *Portiforium ordo*. Alternatively, the process may have happened in reverse: useful prayers may have been extracted from public and private liturgies and added onto blank folios. While little can be said with certainty about the transmission of prayer texts in the eleventh century, it is clear that the users of prayerbooks were at liberty to borrow from a wide variety of sources and put together their own programmes for private worship.

*The complete private prayer programme (2)*

Another kind of complete *ordo* for private devotion is a group of prayers taken all together from a particular liturgy, with some directions for use. This, as will be argued, is a kind of Special Office in its evolutionary stages. *Galba* contains several sequences of psalm incipits, *Paternosters* and collects, taken from the same feast or organised according to a common theme. These sequences are listed in table 2.4 below:

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<sup>344</sup> See page 106 above.

Table 2.4: Personal liturgical ordines in the Galba Prayerbook.

Text no. <sup>345</sup>	Muir's title	Contents (identified by Muir)
27	'Various incipits and rubrics'	An incomplete version of no. 69 below
28	'The Psalter Collects'	The penitential psalms and the associated collects (the Carolingian <i>Psalmi de paenitentia</i> )
29	'Prayers for Eastertide'	Collects for Easter week
65	'A Series of Prayers 'ad horas''	Prayers for the Hours translated into Old English
68	'Prayers from the Veneration of the Cross Ceremony'	Penitential psalms and three prayers for Good Friday, in Latin and Old English
69	'Prayers and Incipits'	<i>Paternoster</i> etc., psalms and collects for Trinity Sunday
82	'Verses from Psalm [69]'	Verses from Ps. 69
84	'Biblical Verses'	Verses from Judith, Psalms and Job
88	'The Feast of St. Michael'	Mass prayers for the feast of St Michael

Many more of these programmes may be masked by the poor condition of the *Galba* manuscript. From this table, it should be clear that the *Galba Prayerbook* was frequently used to put together programmes of prayers for use in private worship. The more significant examples amongst these deserve further detailed introduction. They will demonstrate that texts from the liturgies of the church's feasts, or verses from the Bible, were adapted by private users to create complete programmes for private prayer, for use on a particular feast or in a specific situation.

The function of items 82 and 84 are not clear, as they and the intervening folios are almost illegible; however, they are both collections of Biblical verses united by the theme of enemies. For example, one verse reads:

⟨Eff⟩unde super eu⟨m⟩ [-os] iram tuam et ind⟨igna⟩tio tua ⟨compreh⟩endat eum [-os] \*\*\* uerte \*\*\* dolor eius [-orum] \*\*\* inimici et iniqui \*\*\* (*Prayer-Book*, 167).<sup>346</sup>

<sup>345</sup> I use Muir's numbering for each item.

<sup>346</sup> 'Pour thy indignation upon him and let thy wrathful anger take hold of him ... turn ... his wounds ... enemies and iniquity ...' Modern English translation based upon the Douay-Rheims where possible. Glosses are marked in square brackets.

The *eum* of this text may have referred to a particular demon which the speaker wished to banish. With the manuscript in such poor condition, it is difficult to see how these texts were used, but they may have been *ordines* offering protection from spiritual assault, similar to the *ordo* in the *Portiforium*.

The prayers for the Veneration of the Cross (no. 68), on the other hand, more clearly demonstrate how a group of prayers could be assembled as a complete act of private worship. This item shows just how complex the relationship between private and liturgical prayer could be: it was a sequence of originally private prayers which was then altered for liturgical use, and subsequently used for personal devotion in its new form. In *Galba*, this text consists of the incipits of the seven penitential psalms divided up by three prayers to Christ on the cross: ‘Adoro te’, ‘Gloriosissime conditor mundi’ and ‘Qui tuas manus mundas’, all of which appear in both Latin and Old English. A similar text, also bilingual, appears in the *Portiforium*, where it has been developed even further through the inclusion of the *Kyrie eleison* and three series of antiphons (*Portiforium*, II, 20-2). Lilli Gjerløw identifies these three prayers for the Veneration as being ‘of extralitururgical character’, and argues that they originate in private prayerbooks such as the *Book of Cerne* and the Carolingian *libelli precum*.<sup>347</sup> It would therefore appear that the three prayers were derived purely from the Anglo-Saxon private prayerbook tradition.

However, these very same three prayers were used in the *Regularis concordia* liturgy for Good Friday, in which they were said together with the seven penitential psalms (*RC*, ll. 1066-1101), just as in *Galba* and the *Portiforium*. The

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<sup>347</sup> Lilli Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis: The Regularis Concordia and the Decreta Lanfranci. Manuscript Studies in the Early Medieval Church of Norway* (Oslo: Norwegian Universities Press, 1961), 15. See also Sarah Larratt Keefer, ‘The Veneration of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England’, in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, eds. M. Bradford Bedingfield and Helen Gittos, HBS Subsidia 5, 143-84 (London: Boydell Press, 2005), 149-50. ‘Adoro te’ is no. 19 in *Cerne*, 2.12 in the *Libellus Parisinus* and no. 16.13 in the *Libellus Turonensis*; ‘Gloriosissime conditor mundi’ is no. 1.5 in the *Libellus Trecensis*.

version of ‘Adoro te’ in the later prayerbooks is also far closer to that in the *Regularis concordia* than to the distinctly different text in *Cerne*.<sup>348</sup> Gjerløw also notes that ‘Qui tuas manus mundas’ does not appear in any manuscript before the *Concordia*.<sup>349</sup> It therefore seems that these *ordines*, as they appear in *Galba* and the *Portiforium*, owe more to their liturgical usage than to the origins of these prayers in the early Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks. It may be the case that the users wanted to pray using the original words of the Good Friday service, but needed a translation for the greater understanding of them, or simply that they wished to say their private prayers in their native language. The prayers for the Veneration of the Cross therefore show that the relationship between private and liturgical prayer was a reciprocal one in which each influenced the other.

In items 29 (prayers for Easter), 69 (prayers for Trinity Sunday) and 88 (prayers for the feast of St Michael), the compiler has extracted the collects for a particular feast.<sup>350</sup> The most significant of these is potentially item 69, which Muir titles ‘Prayers and Incipits’. It follows this plan:

*Quicumque vult*

*Paternoster*

*Creed*

‘Benedictus es, domine ...’ [lines from the *Benedicite*]

‘Te trina deitas ...’ [lines from Gregory I’s *Liber responsalis*, for the feast of All Saints]

[Eighteen Biblical verses, mostly from the psalms]

‘*In euangelium. Te deum patrem ingenitum ...*’ [gospel antiphon for Trinity Sunday]

[Four Biblical verses, again mostly from the psalms]

‘*Collecta. Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui dedisti famulis tuis ...*’ [collect for Trinity Sunday]

<sup>348</sup> Gjerløw compares the two basic versions, one exemplified in *Cerne* and the other in the *Concordia*, in *Adoratio Crucis*, 16-21, 24-8. The glossed version of the *Regularis concordia* in Tiberius A. iii omits the glosses for all three prayers.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid.*, 23. Gjerløw notes some similar prayers, including no. 52.10 in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, which may have been influences upon ‘Qui tuas manus mundas’.

<sup>350</sup> Item 65 (the prayers for the Hours) will be discussed in detail as the final part of this chapter on pages 132-53 below.

‘*Collecta. Da <p>opulo tuo, domine, quesumus inuiolabile dei ...*’ [‘*Oratio de natale domini*’]  
 ‘*Collecta. Omnipotens sempiterne deus, trina maiestas et una deitas ...*’  
 [collect for Matins on Trinity Sunday] (*Prayer-Book*, no. 69).<sup>351</sup>

In this item, a group of collects has been extracted from a feast liturgy for personal use, but prefaced by a large number of psalm verses and the *Paternoster* and *Creed*. This is therefore a particularly well-developed prayer programme. Muir comments that

It seems as if someone had originally brought these texts together to form a short devotional text for Trinity Sunday for his or her personal use, which, however, was firmly rooted in the liturgy with which that person was so intimately familiar.<sup>352</sup>

It may be that Muir understates the significance of this text. The Trinity Sunday devotional differs from the other prayer programmes discussed above by using the liturgical collects as the final part of an act of devotion beginning with the most important statements of belief in the Christian faith and based around the psalms.

From the examples discussed above, and from the evidence presented in table 2.4, it should be clear that the eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks contain a number of *ordines* for private prayer. Some, such as the *Psalmi de paenitentia*, were transmitted from earlier eras. Some appear to have been put together from existing collections of prayers, and the ‘Devotions to the Holy Cross’ in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook* may be an example of the process which groups of prayers went through in order to be made into formalised *ordines*. Finally, the *Galba Prayerbook* contains several collections of prayers organised around a particular theme or from the same liturgy, joined together with psalms and *Paternosters* to make a personal devotional

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<sup>351</sup> Information on the sources of the texts is taken from Muir’s notes to this item and to its analogue in the same manuscript, *Prayer-Book*, no. 27.

<sup>352</sup> Muir, *Prayer-Book*, 147, n. 1.

guide. Muir's concept of the 'short devotional text ... [for] personal use',<sup>353</sup> based on liturgical sources, implies a similarity between these texts and a yet more formalised kind of private worship: the Special Offices, which can be seen in a number of manuscripts of the eleventh century.

### *The Special Office*

*Ælfwine's Prayerbook* includes three texts which Günzel has identified as Special Offices of the Trinity, the Cross and the Virgin Mary. Briefly put, *Ælfwine's Office of the Trinity* follows this plan:

'Deus in adiutorium meum intende' [Ps. 69:2]  
*Gloria Patri*  
 [Antiphons and psalm verses]  
 [Capitulum]  
 [Response and versicle]  
 'HYMNVS. VENI CREATOR SPIRITVS.'  
 [Versicle and antiphons]  
*Kyrie eleison*  
*Paternoster*  
*Creed*  
 'Benedicamus patrem et filium ...'  
 'Te summa deitas ...'  
 'Domine exaudi' [Ps. 101/142]  
 'COLLECTA. OMNIPOTENS SEMPITERNE DEVS, COAETERNA maiestas et una deitas ...'  
 [Incipits of five other collects]  
 'ORATIO. SANCTA TRINITAS VERAQVE VNITAS ...'  
 'ALIA ORATIO. TE ADORO, DOMINE ...'  
 'ORATIO AD INDIVIDVAM TRINITATEM. DOMINE DEVS OMNIPOTENS, AETERNE ET INEFFABILIS ...'  
 'ITEM ALIA ORATIO. OBSECRE TE, SANCTA TRINITAS ...' (*ÆP*, no. 49).

The 'Office of the Holy Cross' is similar but shorter, with the hymn 'Vexilla regis' (no. 50). The 'Office of the Blessed Virgin', with the hymn 'Ave maris stella', follows the same pattern as the Office of the Trinity, but includes a greater number

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<sup>353</sup>*Ibid.*



of *orationes* (no. 51). From the plan above, it should be apparent that the ‘Special Office of the Trinity’ in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook* is longer and more complex than that in *Galba*, and more carefully modelled on communal liturgy. Most notably, it opens with the verse ‘Deus in adiutorium’, with which the communal liturgy of the Hours began (*Rule*, ch. 18.1), and includes a hymn. There is, nevertheless, a similarity between the two: the first part of each text includes psalm verses and the *Paternoster*, *Creed* and other foundational prayers of the Christian faith, and the latter part is composed of prayers, of which at least some are collects taken from a liturgical feast.

These ‘Special Offices’ follow the liturgy of the Hours in their inclusion of antiphons, hymns and collects, but they also include prayers for the user, who can name him- or herself by name and with appropriate gendered forms. For example, ‘Obsecro te, sancta trinitas’, in the Office of the Trinity, gives the speaker the opportunity to name him- or herself:

defende me undique diuina protectione miserum/am et peccatorum [*sic*]  
/tricem famulum/am tuum/am .N. (*ÆP*, no. 49.11).<sup>354</sup>

The prayer formats of the Divine Office are thus used to aid one’s own safety and salvation.

Private Special Offices were popularised in England in the eleventh century, and in some monasteries they became incorporated into the liturgy.<sup>355</sup> According to a note appearing in a twelfth-century manuscript written by Orderic Vitalis (Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, 14), Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester instituted

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<sup>354</sup> ‘Defend me, a pitiable sinner and your servant [both genders], [name], everywhere by your divine protection.’ Günzel notes that ‘peccatorum’ has been altered by a later hand to ‘peccatorem’. Günzel, *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, 131.

<sup>355</sup> Inge B. Milfull, ed., *The Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a Study and Edition of the ‘Durham Hymnal’*, CSASE 17 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 58.

Offices of the Virgin; of Paul, Peter and the other apostles; and of all the saints.<sup>356</sup>

Clayton queries whether this evidence is authentic, but accepts that English Offices of the Virgin developed out of private devotion and that Ælfwine's Office of the Virgin may possibly be the same as Æthelwold's.<sup>357</sup> However, where Special Offices appear in other manuscripts, they are distinctly different from those in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*: they are for each Hour of the monastic day. This is the case in the Hours of the Virgin in London, British Library Royal 2 B. v. and Cotton Tiberius A. iii, and those of the Trinity in the *Crowland Psalter*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296.<sup>358</sup> Another important difference is that they give the full text of their hymns.<sup>359</sup> Dewick notes that Ælfwine's Office of the Virgin contains elements of liturgies for both Prime and Evensong, suggesting that it is 'a private devotion which might be said at any convenient time'.<sup>360</sup>

This raises the question of what should be counted as a 'Special Office', and what as merely a 'programme for private prayer'. The examples of the latter, discussed above, are carefully-planned sequences of prayers connected by psalms and other liturgical items, on a particular theme. If an Office can be defined at all, it differs from these programmes in being more closely based on the liturgy for the canonical Hours, replicating traditional schemes of hymns, antiphons and responses. Muir, as shown above, considers the text on the Trinity in *Galba* to be simply 'a

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<sup>356</sup> Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, CSASE 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 67.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*, 67-8.

<sup>358</sup> E. S. Dewick, ed., *Facsimiles of Horae de Beata Maria Virgine from English MSS. of the Eleventh Century*, HBS 21 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1902), cols. 1-18 (Royal 2 B. v), cols. 19-44 (Tiberius A. iii); Barbara C. Raw, ed., 'The Office of the Trinity in the Crowland Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296)', *ASE* 28, 185-200 (1999): 192-200.

<sup>359</sup> Compare, for example, 'Ave maris stella' in Royal 2 B. v with its appearance in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*. Dewick, *Horae de Beata Maria*, col. 15; Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, no. 51.1.

<sup>360</sup> Dewick, *Horae de Beata Maria Virgine*, ix. A useful summary of the Special Offices found in Anglo-Saxon liturgical manuscripts can be found in J. B. L. Tolhurst, *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, 6 vols., HBS 69-71, 76, 78 and 80 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1932-42), VI, 107-30.

short devotional text for Trinity Sunday’, rather than regarding it as a Special Office.<sup>361</sup> Barbara Raw, on the other hand, refers to the Trinity texts in both *Galba* and *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook* as ‘[s]horter private devotions in honour of the Trinity’, presumably because they do not include texts for each of the Hours, whereas the text in the *Crowland Psalter* is an ‘office’ which ‘may have been put together for private use by a woman.’<sup>362</sup> However, even though the *Crowland* text has a complete round of Special Offices for all the canonical Hours, these do not conform to one particular set of texts for the Hours of the Trinity, but draw on the different traditions represented in the other full sets of Offices.<sup>363</sup> The *Ælfwine* and *Galba* texts are likewise made up of elements from these various versions of the Office.<sup>364</sup> This shows, if a reminder were needed, that there was no liturgical uniformity in this period, least of all in private worship.

In summary, it is difficult to state precisely which programmes of private devotion can be called Special Offices and which cannot. The *Galba* prayers for Trinity Sunday could reasonably be considered, if not a full Office, at least an example of the Offices in development, while the texts in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook* are full Special Offices, albeit only for one Hour each. The evolution of the private Anglo-Saxon Office then reached its completion in the full, formal Offices seen in manuscripts such as the *Crowland Psalter* and Royal 2 B. v. It may therefore be that the Special Offices themselves started out as idiosyncratic collections of liturgical texts and private devotions put together for personal use in prayerbooks such as *Ælfwine* and *Galba*. More of these Offices and proto-Offices will be examined in close detail in Chapter Three below.

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<sup>361</sup> Muir, *Prayer-Book*, 147, n. 1.

<sup>362</sup> Raw, ‘The Office of the Trinity’, 187 and 191.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid.*, 189-91.

<sup>364</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*, 193, n. 58.

This chapter has therefore demonstrated the wide variety of contexts in which private prayers are found in the prayerbooks of this period: lone prayers added into manuscript spaces; simple series of prayers; semi-formalised sequences, with some directions for use; complete prayer programmes which nevertheless had no formal place in private liturgy; private Offices for one Hour only; and the full series of private Offices for each Hour of the day. As the later medieval Book of Hours was formed of such Offices of the Virgin and the Cross, the eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon prayerbook can be seen as the environment in which the Books of Hours began to take shape.<sup>365</sup> In addition, these prayerbooks included programmes of prayers and psalms which drew on the daily cursus of the monastic Hours. The remaining half of this chapter will examine how the psalms and the pattern of Offices instituted in the *Regula Benedicti* likewise had their counterparts in private prayer.

### **Private prayers in psalters**

The central part of all the Offices was the psalms, which were considered to be the best form of prayer. Consequently, when a monk or nun prayed in private, it was most likely to the psalms that he or she turned. This trend has already been seen in the Carolingian prayer programmes based on the psalms, which were discussed in Chapter One, such as the *Psalmi de paenitentia*.<sup>366</sup> Indeed, this work continued to be copied in later centuries – it appears in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (*ÆP*, no. 74) and also in *Galba* (*Prayer-Book*, no. 28) – which indicates the continuing importance of the penitential psalms in private confessional prayer.

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<sup>365</sup> For a description of the typical contents of a late medieval Book of Hours, see Roger S. Wieck, 'The Book of Hours', in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, eds. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, 473-513 (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 2001), 480-510.

<sup>366</sup> See pages 38-9, 58-9 above.

In the late Anglo-Saxon era, private prayers were added to psalters from earlier centuries, which, as Thomas Bestul notes, was a particularly common practice in Continental Europe.<sup>367</sup> In Anglo-Saxon England, this can be seen in manuscripts such as the *Vespasian Psalter*, London, British Library Cotton Vespasian A. i,<sup>368</sup> where eleventh-century additions include a prayer added to the start of the psalter:

[S]uscipere digneris domine deus omnipotens hos psalmos consecratos quos ego indignus et peccator decantare cupio. in honorem nominis tui et beatę semper uirginis marię et omnium sanctorum tuorum. pro me miserrimo infelice. seu pro cunctis consanguineis meis. uel pro amicis meis. necnon pro illis qui in me habent fiduciam. et pro cunctis fidelibus uiuentibus siue defunctis. Concede domine ut isti psalmi omnibus proficiant ad salutem. et ad ueram penitentiam faciendam. uel emendationem. et ad uitam ęternam amen (*Vespasian*, no. 1).<sup>369</sup>

This prayer does not make clear whether the psalter was chanted in private, or whether it refers to the ordinary recital of the psalms in the Offices. However, it does testify to the prayer-created bonds between the monk and his community, both inside and outside of the monastery, blurring the distinction between the enclosed world of the monastery and the wider church.

A similar prayer is found in London, British Library Arundel 155, which is an eleventh-century Roman psalter including contemporary glossed prayers.<sup>370</sup>

‘Liberator animarum’, the forty-fourth and penultimate in this series of prayers, has

<sup>367</sup> Bestul, ‘Continental Sources’, 112 and 114. See also Bestul’s list of Anglo-Saxon private prayers, which contains a number of these psalters, on pages 124-6.

<sup>368</sup> Vespasian A. i, an eighth-century Roman psalter, had a number of prayers added to its end in the eleventh century, including ‘Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae’ and a number of interesting prayers to the cross. The manuscript is discussed and introduced in greater depth in Chapter Three (pages 161-2), where it is suggested that the Roman psalter may have been becoming obsolete at the time that the prayers were added. The addition of private prayers to the manuscript would suggest that the psalter fell into some kind of private use, or, at least, that private prayers had been composed to accompany the chanting of the psalms.

<sup>369</sup> ‘O Lord God Almighty, may you deign to receive these consecrated psalms, which I, unworthy and a sinner, desire to sing in honour of your name and of the blessed ever-virgin Mary, and of all your saints, for me, unhappily most miserable, or for all my relatives, or for my friends, and also for those who have trust in me, and for all the faithful, living or dead. Grant, O Lord, that by all of these psalms they might attain to salvation, and to the making of true penitence, or emendation [of life], and to eternal life. Amen.’ All expansions of words in Kuhn’s edition of *Vespasian* are my own.

<sup>370</sup> Gneuss, no. 306; Ker, no. 135.

the rubric ‘Oratio post psalterium. vel orationum’.<sup>371</sup> In this prayer, the speaker asks that he may be protected from sin and from all harm through the singing of the psalms and prayers in the manuscript:

Supplico te ego peccator per immensam clementiam et misericordiam tuam. et per modulationem psalorum et orationum quos ego indignus et peccator decantavi. libera animam meam de omni peccato (‘Prayers from MS. Arundel 155’, 113, ll. 13-14, 114, ll. 1-3).<sup>372</sup>

This prayer suggests that psalms and private prayers could be said together for the good of one’s own soul. Again, it is not clear if this psalter was used for reciting a private Office. However, these two prayers do reveal that there existed private prayers which shaped the experience of the communal liturgy and gave it its meaning. Individual readers were given the chance to offer the psalms which they chanted for the salvation of themselves and of the people around them. These prayers therefore acted as the meeting-point between the public liturgy of the Hours and private devotion, and show how the one shaped the other.

### **Private celebration of the Hours: the *Benedictine Office***

According to the *Regula Benedicti*, the liturgy of the Hours was instituted so that monks could fulfil the Psalmist’s injunction to praise God seven times a day (Ps. 118:164) and in the middle of the night (Ps. 118:62; *Rule*, ch. 16). The Offices were the essence of the monastic life, which is expressed in Benedict’s command to sing them with reverence:

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<sup>371</sup> Jackson J. Campbell, ed., ‘Prayers from MS. Arundel 155’, *Anglia* 81, 82-117 (1963), no. 44. The final prayer, ‘Deus omnipotens bone et iuste’, is in a different hand, suggesting that ‘Liberator animarum’ was originally intended to be the final prayer. Ker, 171.

<sup>372</sup> ‘I, a sinner, ask you through your boundless compassion and mercy, and through the singing of psalms and prayers which I, an unworthy sinner, have chanted, free my soul from all sin.’ This prayer also appears in the *Libellus Turonensis*, no. 19.1. Wilmart, *Precum libelli*.

Ubique credimus divinam esse praesentiam et oculos Domini in omni loco speculari bonos et malos, maxime tamen hoc sine aliqua dubitatione credamus cum ad opus divinum assistimus (*Rule*, ch. 19.1-2).<sup>373</sup>

It has already been noted, in Chapter One, that the *Rule* of St Benedict insists that monks should participate in the Hours even when away from the monastery (ch. 50.1-4). This requirement is reiterated in the *Regularis concordia*: travellers are urged to speak of holy and necessary things,

ut horas regulares non equitando sed de equis desiliendo, genuflectentes nisi dies festiva fuerit, conuenienter, ut potuerint, cum diuina conpunctione compleant (*RC*, ll. 168-71).<sup>374</sup>

If the tenth-century reformers considered this Benedictine obligation to be worth restating, then they must have believed it to be of high importance. Indeed, this practice was not restricted to travel, nor to monks: Palazzo notes that it likewise became customary for clergy to say the Offices in private in the tenth century.<sup>375</sup> Nevertheless, while the *Regularis concordia* does insist that monks dismount to celebrate the Hours, it does not specify beyond this what form the Offices might take outside of choir. Conversely, there are a couple of brief references to chanting the Hours outside of the official times. The senior monks are advised to do this after Prime to drive away the devil (*RC*, ll. 366-73), and, after the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, the monks are all expected to say Compline silently (ll. 1149-53).

The *Regularis concordia* says little about why monks were supposed to observe the Hours in this period, presumably because this was expected to be

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<sup>373</sup> ‘We believe that the divine presence is everywhere and that in every place the eyes of the Lord are watching the good and the wicked. But beyond the least doubt we should believe this to be especially true when we celebrate the divine Office.’

<sup>374</sup> ‘So that they might more conveniently fulfil the regular Hours with divine compunction, as they might, not while riding, but dismounting from their horses, genuflecting, unless it is a feast day.’

<sup>375</sup> Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998), 118-9.

common knowledge. However, the *Old English Benedictine Office* (hereafter referred to as the *Benedictine Office*), a text compiled for secular clerics, explains in full why the Offices were so important. Although it is not, strictly speaking, a text intended for use in private prayer, it can be used to understand why certain parts of the Offices were extracted for private devotional use. Furthermore, an examination of this text will lead to a close analysis of the *Prayers ad horas*, a series of private prayers for the Hours which were in use in the same era as the *Benedictine Office*.

The *Benedictine Office* survives in two mid-eleventh century manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library Junius 121 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201.<sup>376</sup> It is an explanatory guide to the Offices, structured according to the eight canonical Hours, plus the capitular Office following Prime. The short general introduction, which explains why God should be worshipped seven times a day, is followed by a section for each of the Hours, every one beginning with a short preface explaining why one should praise God at that time of the day, and a brief conclusion.<sup>377</sup> These prose passages, all in Old English, are a reworking of Hrabanus Maurus' *De institutione clericorum*, which indicates how influential Hrabanus' explanation of the Hours was in the following centuries.<sup>378</sup> Each preface is followed by Latin texts and incipits of some, but not all, of the liturgy necessary for performing the Offices at each Hour: collects, antiphons, hymn incipits, and psalm verses in Latin and

<sup>376</sup> Junius 121: Gneuss, no. 644, Ker, no. 338; Corpus Christi 201: Gneuss, no. 65.5, Ker, no. 49.

<sup>377</sup> James M. Ure, ed., *The Benedictine Office: an Old English Text*, Edinburgh University Publications: Language and Literature 11 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957), 81-102.

<sup>378</sup> Emil Feiler recognised Hrabanus Maurus' *De institutione clericorum* as the basis for the prose parts of the *Benedictine Office*, and Bernhard Fehr identified the excerpts used from manuscripts Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190 and 265. Building on Fehr's work, Ure argues that this text is based on *De clericorum institutione*; that it was translated, probably by Ælfric, using Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190; and that it was revised and extended by Wulfstan, using Corpus Christi 265. Conversely, Peter Clemons argues against Ælfric's authorship of the translation. Emil Feiler, 'Das altenglische Benediktiner-Offizium: ein altenglisches Brevier aus dem 11. Jahrhundert', *Anglistische Forschungen* 4, 1-81 (1901): 54; Bernhard Fehr, 'Das Benediktiner-Offizium und die Beziehungen zwischen Aelfric und Wulfstan', *Englische Studien* 46, 337-46 (1913): 337-46; Ure, *Benedictine Office*, 15-16, 25-46, especially 25-6, 34-5, 42-3; Peter Clemons, 'The Old English Benedictine Office, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 190, and the Relations between Ælfric and Wulfstan: a Reconsideration', *Anglia* 78, 265-83 (1960): 265-70.



English.<sup>379</sup> The version in Junius 121 also includes vernacular poems based on the *Paternoster*, *Gloria Patri* and *Creed*.<sup>380</sup>

It has been argued conclusively that the *Benedictine Office* is far from being a complete service book. Ure notes that only the word ‘Psalmus’ indicates that the psalm is to be said at Terce, and that the *Benedictine Office* gives the prayers and readings, but not all the psalm readings.<sup>381</sup> It cannot have functioned as a full service text, but merely an exposition of the liturgy.<sup>382</sup> Furthermore, Houghton identifies aspects of the text as secular practice, with Houghton concluding that the *Benedictine Office* was

to be used by literate monks for the instruction of ignorant secular clergy in the performance of the seculars’ own proper divine service.<sup>383</sup>

Although the *Benedictine Office* does not provide a straightforward description of the monastic Hours, it demonstrates which aspects of the monastic services were considered to be worth explaining and teaching to lay clerics in their own language.

It was noted in Chapter One that Hrabanus’ discussion of the Offices in *De institutione clericorum* emphasises the distinction between the Hours and the

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<sup>379</sup> Ure, *Benedictine Office*, 83-100. Thomson’s edition of 1849 was the first to note that the translated psalm verses were taken from a complete text of the poetic *Paris Psalter*, which is of interest as the extant manuscript has only prose versions of the first fifty psalms. E. Thomson, ed., *Godcunde Lar 7 Peowdom: Select Monuments of the Doctrine and Worship of the Catholic Church in England before the Norman Conquest* (London: Richard and John E. Taylor, 1849), xiv; Ure, *Benedictine Office*, 17-19.

<sup>380</sup> *Ibid.*, 83-94.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>382</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>383</sup> John William Houghton, ‘The *Old English Benedictine Office* and its Audience’, *American Benedictine Review* 45:4, 431-45 (1994): 439-45; see also Tolhurst, *Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey*, VI, 50. Christopher Jones suggests that the *Office* and other paraliturgical texts associated with Wulfstan may have been used in the examination of priests’ knowledge. Christopher A. Jones, ‘Wulfstan’s Liturgical Interests’, in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: the Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 10, 325-52 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 332-4. See also Christopher A. Jones, ‘The Book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England’, *Speculum* 73:3, 659-702 (1998): 693-5.

Mass.<sup>384</sup> The general introduction to the *Benedictine Office*, which is essentially a much shorter summary of the opening chapter of the second book of *De institutione*, does likewise. Just as Hrabanus begins by distinguishing between the Mass, which is celebrated by the priest, and the Hours, which are celebrated by the whole church, ‘generaliter sine differentia’<sup>385</sup> (‘generally and without distinction’), the *Benedictine Office* begins by explaining that

Godcund þeowdom is gesett on cyrclicum þenungum æfter canoneclican gewunan to nydrihte eallum gehadedum mannum (*Benedictine Office*, 81, ll. 1-3).<sup>386</sup>

Since one can observe the Hours without having been ordained as a priest, there was the chance that one could say the Offices by oneself.

Being composed for those with less of a theological education, the *Benedictine Office* emphasises the aspects of the Offices which presumably were judged to be most important. This can be seen by comparing Hrabanus’ introduction to Matins with that in the *Office*:

In vigilia ergo matutina dominus Israhelem ducens per rubrum mare pharaonem et Aegyptios in ipso dimersit, et matutina hora Christus a morte resurgens, populum suum salvans, diabolum et satellites eius aeterna captivitate damnavit (*De institutione*, 2.2).<sup>387</sup>

On dægred hit gewearð þæt ðurh Godes mihte Moyses gelædde þæt Israhelitisce folc of Egipta land eall unwemme ofer ða Readan Sæ, and æfter ðam sona seo sylfe sæ besencte and adrencte Godes wiðerwinnan, Pharaonem and eall his gegenge. And on dægred hit gewearð þæt Crist of deaþe aras and of helle gelædde ealle þa ða he wolde; and his wiðerwinnan,

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<sup>384</sup> See page 53 above.

<sup>385</sup> Detlev Zimpel, ed. and trans., *Hrabanus Maurus: De institutione clericorum, Über die Unterweisung der Geistlichen*, Fontes Christiani 61, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), II, 248.

<sup>386</sup> ‘The Divine Office is established in church services according to canonical custom as the duty of all ordained men.’

<sup>387</sup> ‘So at the morning vigil, the Lord, leading Israel through the Red Sea, drowned the Pharaoh and the Egyptians in it; and in the morning hour Christ, rising again from the dead, saving his people, doomed the devil and his followers to eternal captivity.’

þæt is deofol sylfne, he besencte and *eall* his gegenge on helle-susle  
(*Benedictine Office*, 82, ll. 3-10).<sup>388</sup>

Here, the author is translating from *De institutione* but elaborating it in order to make absolutely clear the symbolism linking Moses and Pharaoh to Christ and the Devil, and using unsubtly similar phrasing in each sentence, which suggests that this audience was rather unfamiliar with the prefiguration of New Testament events in the Old Testament. In this passage, the reader comes to understand his or her participation in the Hours as part of a tradition of religious service at specific times of the day, which stretches back to Old Testament times.

Again, as in *De institutione*, the *Benedictine Office* justifies the seven Hours by referring to Psalm 118:164 (81, ll. 5-10). The opening paragraph of the text does not engage with the paradoxes created by Scripture in quite the same way as does the introduction to the Hours in *De institutione*: it is not interested in harmonising Christ's teaching on secret prayer with the injunctions in the New Testament Epistles to praise God openly at all times (*De institutione*, 2.1). However, it does introduce a similar subject by reconciling the ideal of constant prayer with the practicalities of life:

On ælcne timan man sceal God herian and on ælcere stowe georne to Gode clypian. Ac þeahhwæðere syndon gesette timan synderlice to ðam anum, þæt gyf hwa for bysgan oftor ne mæge, þæt he huru þæt nydriht dæghwamlice gefylle ... Nis æfre æniges mannes mæð þæt he cunne God swa forð geherian swa he wyrðe is. Ac hit is þeah ure ealra þearf þæt we geornlice him þeowian and ðenian þæs ðe we magon and cunnon (*Benedictine Office*, 81, ll. 4-7, 14-17).<sup>389</sup>

<sup>388</sup> 'At dawn it happened that, through God's power, Moses led the Hebrew people out of the land of the Egyptians completely unscathed over the Red Sea, and right after that the same sea submerged and drowned God's enemy Pharaoh and all his company. And at dawn it happened that Christ rose from death and led all that he wanted out of hell, and he submerged his enemy, that is the Devil himself, and all his company, in the torment of hell.'

<sup>389</sup> 'One should praise God all the time and call earnestly to God in every place; however, there are specific times appointed for each one, so that if someone, because of busyness, cannot do so more often, he may nevertheless fulfil that duty daily ... It is never in the power of any man that he may

The pragmatism of this introduction, its lack of detailed engagement with conflicting Biblical passages, and its emphasis on the busyness of life all make this text more suitable for those with relatively little knowledge of Scripture and experience of the Offices. It states that the Hours should be observed by all those who live the religious life, because through them one can link each part of the day to the death of Christ and commemorates the events in the Bible which prefigured it. It also teaches that God deserves to be praised at all times, but the Hours exist to reconcile this constant praise with what is humanly possible.

### **Private celebration of the Hours: the *Prayers ad horas***

The *Benedictine Office* is a good indicator of what was believed to be important in the Offices in the late Anglo-Saxon period. It can therefore be used as a lens through which to examine a series of vernacular prayers for the Hours in the *Galba Prayerbook*. These were given the name ‘a series of Prayers ‘ad Horas’’ by R. A. Banks and appear in *Galba* after either two or three other Old English prayers.<sup>390</sup> The *Prayers ad horas*, as they appear in the *Galba Prayerbook*, seem to be a series of prayers for use at the times of the Hours. As they are in the vernacular, they must have had some kind of private use. The prayers share similar concerns to the *Benedictine Office*, especially since the collects for Prime, Terce and None in the *Office* are the Latin versions of the *Prayers ad horas* for those Hours (*Benedictine*

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know how to praise God as much as he is worth. However, it is necessary for us all to serve and minister to him earnestly, as far as we can and know how to.’

<sup>390</sup> R. A. Banks, ed., ‘Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers from British Museum MS. Cotton Galba A.xiv’, *NQ*, n. s. 12.6, 207-13 (1965): 210; Muir, *Prayer-Book*, no. 65. I consider the *Prayers ad horas* proper to begin with the prayer beginning ‘Min drihten hælen<d> Crist, godes sunu, on þinum noman ic mine handa up ahæbbe’ (*Prayer-Book*, 138, ll. 10-11): see page 147 below. Whether there are two or three Old English prayers preceding this one depends on whether a new prayer begins at ‘Min drihten, þu gefyldest me ...’ at the top of folio 106r, which is debatable. Muir, *Prayer-Book*, 138, l. 6.

*Office*, 94, ll. 16-20; 96, ll. 29-31 – 97, ll. 1-2; 98, ll. 13-18; cf. *Prayer-Book*, no. 65).<sup>391</sup>

Both the *Benedictine Office* and the *Prayers ad horas* aim to link each Hour to the day of Christ's crucifixion. For example, the former introduces Terce as follows:

On undern we sculon God herian forðam on undern-timan Crist wæs ðurh þara Iudea dom to deaðe fordemed and toward þære rode gelæd, þe he syððan on þrowode for ealles middaneardes alysednysse (95, ll. 27-30).<sup>392</sup>

The collect for Terce in the *Benedictine Office* is as follows:

Domine deus qui hora tertia diei ad crucis poenam pro mundi salute ductus es, te suppliciter deprecamur ut de preteritis malis nostris semper apud te inueniamus ueniam et de futuris iugiter habeamus custodiam, qui cum patre (96, ll. 29-31 – 97, ll. 1-2).<sup>393</sup>

The same collect appears in the *Prayers ad horas* in this English translation:

Min drihten hæle<sup>nd</sup> Crist, þu þe on þa ðriddan <sup><tide d></sup>æges rode <sup><pin></sup>e<sup>394</sup> gelæded wære for ealles middaneardes hælo, ic þe bidde eadmodlice þæt þu mine synna adilgie *and* ic minra forðgewitenra synna æt þe forgifennessa gemete *and* þæt þu me sy wið þan towardum synnum arful hyrde (*Prayer-Book*, 138, ll. 15-19).<sup>395</sup>

Through praying at the Hour of Terce, the reader allows his or her own daily routine to commemorate and be united with the events of the day on which Christ was

<sup>391</sup> Banks recognises the Prime prayer in the *Benedictine Office* but not the other two. Banks, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers', 212-13.

<sup>392</sup> 'In the morning we should praise God, because in the morning time Christ was condemned to death through the judgement of the Jews and led towards the cross, on which he afterwards suffered for the salvation of all the world.'

<sup>393</sup> 'O Lord God, who at the third hour of the day were led to the punishment of the cross for the salvation of the world, we humbly beg you that we may always find in you pardon for our past evils and that we may perpetually have protection against future evils, who with the Father ...'

<sup>394</sup> For my preference for Banks' emendation of 'pine' over Muir's 'þine', see page 148 below.

<sup>395</sup> 'My Lord Saviour Christ, you who at the third time of the day were led to the torture of the cross for the salvation of all the world, I ask you humbly that you may blot out my sins and that I may find forgiveness of my past sins in you, and that you may be a merciful guardian against the future sins.'

crucified, while thanking God for his mercy in bringing him or her through each part of the day, marked by the natural periods of light and darkness, like the light of Christ and the darkness of sin. M. Bradford Bedingfield has written about how liturgy develops the participants' feeling of identification with Biblical figures so much so that they are:

trained to feel that, for the time of the commemoration, they have some sort of connection with these biblical figures, speaking with their voices and relating to Christ as had they, experiencing what those invoked experienced, and learning what they learned.<sup>396</sup>

The *Prayers ad horas* are an example of this phenomenon. By contemplating Good Friday through prayer, the reader becomes more conscious of the timescale and pacing of that day than if they had simply read or heard a Gospel narrative.

The *Prayers ad horas* also achieve a similar aim, that of linking Christ's last day to the wider spiritual world. This is most obvious from the prayer for None:

Min drihten hælend Crist, þu þe on rode galgan ahangen wære *and* þone scapan þu onfenge þe on þe gelyfde on þa fægernesne neorxnawonges gefean ... Ic þe eadmodlice mine synna andette *and* ic bidde þe for þinre micelan mildheortnesse þæt ic mote æfter minre forðfore neorxnawonges gatu agan (*Prayer-Book*, 139, ll. 5-10).<sup>397</sup>

Not only are the times of the crucifixion day linked to each part of the reader's day, but the reader finds in the events of that day a pattern which will have an effect on his or her eternal future.

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<sup>396</sup> M. Bradford Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England*, ASS 1 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 9.

<sup>397</sup> 'My Lord Saviour Christ, you who were hung on the gallows of the cross and received the criminal who believed in you into the beauty of the joy of paradise ... I humbly confess my sins to you and ask you, by your great mercy, that I may reach the gates of paradise after my going hence.'

### **The appearance of the *Prayers ad horas* in the *Galba Prayerbook***

Although the focus of this thesis is on the eleventh-century use of texts, rather than on their origins, it is worth examining the process by which the *Prayers ad horas* may have come to be in the *Galba Prayerbook*. These prayers have liturgical roots, but in their full form owe more to the Carolingian prayerbook tradition. In the remainder of this chapter, I will undertake a brief study of the sources, indicating the relationship between the vernacular *Prayers ad horas* and their Latin analogues. This will include, on pages 143-6 below, a complete text of these prayers in both languages, followed by a close reading of the different variants in the Latin and English texts.

In Chapter One, I introduced the Carolingian *libelli precum* which include the Latin *Prayers ad horas*.<sup>398</sup> It was R. A. Banks who identified the prayers in *Galba* as translations, and found a Latin analogue to all but one of them.<sup>399</sup> However, he did not locate them in the *libelli precum*, nor in all of the sacramentaries in which some of them are found. These can be seen most clearly in the form of a table:

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<sup>398</sup> See pages 40-1 above.

<sup>399</sup> Banks, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers', 210-13.

Table 2.5: Latin analogues to the Prayers ad horas identified by R. A. Banks.<sup>400</sup>

Hour	Opening of prayer in <i>Galba</i> , no. 65	Opening of Latin analogue	Page nos. in Banks	Analogues identified by Banks
[Second hour]	Min drihten hælen<d> Crist, godes sunu, on þinum noman ic mine handa up ahæbbe; drihten hælend Crist, þu ðe me þisse uhtantide ...	-	-	-
Terce	Min drihten hæle<nd> Crist, þu þe on þa ðridan <tide> ...	DOMine ihesu [ <i>sic</i> ] christe qui hora tertia diei ...	211	<i>Liber sacramentorum, Durham Collectar, Leofric Collectar, Portiforium of St Wulstan</i>
Sext	Min drihten hælend Crist, þu þe on þa sixtan tide ...	DOMine ihesu christe qui hora diei sexta ...	211	<i>LS, DC, LC, Portiforium</i>
None	Min drihten hælend Crist, þu þe on rode galgan ...	Domine ihesu christe qui hora diei nona in crucis patibulo ...	211-2	<i>LS, DC, LC, Portiforium</i>
Vespers	þancas ic do <min drihten> ...	Gratias tibi agimus, Domine Deus ...	212	<i>De psalmodium usu</i>
Twelfth hour	Min drihten waldend and gescyldend ...	Domine Deus, dominator omnium et protector ...	212	<i>DPsU</i>
Prime	Drihten god almiht<ig>, þu þe to fruman þisses dæges ...	Domine sancte pater omnipotens æterne deus qui nos ad principium huius diei ...	210, 212-3	<i>LC, Benedictine Office</i>

There are, however, some problems with Banks' summary of the analogues. In his overall conclusion, Banks argues that the *Galba* scribe used a now lost source based closely upon *De psalmodium usu*, concluding that the *Prayers ad horas* were not, originally, liturgical prayers, but prayers from *De psalmodium usu* which found a use

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid.*



in liturgical books.<sup>401</sup> He therefore believes the *Galba Prayers ad horas* to be a sequence of private Old English prayers translated from a sequence of private Latin prayers. However, despite his identification of *De psalmorum usu* as the ultimate source of the prayers, he does not note that the full sequence appears there, including an ‘Oratio ad secundam horam’ which is clearly Banks’ missing source for the prayer ‘drihten hælend Crist, þu ðe me þisse uhtantide’.<sup>402</sup> Banks instead believes that the Old English prayer is ‘a version of the collect for Prime’.<sup>403</sup> He also links the opening sentence, ‘Min drihten hælend Crist, godes sunu, on þinum noman ic mine handa up ahæbbe’, to the phrase ‘elevatio manuum nostrarum’ in *De psalmorum usu*, whereas I will demonstrate that it had a different derivation.<sup>404</sup>

In order to create a fuller picture of the roots of the Anglo-Saxon *Prayers ad horas*, it is necessary to show that the Latin prayers appear in far more sources than Banks uncovered. Table 2.6 shows the main prayers in the *Ad horas* sequence in the sources which are most relevant to this study.<sup>405</sup> For reasons of space and clarity, it excludes similar prayers on the same model which have become attached to the sequence in a couple of the manuscripts. Each text is listed according to its number in the standard edition used throughout this thesis, or, in the case of the *Leofric Collectar* and the *Benedictine Office*, according to the column and page number respectively. The unusual order of the prayers in the *Libellus Parisinus* and *Galba* is indicated in bold, as its implications will be made clear below.

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<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*, 212-3.

<sup>402</sup> Alcuin, *De psalmorum usu liber*, PL 101, cols. 465B-508D; the prayers can be found at cols. 507A-508A. For the texts of the Latin prayer and its Anglo-Saxon translation, see the entry for the second Hour in table 2.7, on page 143 below.

<sup>403</sup> Banks, ‘Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers’, 213.

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.*, 210.

<sup>405</sup> As discussed on page 139, some of the information in this table is derived from Banks, ‘Some Anglo-Saxon prayers’, 210-13, and Günzel, *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, 215.

Table 2.6: The conventional Prayers ad horas sequence and its appearance in a select manuscript record

Hour	Genre	Sacramentaries			Anglo-Saxon Collectars				Carolingian private prayerbooks					Guide to liturgy	Late AS private prayerbooks	
	Prayer name	<i>Gregorian</i> , vol. 3	<i>Gellone</i>	<i>Liber Sacramentorum</i> , PL 101. 462D-463B	<i>Durham Collectar</i>	<i>Portiforium collectar</i> <sup>406</sup>	<i>Leofric Collectar</i>	<i>Ælfwine's Prayer-book collectar</i>	Paris 2731 A	<i>De psalmodum usu</i> , PL 101. 507A-508A	<i>Libellus Parisinus</i>	<i>Libellus Turonensis</i>	<i>Libellus Trecensis</i>	<i>Ben. Office</i>	Royal 2 A. xx <sup>407</sup>	<i>Galba Prayer-book</i> (OE)
Rising from bed	In nomine tuo levabo manus meas								no. 2a.1		<b>no. 1.1</b>					<b>no. 65.3</b>
Prime	Qui ad principium huius diei	no. 4406	no. 2120	ch. 18.9		no. 315	col. 69		no. 19a	14.1	<b>no. 1.8</b>	no. 7.3	no. 2.1	94		<b>no. 65.9</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Hour	Qui nos in hac hora secunda								no. 20a	14.2	no. 1.2	no. 7.2	no. 2.2			no. 65.3
Terce	Qui hora tertia diei ad crucis	no. 4407	no. 2122	ch. 18.10	no. 658	no. 317	cols. 70 and 131	no. 73.195	no. 21a	14.3	no. 1.3	no. 7.4	no. 2.3	96-7		no. 65.4
Sext	Qui hora diei sexta pro redemptione	no. 4408	no. 2123	ch. 18.11	no. 659	no. 319	cols. 70 and 131	no. 73.196	no. 22a	14.4	no. 1.4	no. 7.5	no. 2.4			no. 65.5
None	Qui hora diei nona in crucis	no. 4409	no. 2124	ch. 18.12	no. 660	no. 321	cols. 70-1 and 131	no. 73.197	no. 23a	14.5	no. 1.5	no. 7.6	no. 2.5	98		no. 65.6
Vesp.	Gratias agimus tibi domine		no. 2132			no. 323		no. 73.191	no. 24a	14.6	no. 1.6	no. 7.7	no. 2.6		no. 28	no. 65.7
12 <sup>th</sup> Hour	Dominator omnium et protector								no. 25a	14.7	no. 1.7		no. 2.7			no. 65.8
Comp.	Pacem tuam domine da nobis								no. 26a	14.9			no. 2.8		no. 29	

<sup>406</sup> Hughes, *Portiforium*, I.<sup>407</sup> Crowley, 'Latin Prayers'.

Even a brief examination of table 2.6 should show clearly that only a limited range of the *Prayers ad horas* appears in the sacramentaries and collectars, whereas a longer sequence was transmitted in the private prayerbooks, including *Galba*. As Banks notes, the prayers for Terce, Sext and None appear in the *Liber sacramentorum*.<sup>408</sup> Günzel has also noted their presence in the *Gregorian Sacramentary* and, accompanied by the prayer for Vespers, in the *Gellone Sacramentary*.<sup>409</sup> To Banks' and Günzel's observations, it should be added that the prayer for Prime likewise appears in these three sacramentaries.<sup>410</sup> However, the prayers for the second and twelfth Hours and for Compline do not occur in the sacramentary tradition, but are exclusive to the private prayerbooks.

The sacramentary-based sequence of the *Prayers ad horas* continued to be copied in the late Anglo-Saxon era. As Banks notes, the prayers for Terce, Sext and None appear in the *Leofric Collectar*, *Durham Ritual* (that is, the *Durham Collectar*) and the collectar of the *Portiforium*, and the prayer for Prime appears in the *Leofric Collectar*.<sup>411</sup> The prayers for Terce, Sext, None and Vespers also appear in the collectar in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (*ÆP*, nos. 73.191, 195-7), and the prayers for Prime and Vespers in the *Portiforium's* collectar.<sup>412</sup> It is therefore evident that the prayers for Prime, Terce, Sext, None and Vespers are derived from the sacramentary tradition, whereas the prayers for the second and twelfth Hours are not.

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<sup>408</sup> Banks, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers', 211; Alcuin, *Liber sacramentorum*, PL 101, cols. 445B-466A, see col. 463A-B.

<sup>409</sup> Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, 215; Jean Deshusses, ed., *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien: ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, Spicilegium Friburgense 16, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn., 3 vols (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1992), III, nos. 4407-9; A. Dumas and Jean Deshusses, eds., *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis: Textus*, CCSL 159 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), nos. 2122-4, 2132.

<sup>410</sup> Deshusses, *Grégorien*, no. 4406; Dumas and Deshusses, *Gellonensis*, no. 2120; Alcuin, *Liber Sacramentorum*, col. 462D.

<sup>411</sup> Banks, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers', 210-1; Dewick, *Leofric Collectar*, I, cols. 69-71, 131; Corrêa, *Durham Collectar*, nos. 658-60; Hughes, *Portiforium*, I, nos. 317, 319, 321.

<sup>412</sup> Hughes, *Portiforium*, I, nos. 315, 323; Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, 215.

The Carolingian private prayerbooks, on the other hand, include full sequences of prayers for Prime, the second Hour, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, the twelfth Hour and Compline. This sequence can be found in: the *Libellus Trecensis*; the *Libellus Parisinus* (except the Compline prayer); the *Libellus Turonensis* (except the twelfth Hour and Compline prayers); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 2731A; and in chapter fourteen of *De psalmodum usu*.<sup>413</sup> As explained in Chapter One, in his letter ‘Beatus igitur David’, Alcuin advised Charlemagne to pray privately at ‘prima hora, secunda, tertia, sexta, nona, uespertina et duodecima’.<sup>414</sup> Stephan Waldhoff has noted not only that these are not the canonical Hours, but also that they correspond exactly with the *Prayers ad horas* found in Paris 2731A (excepting the prayer for Compline).<sup>415</sup> For this reason, he regards Alcuin himself as the author of the Latin *Prayers ad horas*.<sup>416</sup> However, Jonathan Black has expressed doubts about this, noting that Waldhoff disregards the sacramentaries.<sup>417</sup> What can be said, however, is that the unusual sequence of Hours in the *Prayers ad horas* may owe something to Alcuin’s influence, even if he did not compose the additional prayers.

Therefore, from an in-depth examination of the evidence presented in table 2.6, it should be clear that there were two separate traditions of the *Prayers ad horas*. However, rather than there being one Carolingian tradition and another Anglo-Saxon one, there was instead a limited version of the sequence in the sacramentaries and

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<sup>413</sup> Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, *Libellus Trecensis* no. 2.1-8, *Parisinus*, no. 1.2-8, *Turonensis*, no. 7.2-7; Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, nos. 19a-26a; Alcuin, *De psalmodum usu liber*, cols. 507A-508A.

<sup>414</sup> ‘The first hour, the second, the third, the sixth, the ninth, at evening and at the twelfth hour.’ Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, no. 1a, l. 3.

<sup>415</sup> *Ibid.*, 230-5.

<sup>416</sup> *Ibid.*, 234-5.

<sup>417</sup> Jonathan Black, ‘Review of *Alcuins Gebetbuch für Karl den Grossen*, by Stephan Waldhoff’, *Speculum* 83, 772-4 (2008): 773. Black has also argued that, since the Carolingian reforms replaced older liturgical traditions with the Benedictine *cursus*, ‘the orations for *Secunda* and *Duodecima* no longer would have been suited for liturgical usage, but they found a new place in private devotion and were preserved in nonliturgical prayerbooks.’ Jonathan Black, ‘The Divine Office and Private Devotion in the Latin West’, in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, eds. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, 45-71 (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 2001), 63-4.

collectars, and a fuller one in the private prayerbooks.<sup>418</sup> It can be supposed that the prayers for Prime, Terce, Sext, None and Vespers were gathered from the liturgical sources and assembled into a series of prayers for the personal observance of the Hours, perhaps with the prayers for the second and twelfth Hours, and for Compline, being composed especially for this series. Since the full sequence appears to have been composed for the Carolingian prayerbooks, it is evident that *Galba*, alone of the Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks, must have in some way have followed in this tradition.

At the moment, it is not possible to be certain where the Anglo-Saxon translator found his or her Latin texts of the *Prayers ad horas*. There are far more textual variants than can be taken account of without making a full study of the prayers, and in any case not all of the sources may be known at present. However, the order of the prayers in *Galba* suggest that it has been influenced, at whatever remove, by the version preserved in the *Libellus Parisinus*, one of the earliest currently-known texts of the full sequence of prayers. Although there are some further lexical correspondences between the two versions (some of which are shared by other manuscripts of the *Prayers ad horas*), there are, however, also dissimilarities.

This is not the place for a full study of all the variants between the different texts of the *Prayers ad horas*, nor one in which to include all the additional prayers which have become attached to them in other traditions. However, it is still worthwhile to compare the Latin versions in the *Libellus Trecensis* and *Libellus Parisinus* with the translation in *Galba*.

*Trecensis* and *Parisinus* both date from the early ninth century and are therefore the earliest versions of the full sequence, although they are demonstrably

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<sup>418</sup> While this is a useful overall distinction, the *Benedictine Office* does not fit into one pattern or the other, and neither do the tenth-century additions to the *Royal Prayerbook*, which include the prayers for Vespers and Compline. Crowley, 'Latin Prayers', nos. 28-9.

different from one another.<sup>419</sup> In table 2.7, the prayers are shown in the order in which they appear in each manuscript. Significant differences between the versions are indicated in bold, and suggested changes to Muir's edition are given in brackets. This table includes the entire sequence of prayers as they appear in these three manuscripts: there are no psalms, antiphons or other prayers to accompany them.

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<sup>419</sup> Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, 5.

Table 2.7: The Prayers ad horas in three manuscripts.<sup>420</sup>

Hour	<i>Trecensis</i> , no. 2	<i>Parisinus</i> , no. 1	<i>Galba</i> , no. 65	Translation of <i>Galba</i>
Rising from bed		[The end of the letter ‘Beatus igitur David’] ... Cum autem de lectulo stratus vestri surrexeritis, dicendum vobis est: « <b>Domine Iesus Christe filius dei in nomine tuo levabo manus meas</b> ».	<b>Min drihten hælend Crist, godes sunu, on þinum noman ic mine handa up ahæbbe;</b> [the prayer for the second Hour follows immediately]	My Lord Saviour Christ, son of God, in your name I lift up my hands.
Prime	PRIMA IGITUR ORA SIC ORANDUM EST. Domine deus qui ad principium huius diei nos pervenire fecisti, tua nos salva virtute, ut in hac die ad nullum declinemus peccatum, sed semper ad tuam iustitiam faciendam nostra procedant eloquia, per.	[See final prayer]	[See final prayer]	[See final prayer]
2nd	SECUNDA VERO HORA SIC ORABITIS: Domine deus omnipotens qui nos in hanc horam secundam per nocturnos caligines pervenire fecisti, conserva nos hodie per omnium horarum spacia et momenta temporis, et <b>perpetua</b> nos semper fac <b>misericordia</b> permanere inlaesos, per.	Secunda vero hora sic orabis: «Domine deus omnipotens qui nos in hac ora secunda nocturnas caliginis <b>incolomis</b> pervenire fecisti, conserva nos hodie per omnium orarum spacia et momenta temporis et <b>in tua gracia</b> nos semper fac permanere inlesus».	drihten hælend Crist, þu ðe me þisse uhtantide <b>gesund`n`e</b> þurh ðas nihtlican dimnesse becuman lete, geheald me nu todæg, drihten, þurh ealre tida fæc and b <sup>ea</sup> rhtmas and <b>mid þinre gyfe læd me &lt;unge&gt;dered`n`e</b> .	Lord Saviour Christ, you who let me come through to this dawn whole, hold me now today, Lord, through the hours and moments of all times, and through your grace lead me unharmed.
Terce	TERTIA AUTEM HORA SIC ORABITIS: Domine deus Christe Iesu qui hora tertia diei ad crucis poenam pro mundi salute ductus es, te suppliciter deprecamur ut nostra deleas peccata,	Tercia autem hora sic orabis: «Domine Iesus Christe qui hora tertia diei ad crucis penam ductus es pro mundi salute, te suppliciter deprecamur ut nostra deleas peccata,	Min drihten hæle<nd> Crist, þu þe on þa ðriddan <tide d>ægges rode <þinve [pine? wite?] gelæded wære for ealles middaneardes hælo, ic þe bidde eadmodlice þaæt þu mine	My Lord Saviour Christ, you who at the third time of the day were led to your cross [to the torture/punishment of the cross?] for the salvation of all the world, I ask you humbly that you

<sup>420</sup> Wilmart, *Precum libelli*; Muir, *Prayer-Book*.

	ut et de praeteritis malis nostris semper apud te inveniamus veniam, et de futuris iugiter habeamus custodiam, qui cum patre.	et ut de preteritis malis nostris semper apud te inveniamus veniam, et de futuris iugiter habeamus custodiam».	synna adilgie <i>and</i> ic minra forðgewitenra synna æt þe forgifennessa gemete <i>and</i> þæt þu me sy wið þan towardum synnum <b>arful hyrde</b> .	may blot out my sins and that I may find forgiveness of my past sins in you, and that you may be a merciful guardian against the future sins.
<b>Sext</b>	SEXTA HORA SIC ORABITIS: Domine Iesu Christe qui dum hora sexta pro <b>perditione</b> mundi crucis ascendisses lignum universus mundus in tenebris conversus est, illam nobis lucem in anima et corpore semper tribue, per quam ad aeternam vitam pervenire mereamur qui cum.	Hora quippe sexta ita orandum est: «Domine Iesu Christe qui dum hora sexta pro <b>redemptione</b> mundi crucis ascendisti lignum universus mundus in tenebris conversus est, illam nobis lucem in animam et corpore nostro semper tribue per quem ad eternam vitam pervenire mereamur».	Min drihten hælend Crist, þu þe on þa sixtan tide dægges rode treow gestige for middaneardes <b>onlesednesse</b> <i>and</i> þes middanearð wæs eall on þystre gehwyrfed, syle me s<y>mble þæt leoht minre sawle <i>and</i> mi<n>es lic<h>oman þæt ic geearnian mo<te> <i>and</i> cuman to eacan life.	My Lord Saviour Christ, you who at the sixth time of the day climbed the tree of the cross for the liberation of the world, and the world was all turned into darkness, grant always that light of my soul and my body, that I may merit and come to eternal life.
<b>None</b>	NONA HORA SIC ORABITIS: Domine deus Iesu Christe qui hora nona in crucis patibulo confitentem latronem intra <b>moenia</b> paradysi transire iussisti, te suppliciter confitentes peccata nostra deprecamur, ut post obitum nostrum paradysi nobis gaudia introire gaudentes concedas qui cum patre vivis.	Et hora nona sic orabis: «Domine Iesu Christe qui ora nona in crucis patibulo confitente latrone infra <b>agmina</b> paradisi transire fecisti, te supplices confitentes peccata nostra deprecamur ut post obitum nostrum paradisi <b>nos portas fac</b> introire gaudentes».	Min drihten hælend Crist, þu þe on rode galgan ahangen wære <i>and</i> þone scaþan þu onfenge þe on þe gelyfde on þa <b>fægernesse</b> neorxnawonges <b>gefean</b> , <i>and</i> hine mid þe feran <b>lete</b> ; <b>þu wære rice cyning þeah þu on rode hangadest</b> . Ic þe eadmodlice <b>mine synna andette</b> <i>and</i> ic bidde þe for þinre micelan mildheortnesse þæt ic mote æfter minre forðfore neorxnawonges <b>gatu</b> agan.	My Lord Saviour Christ, you who were hung on the gallows of the cross and received the criminal who believed in you into the beauty of the joy of paradise, and let him go with you: you were a powerful king even though you hung on a cross. I humbly confess my sins and ask you, by your great mercy, that I may reach the gates of paradise after my going hence.



<b>Vesp</b>	VESPERTINUS AUTEM HORIS SIC ORARE OPORTET: Gratias tibi agimus domine deus omnipotens qui nos viventes per huius diei cursum in hanc horam vespertinam pervenire tribuisti, te supplices deprecamur, ut ad te elevatio manuum nostrarum sit in conspectu tuo acceptabile sacrificium vespertinum per.	Vespertinus autem horis ita orare oportet: «Gracias tibi agimus domine deus omnipotens qui nos viventes per unius diei cursus in hac ora vespertina pervenire tribuisti te supplices deprecamur ut ad te elevatio manuum nostrarum sit in conspecto tuo acceptabile sacrificium vespertinum».	Pancas ic do <min drihten> ælm<ihtig> god þæt þu me <b>ges&lt;undne&gt;</b> þurh þisses dæges ryne to þisse æfentide becuman lete.	I give you thanks, my Lord God Almighty, that you let me come safe through the course of this day to this evening-time.
<b>12<sup>th</sup></b>	DUODECIMA NAMQUE HORA ITA ORANDUM EST. Domine deus dominator omnium et protector qui separasti lucem de tenebris, te subnixis precibus exoramus ut per hanc superventurae noctis caliginem tua nos protegat dextera, ut in lucis auroram cuncti surgamus gaudentes per dominum. ET TAMEN ISTAS OMNES SUPRA SCRIPTAS HORAS SEMPER DOMINICA ORATIO CANTETUR.	Duodecima namque hora, ita orandum est: «Domine deus dominatur omnium et protector qui separasti lucem de tenebris, te subnexus precibus exoramus ut per hanc superventure noctis caliginem tua nos protegat dextera ut lucis aurora cuncti sint gaudentes».	Min drihten waldend <i>and</i> gescyldend, þu þe leoht <i>fram</i> þystrum ascyredest, ic þe bidde gehyr mine bene.	My Lord, ruler and protector, you who separated light from darkness, I ask you, hear my prayer.
<b>Comp</b>	AD COMPLETORIUM. Pacem tuam domine da nobis, et pax tua Christe semper maneat in visceribus nostris, ut dormiamus cum pace et vigilemus cum Christo, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivis et regnas deus per infinita saecula saeculorum amen.	—	—	—

<b>Prime</b>	[ <i>See first prayer</i> ]	Hora igitur prima ita supplicandum est: «Domine deus qui ad principium huius diei nos pervenire fecisti, tua nos salva virtute et in hac die ad nullum declinemus peccatum, sed semper ad tuam iusticiam faciendam nostra procedant <b>eloquia</b> ». Tamen ad istas supra scriptas horas semper dominica cantetur oratio.	Drihten god almih<dig>, þu þe to fruman þisses dæges me becuman lete, gehæl me, min drihten, mid þinum mægene þæt ic on þissum dæge on nane synne ne gehwyrfe, ac symble <b>min word and min weorc</b> sy on þinre soðfæstnesse gehwyrfed þu þe lœo>fast <i>and</i> rixast a to worulde.	Lord God Almighty, you who let me come to the begining of this day, heal me, my Lord, with your strength, that I may turn to no sin on this day, but that my words and my deeds may always be turned to your truth, you who live and reign in the world eternally.
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The table above shows immediately that *Galba* and *Parisinus* have a distinctive sequence of the *Prayers ad horas*: this sequence is, amongst the manuscripts which I have uncovered so far, unique to those two codices. Firstly, in *Parisinus* and *Galba* alone, the prayer for Prime is last, not first. Secondly, these two sources alone include the prayer for the twelfth Hour, ‘Dominator omnium’, but not the one for Compline, ‘Pacem tuam domine’.

Thirdly, in *Galba*, the prayer for the second Hour opens with the words, ‘Min drihten hælen⟨d⟩ Crist, godes sunu, on þinum noman ic mine handa up ahæbbe’ (*Galba*, 138, ll. 10-11).<sup>421</sup> These words do not appear in *Trecensis*, but they do reflect *Parisinus*, where the *Prayers ad horas* follow Alcuin’s letter ‘Beatus igitur David’, which ends with this instruction:

Cum autem de lectulo stratus vestri surrexeritis, dicendum vobis est:  
«Domine Iesus Christe filius dei in nomine tuo levabo manus meas»  
(*Parisinus*, no. 1.1).<sup>422</sup>

The prayer for the second Hour then follows.<sup>423</sup> It is clear that the opening words of the *Galba* prayer are a translation of the concluding words of ‘Beatus igitur David’.

When the phrasing of the prayers is taken into account, however, the situation becomes more complex. The words shown in bold in table 2.7 indicate the similarities and dissimilarities between the versions. Below, I discuss the most significant distinctions between the versions, in order of the prayers in which they appear.

<sup>421</sup> ‘My Lord Saviour Christ, son of God, in your name I lift up my hands.’

<sup>422</sup> ‘So, when you have risen from your bed, you are to say this, prostrate: ‘O Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, I will lift up my hands in your name.’

<sup>423</sup> Muir interprets this as a prayer for Prime; however, it is clearly a translation of the prayer which is specifically stated in the Latin manuscripts to be for the second Hour. Muir, *Prayer-Book*, 138, ll. 10-14.

In the *Galba* prayer for the second Hour, the word ‘gesundne’ (‘whole’) translates ‘incolomis’ (‘unharméd’), which only appears in the *Parisinus* (no. 1.2) and *Turonensis* (no. 7.2) versions of this prayer. Furthermore, ‘mid þinre gyfe’ (*Galba*, 138, ll. 13-14; ‘with your grace’) translates ‘in tua gracia’, which is unique to *Parisinus* (no. 1.2).

The Terce prayer is similar across all the Latin sources. In *Galba*, after ‘rode’, the manuscript is damaged. Muir supplies the emendation ‘rode <þin>e’ (*Galba*, 138, ll. 15-16; ‘your cross’), whereas Banks’ earlier edition has ‘ro(de pi)ne’ (‘the torture/pain of the cross’).<sup>424</sup> Due to the similarity between all the Terce prayers, ‘pine’ is the most likely reading, as it not only has the same meaning as the Latin ‘poena’, but is an anglicisation of the same word.<sup>425</sup> If the damaged word were a possessive pronoun, it would in any case need to be ‘þinre’ rather than ‘þine’, to fit with Muir’s reading of it as the dative case. ‘Wite’ (‘punishment/torture’) may also be suggested as a possible reading: Bosworth and Toller note that it is the equivalent of ‘poena’.<sup>426</sup>

In the prayer for Sext, *Galba* has ‘onlesednesse’ (*Galba*, 139, l. 2; ‘liberation’), which translates the ‘redemptione’ found in *Parisinus*, all of the sacramentaries and collectars, and in *De psalmorum usu. Trecensis* (no. 2.4) and *Turonensis* (no. 7.5) have ‘perditione’ (‘damnation’), and Paris 2731A has ‘proditione’ (‘treason’).<sup>427</sup>

<sup>424</sup> Banks, ‘Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers’, 211.

<sup>425</sup> J. R. Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. (Toronto, Buffalo, NY, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1960), s. v. ‘þin’.

<sup>426</sup> Joseph Bosworth, ed., *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth*, ed. T. Northcote Toller (London: Oxford University Press, 1898), s. v. ‘wite’, 1. ‘Wite’ was also more frequently used to translate ‘poena’. Healey, Price Wilkin and Xiang, *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, accessed 22 July 2010.

<sup>427</sup> Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, no. 22a.

In the prayer for None, the extra word ‘portas’ is relatively rare: of the thirteen Latin versions of the prayer, it appears only in the *Gregorian Sacramentary* (no. 4409), *Gellone Sacramentary* (no. 2124), *Libellus Parisinus* (no. 1.5) and the *Durham Collectar* (no. 660). Interestingly, this word also appears in the *Galba* prayer as ‘gatu’ (*Prayer-Book*, 139, l. 10).

The translation of Prime also seems to draw on a version seen in the *Benedictine Office* and the *Portiforium*. The *Benedictine Office* prayer ends by adding the words, ‘et dirigantur opera’ (*Benedictine Office*, 94, l. 20; ‘and may our works be directed’) to the text seen in *Parisinus*. This is translated in *Galba* with the common Old English collocation ‘min word *and* min weorc’ (‘my words and my deeds’). In the *Portiforium*, the text has been developed one stage further, to ‘dirigantur cogitationes et opera’ (*Portiforium*, I, no. 315; ‘may our thoughts and deeds be directed’), which reflects the traditional confessional formula of thoughts, words and deeds.<sup>428</sup> The versions in the *Office*, *Galba* and the *Portiforium* therefore show how the prayer had developed by the eleventh century.

I am not, of course, claiming that *Parisinus* itself was the immediate source of the *Prayers ad horas* in *Galba*. However, the similarity of structure between these two versions of the prayer sequence suggests that the immediate Latin source for the Old English translation of the *Prayers ad horas* had links to the tradition handed down in *Parisinus*. While it has not been my intention to produce a full collated edition of all the various forms of these prayers, I have shown that a further study of the development of the *Prayers ad horas* and their link to *Galba* would need to pay especial attention to *Parisinus* and any other manuscripts of the prayers which share its distinctive pattern.

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<sup>428</sup> For more examples of ‘word and weorc’, and a discussion of thoughts, words and deeds, see Chapter Four, pages 263-4 below.

The presence of the *Prayers ad horas* in *Galba* show that the tradition of these prayers in the Carolingian prayerbooks was continued in eleventh-century England. Furthermore, the *Galba* version developed the prayers beyond their sources. It demonstrates the importance of translating texts into the vernacular in the eleventh century, whether for the sake of those who lacked strong Latin skills, or because of the worth of praying in one's native language. The quality of the translation is generally good, suggesting that this text was more than just an exercise for inexpert scribes and translators.

Furthermore, the vernacular *Prayers ad horas* display a number of features which develop the prayers and make them more intimate. Firstly and most noticeably, the speaker of the vernacular *Prayers ad horas* consistently uses the grammatical singular instead of the plural as the Latin prayers do, which takes the prayers further away from their liturgical origins and makes them more suitable for private devotion.<sup>429</sup> They also contain some slight changes of emphasis and more precise phrasings. While the speaker of the Latin prayer for Terce asks, 'ut de preteritis malis nostris semper aput te inveniamus veniam' (*Parisinus*, no. 1.3),<sup>430</sup> in Old English the speaker more directly asks 'þæet þu mine synna adilgie' (*Galba*, 138, l. 17).<sup>431</sup> A request for forgiveness whenever one might need it is replaced by one for immediate forgiveness. Also, while the speaker of the Latin Terce prayer asks for abstract 'custodiam' (e.g. *Parisinus*, no. 1.3; 'protection') against future sins, in the vernacular, the speaker asks for Christ himself as an 'arful hyrde' (*Prayer-Book*, 138, l. 19; 'a merciful guardian'), with 'hyrde' having specifically pastoral connotations, suggesting Christ the Good Shepherd. This process of translation, rather than merely transmitting the text, deepens its meaning.

<sup>429</sup> Banks, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers', 211.

<sup>430</sup> 'That we may always find pardon for our past evils in you.'

<sup>431</sup> 'That you may blot out my sins.'

Indeed, the English prayer for None likewise differs from the Latin in a number of ways. In the Latin versions, Christ commands that the thief on the cross be allowed to enter Paradise (for example, ‘confitentem latronem intra moenia paradysi transire iussisti’, *Trecensis*, no. 2.3).<sup>432</sup> The vernacular is somewhat gentler: Christ lets (‘lete’; *Prayer-Book*, 139, l. 7) him go to Paradise, and travels with him (‘mid þe’) as he does. Only in the English version does the prayer address the mystery of the crucifixion directly: ‘þu wære rice cyning þeah þu on rode hangadest’ (ll. 7-8).<sup>433</sup> The speaker here also confesses his or her sins directly (‘Ic þe eadmodlice mine synna andette’, ll. 8-9)<sup>434</sup> rather than referring parenthetically to confession in the words ‘suppliciter confitentes peccata nostra’ (*Trecensis*, no. 2.5; ‘humbly confessing our sins’) as the Latin versions do. ‘Moenia paradisi’ (‘the walls of Paradise’) is the normal variant in the prayer for None, compared to ‘agmina’/‘aimina’ (‘streams’: *Parisinus*, no. 1.5; *Gellone*, no. 2124) and ‘gloriam’ (*Gregorian*, no. 4409; *Liber Sacramentorum*, no. 18.12). Compared to these, *Galba*’s ‘fægernesne’ (*Prayer-Book*, 139, l. 6; ‘beauty’) and ‘gefearn’ (l. 7; ‘joy’) are a little unusual. The translator appears to be emphasising the joy of heaven to which Christ brings both the thief and the speaker of the prayer. Alternatively, perhaps, this may be due to a confusion between ‘moenia’ with ‘amoena’ (‘pleasures’).

The English copy of the *Prayers ad horas* also shows its distinctively private use by having apparently been altered for gender. Unusually, it seems that the *Galba* prayers were written for the use of a woman, and then altered for a man, a possibility which has not so far been remarked upon. Now that the manuscript has been damaged, only two distinctly gendered words survives in the text of the seven

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<sup>432</sup> ‘You commanded the confessing thief to cross over to within the walls of Paradise.’

<sup>433</sup> ‘You were a powerful king even though you hung on a cross.’

<sup>434</sup> ‘I humbly confess my sins to you.’

*Prayers ad horas*.<sup>435</sup> These are ‘gesundne’ (138, l. 12; ‘whole’) and ‘<unge>deredne’ (l. 14; ‘unharméd’), both in the prayer for the second Hour. However, as Muir’s notes reveal, in each case the final ‘n’ has been added interlineally.<sup>436</sup> This transforms the feminine adjectives ‘gesunde’ and ‘ungederede’ into masculine ones. Where the prayer for Vespers is damaged, he suggests ‘ges<undne>’, giving the impression that the prayer was masculine. Thus this text is an example of how it was considered acceptable to alter prayerbooks for individual use, and of how such manuscripts were transferred between female and male communities.

The survival of the prayerbook tradition of the *Prayers ad horas* into the eleventh century may have wider implications than may be immediately apparent. Banks refers to the vernacular, grammatically singular *Prayers ad horas* as a “‘book of hours’”, albeit in quotation marks.<sup>437</sup> Muir explores this idea more fully. Although he does not see any Special Offices in the *Galba Prayerbook*, he refers to the *Prayers ad horas* as an attempt, in an ‘unofficial context’, to create a personal devotional ritual based upon formal monastic observance’, in which ‘we can see the book of hours in embryonic form.’<sup>438</sup>

Elsewhere in the same article, he writes that

of the surviving early English manuscripts it is the eleventh-century Galba prayer book from Winchester that most closely anticipates later medieval devotional manuscripts, and I would suggest that its compilers were already feeling their way towards a compendium resembling what is today recognized generically as a book of hours; they had a sense of the things a

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<sup>435</sup> The three prayers immediately preceding include a couple of indisputably masculine forms. ‘In naman þære halgan þrynesse’ has ‘ic e<om and>etta’ (*Prayer-Book*, 136, l. 2; ‘I am [a man] who confesses’), and ‘Min drihten hælend Crist, ic do þe þancas’ has ‘me synfullum’ (*Prayer-Book*, 138, l. 2; ‘me, sinful’). However, there is no reason to link these to the *Prayers ad horas*, and so they can be seen as simply some other vernacular prayers which have been copied in before them.

<sup>436</sup> Muir, *Prayer-Book*, 138.

<sup>437</sup> Banks, ‘Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers’, 208 and 212.

<sup>438</sup> Muir, ‘The Early Insular Prayer Book Tradition’, 19. In this article, Muir denies the presence of Special Offices in *Galba*; however, it was argued above that the prayers for Trinity Sunday are essentially Special Offices in development, although Muir does not go quite as far as to use this term. See also Muir, *Prayer-Book*, 147, n. 1.



personal book of private devotion ought to contain, which they apparently handed on to later generations.<sup>439</sup>

Thus it can be seen that a series of prayers for the Hours, transmitted through the sacramentaries, were expanded to create a full sequence of Latin prayers for private use at the Hours. They were then translated into a vernacular language, using the grammatical singular and increasingly intimate language, prefiguring the later medieval Books of Hours.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have turned from a discussion of the sources to a detailed examination of the contexts in which late Anglo-Saxon prayers are found, focusing above all on the surviving private prayerbooks. A firm distinction between private and liturgical prayer cannot be made in this period, and the books in which these prayers appear contain examples of both. Nevertheless, changes of grammatical number and gender, and the relatively frequent use of the vernacular, are good indicators of the private use of prayer texts. It is evident that Anglo-Saxon monks and nuns deliberately chose to create private prayer sequences which drew on the liturgy with which they were familiar, and which provided them with holy prayers, and yet wanted to make them speak for one person praying on his or her own. Quotations from the psalms and prayers of the church's liturgy – which was, after all, how monks and nuns spent much of each day – are woven into private prayers: they provided a formulary of stock phrases, a shared language on which prayer composers drew to make new prayers. For this reason, it must be emphasised that

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<sup>439</sup> Muir, 'The Early Insular Prayer Book Tradition', 16.

liturgical and private prayer are by no means two separate categories, but that they are related to one another and create one another.

Private prayer is clearly not a single category. Prayers differ in length, in context, and in the sources from which they were created. Furthermore, one prayer could be recontextualised for different purposes. This can be seen most clearly in the private *ordines* which are found in these three eleventh-century prayerbooks. This willingness to put together private and liturgical prayers for new purposes and in increasingly elaborate private acts of worship appears to have been the origin of the Special Offices in manuscripts such as *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*. Indeed, just as a clear distinction between private and liturgical prayers cannot always be made, it is also not always appropriate to distinguish between a mere private *ordo* and a formal Special Office. Manuscripts such as *Galba* may be witnesses to the experimentation which took place in creating new forms of worship.

Although private prayer in eleventh-century English manuscripts is not usually concerned with the daily Offices of the monastic life, the *Prayers ad horas* which appear in *Galba* show that that liturgy also was thoughtfully recreated for private use. They demonstrate the importance of praying in one's own language, and of linking one's own experience of the monastic day to the death of Christ. The English *Prayers ad horas* are evidence that a tradition of the Hours which is specific to the Carolingian prayerbooks was still being read and copied in eleventh-century England, as distinct from the versions of the prayers which were transmitted in the contemporary collectars. Although this chapter has not included a full study of the different manuscript versions of the prayers, it has demonstrated the influence of a tradition seen in the *Libellus Parisinus*, and laid the foundations for a comprehensive examination of these prayers.

Table 2.8: The private prayers referred to in this chapter in my main manuscripts.

Name	Page nos. above	Carolingian libelli precum				Early Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks			Late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks/compendia				
		Trecensis	Parisinus	Turonensis	Paris 2731A	Cerne	Harley 863	Royal 2 A. xx	Portiforium	Galba	Aelfwine	Tib A. iii	Royal 2 A.xx (additions)
Splendor et imago patris <sup>440</sup>	85, 100-1	no. 1.8		no. 16.2	no. 28a		col. 449		2		no. 52.2		
Qui uiuorum dominaris	85-6									no. 46			
Te adoro, Domine	87										no. 49.9		
Qui facis mirabilia magna	88									no. 41	no. 76.6		
Gloriosissime conditor mundi	90-1, 117-18	no. 1.5							19 and 21-2	no. 68			
Qui es iustorum gloria	93										no. 76.28		
Qui in hunc mundum/ Auxiliatrix esto mihi	102-3	no. 1.4	no. 2.7		no. 47a	no. 18		221	3-5	no. 25			
Inueniant, quesumus	103								2	no. 48			
Ecce lignum crucis	104										no. 46.9		
Ave alma crux/Hoc signaculo/Gyf ðe ðynce	106, 114-15								24		no. 44	3-5 <sup>441</sup>	
Ælce sunnandæg bebeod þe	111-13										no. 53		
Adoro te	117-18		no. 2.12	no. 16.13		no. 19			18-19 and 20-21	no. 68			no. 20
Qui tuas manus mundas	117-18								19				
Obsecro te, sancta trinitas	121										no. 49.11		
Suscipere digneris domine	125												
Liberator animarum	125-6			no. 19.1			col. 434						
Prayers ad horas	132-53	nos. 2.1-8	nos. 1.2-8	nos. 7.2-7	nos. 19a-26a				vol. 1, nos. 315, 317, 319, 321, 323	no. 65	nos. 73.191, 195-7		nos. 28-9

<sup>440</sup> See also table 2.1<sup>441</sup> Pulsiano, 'An Unrecorded Charm'.

	<b>AS psalters</b>		
<b>Name</b>	<b>Arundel 155</b>	<b>Bury</b>	<b>Vespasian</b>
Splendor et imago patris		no. 6	
Qui uiuorum dominaris			
Te adoro, Domine			
Qui facis mirabilia magna solus			
Gloriosissime conditor mundi	no. 10		
Qui es iustorum gloria	no. 25		
Qui in hunc mundum/Auxiliatrix esto mihi	no. 18	no. 3	
Inueniant, quesumus			
Ecce lignum crucis			
Ave alma crux/Hoc signaculo/Gyf ðe ðynce			
Ælce sunnandæg bebeod þe			
Adoro te	nos. 4-9		
Qui tuas manus mundas			
Obsecro te, sancta trinitas			
Suscipere digneris domine			no. 1
Liberator animarum	no. 44		
Prayers ad horas			

## CHAPTER 3

**PRIVATE DEVOTION TO THE HOLY CROSS**

In Chapter Two, I examined how forms of private prayer were created from communal liturgies, with a focus on the daily Offices. In this chapter, I extend this analysis to prayer to the cross. This is a genre of prayer which, more than any other, unites words with images and the spiritual with the physical: there is plenty of evidence for prayer before representations of the cross, and for the use of the sign of the cross in prayer and in many other contexts, such as medical remedies and charms. Accordingly, I begin by examining liturgical prayers for the ceremonies for blessing a new cross in a monastery, which suggest that great importance was placed on any image of Christ's cross, and give evidence for how it may have been adored.

I use these liturgical prayers to provide a context for a more detailed discussion of the sign of the cross, which is referred to in some private prayers in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* and the *Vespasian Psalter*. Using evidence from homilies and medical manuals, I argue that the speaker was expected to make the sign while saying these prayers, as well as in a number of other contexts in everyday life: indeed, the sign of the cross was an act of worship which was familiar to laypeople as well as to monastics. The cross stood for something beyond itself, the glory of God, which cannot be expressed in words, and therefore all manifestations of the cross were considered to be holy.

In the second part of this chapter, I return to the development of the Special Offices and other private prayer programmes, previously discussed in Chapter Two. Prayers to the cross almost always appear grouped together, instead of accompanying prayers of other genres, and more often than not they are arranged as a devotional programme, in which the prayers are linked together with psalms, antiphons and the *Paternoster*. Beginning with the *Regularis concordia*'s ceremony for the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, I examine how the prayers for the liturgies of the cross were adapted for private use, with varying levels of sophistication in different manuscripts. By linking these prayers with *Paternosters* and antiphons, the compiler of the *Portiforium* created something similar to a Special Office of the cross. *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* is widely recognised as including Special Offices, albeit only for one Hour each. I compare the Office of the Holy Cross in this manuscript to a short prayer programme found a few folios previously, arguing that this programme also bears some of the distinguishing marks of a Special Office of the cross. There is a noticeable similarity to be seen in the antiphons used in all of these Offices and prayer programmes, and in their themes and concerns, suggesting that, even if the users of these manuscripts recognised a difference between an Office and another kind of prayer programme, the two genres drew on the same liturgical sources.

With this in mind, I finish the chapter with a brief examination of the use of Venantius Fortunatus' hymn 'Pange, lingua' in Anglo-Saxon prayers. The readiness of prayer-writers to adapt the liturgical texts which they knew from the feasts of the cross indicates what was considered most important in those liturgies and best for exploring the mystery of the cross in private worship.

### Prayers to the cross: an introduction to the manuscripts and their background

A number of late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts contain sequences of private prayers to the cross, some of which were derived from the liturgy for the feasts of the cross.

Two of these manuscripts, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* and the *Portiforium of St Wulstan*, were introduced in the previous chapter.<sup>442</sup> As shown in table 2.2 in Chapter Two above, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* contains a miniature of the crucified Christ, accompanying devotions to the cross, and a private Office of the cross.<sup>443</sup>

The sequence of private prayers in the *Portiforium* are mostly either prayers to the cross or confessional prayers. The following table outlines all the prayers in this sequence. Prayers to the cross are shown in plain type and prayers of other kinds are in italics and not listed by name. Those which I discuss in detail are marked in bold.

*Table 3.1: The private prayers in the Portiforium of St Wulstan, indicating the prayers to the cross.*

Page no. <sup>444</sup>	Page no. in MS	Prayers
1-2	581-2	<i>Liturgical prayers</i>
2	582-3	<i>Prayers to the Trinity</i> <sup>445</sup>
3-8	583-92	<i>Confessional prayers</i>
8-12	592-9	<i>Prayers to the saints</i> (incl. one to the cross: 'Crux christi ego te diligo et amplector')
12-18	599-609	<i>Confessional prayers, prayer to St Swithun</i>
18-19	609-10	<b>'Adoro te in cruce ascendentem'</b> <sup>446</sup>
19	609-10	<b>'Gloriosissime conditor mundi' with psalms and preces</b>
19	610	<b>'Qui tuas manus mundas'</b>
19	610	<b>'Qui pro humano genere'</b>

<sup>442</sup> For an introduction to these manuscripts, see pages 92-6 above.

<sup>443</sup> Beate Günzel ed., *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii), HBS 108 (London: Boydell Press, 1993), nos. 45-6, 50, plate 1.

<sup>444</sup> Anselm Hughes, ed., *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan* (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 391), HBS 89-90, 2 vols. (Leighton Buzzard: Faith Press, 1958-60), II, 1-24.

<sup>445</sup> See table 2.1 in Chapter Two above.

<sup>446</sup> 'Adoro te', 'Gloriosissime conditor mundi' and 'Qui tuas manus mundas' are the three prayers for the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday. Lucia Kornexl, ed., *Die Regularis concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 17 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1993), II, 1069-1101. These prayers are discussed further on pages 181-94 below.

19	610	<b>'Deus cui cuncte obedient creature'</b>
20	610-11	<b>'Sancta et ueneranda crux'</b>
20-2	611-15	<b>'Adoro te' and 'Gloriosissime conditor mundi' with psalms and preces (in Latin and English)</b>
22	615	<b>'Deus qui crucem tuam ueneror'</b>
22-3	615-6	'Tuam misericordiam recolentes'
23	616	<b>'Qui per crucem passion[is] tue'</b>
23-4	616-7	<i>Confession to a priest</i>
24	617-8	<b>Ordo for prayer before the cross, incl. prayers and antiphons</b>
24	618	<i>Prayer to the Virgin Mary</i>

Another codex of interest is the mid-eleventh century manuscript London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A. iii, which likewise contains a number of private prayers.<sup>447</sup> Its main contents are the Benedictine *Rule*, the glossed version of the *Regularis concordia* and Ælfric's *De temporibus anni*; however, it also contains numerous other texts, including twelve brief homiletic pieces, a series of prayers to the Holy Cross, and two series of confessional texts.<sup>448</sup>

London, British Library Cotton Vespasian A. i is of particular interest. This eighth-century Roman psalter contains a quire of prayers originating at Christ Church, Canterbury in the first half of the eleventh century.<sup>449</sup> The eleventh-century additions comprise: the *Te Deum* and *Quicumque vult* glossed in Old English; a prayer titled 'oratio evgenii toletani episcopi';<sup>450</sup> Alcuin's 'Deus inestimabilis misericordiae' with the heading 'confessio ad dominum sive oratio';<sup>451</sup> and a sequence of five or six prayers to the cross or the crucified Christ.<sup>452</sup> The prayers in

<sup>447</sup> Gneuss, no. 363; Ker, no. 186.

<sup>448</sup> The prayers to the cross are no. 186.10 (c)-(g) in Ker.

<sup>449</sup> Gneuss, no. 381; Ker, no. 203; T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 22.

<sup>450</sup> 'Prayer of Bishop Eugenius of Toledo.'

<sup>451</sup> 'Confession or prayer to the Lord.'

<sup>452</sup> Sherman M. Kuhn, ed., *The Vespasian Psalter* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1965), nos. 2-10. All references to this edition are to Kuhn's Appendix II. Kuhn's edition preserves all the scribal abbreviations of the original text, and so all expansions in quotations from this text are my own. It is unclear whether this series includes five or six prayers to the cross, as the prayer which Kuhn edits as the ninth of the eleventh-century additions, 'Ave sancta crux', ends with the phrase, 'per omnia secula sanctificari. Amen. Salua igitur beata et benedicta et adoranda crux' ('... to be



this sequence differ from the texts immediately preceding them by not having any title, nor any blank lines between prayers.<sup>453</sup> It is therefore arguable that they were intended as a complete sequence of prayers in praise of the cross. The following table lists the eleventh-century additions to the end of this psalter, most of which comprise prayers to the cross. In this table again, prayers to the cross are indicated in plain type and prayers of other kinds in italics. Prayers which I discuss in detail are marked in bold.

*Table 3.2: Eleventh-century additions to the end of the Vespasian Psalter, indicating the prayers to the cross.*

Page no. <sup>454</sup>	Folio no.	Prayer
312-3	155r	<i>Te deum laudamus</i>
313-5	155r-156r	<i>Quicumque vult</i>
315	156r	<i>'Rex deus inmens[e]'</i>
316-7	156v-157v	<i>'Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae'</i>
317	157v-158r	<b>'O sanctum et ue[ne]rabile nostri redemptoris signum'</b>
317-8	158r-v	<b>'Iesu Christe crucifixe domine'</b>
318	158v-159r	<b>'Salve crux sancta et ueneranda'</b>
319	159r-160r	<b>'Aue sancta crux omnium arborum gloriosissima'</b>
319-20	160r	<b>'Salua igitur beata' (edited as part of the above prayer)</b>
320	160r-v	<i>'Te sancta dei crux humiliter adoro'</i>

Helmut Gneuss makes the interesting point that, in the eleventh century, the Roman psalter was on the way towards becoming obsolete:

Im 11. Jahrhundert wurde das Psalterium Romanum durch das Gallicanum verdrängt. Da der Vespasian-Psalter das Romanum enthielt, war er zu Ende

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made holy through all ages. Amen. Therefore hail the blissful and blessed and worshipful cross'). The 'per omnia secula' would suggest that a new prayer begins with 'Salua igitur', although the new prayer does not begin on a new line and 'igitur' suggests something following on from a previous prayer. This, above all, demonstrates how the concept of where one prayer ends and another begins may not be as simple as one might think, and also that these prayers were apparently conceived of in terms of devotional sequences. Kuhn, *Vespasian*, no. 9, ll. 28-9.

<sup>453</sup> David H. Wright, ed., *The Vespasian Psalter (British Museum Cotton Vespasian A. i)*, EEMF 14 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1967), ff. 157v-160v.

<sup>454</sup> Kuhn, *Vespasian*, 312-20.

des 11. Jahrhunderts – in den Augen der damaligen Zeit – praktisch wertlos.<sup>455</sup>

Although it is difficult to speculate on what usage such an old-fashioned psalter might receive, it is not impossible that its lowered status may have led to its use in private devotions, causing a quire of prayers to be added to it. The *Vespasian* prayers are of particular interest because, while *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, the *Portiforium* and Tiberius A. iii have a number of prayers in common with one another, those of the *Vespasian Psalter* are apparently unique. They are also considerably longer than most other prayers to the cross, and draw on a wide range of antiphons and imagery.

Most private prayers to the cross are derived from the liturgies for the feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross. The former commemorates the finding of the True Cross by St Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine; it is believed to have been celebrated in the western church from the fifth century, and was known in England from the eighth century onwards.<sup>456</sup> The feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, which commemorates the foundation of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, is known to have been celebrated in that city in the fourth century and to have involved the veneration of relics of the cross.<sup>457</sup> Although relics were brought to the west soon after, the feast itself first appeared in Rome in the early seventh century, and in the Frankish empire in the eighth century, as a result of the use there

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<sup>455</sup> 'In the eleventh century, the Roman Psalter was displaced by the Gallican. Since the *Vespasian Psalter* contained the Romanum, by the end of the eleventh century it was – in the eyes of the time – practically worthless.' Helmut Gneuss, 'Zur Geschichte des Ms. Vespasian A.I', *Anglia* 75 (1957): 125-33, 128. repr. in *Books and Libraries in Early England* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1996), 128. On the replacement of the Roman Psalter by the Gallican in England, see also Mechthild Gretsch, 'The Roman Psalter, its Old English Glosses and the English Benedictine Reform', in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, eds. M. Bradford Bedingfield and Helen Gittos, HBS Subsidia 5, 13-28 (London: Boydell Press, 2005), 17.

<sup>456</sup> Antonina Harbus, *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), 20-2, 30-1.

<sup>457</sup> Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross: Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy* (Leuven, Paris and Sterling: Peeters, 2000), 75.

of Roman service books.<sup>458</sup> These feasts were evidently well-established in the Anglo-Saxon church, as they are given for the third of May and fourteenth of September respectively in all twenty of the pre-1100 kalendars edited by Francis Wormald. The earliest of these is Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 63, which originated in late ninth-century Northumbria and was at the Winchester Old Minster by the tenth century.<sup>459</sup>

The importance of these feasts is also reflected in the fact that Ælfric of Eynsham wrote vernacular homilies on both the Invention and the Exaltation of the Cross, and an anonymous homily on the Invention also survives.<sup>460</sup> Naturally, the collectars include prayers, antiphons and hymns for these two feasts, which, as this chapter will show, were drawn upon to create the programmes for private prayer in the late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks.<sup>461</sup> Even more influential in this respect was the ceremony of the Veneration of the Cross, a Continental rite which was evidently known in England from the late tenth century at least, as it is prescribed in the *Regularis concordia*.<sup>462</sup> It is also important to note the the sign of the cross had wider significance in Anglo-Saxon culture: it was an important part of charms and

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<sup>458</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>459</sup> Francis Wormald, ed., *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100, vol. 1: Texts*, HBS 72 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1934), vi, 6, 10; Gneuss, no. 611, Ker, no. 319.

<sup>460</sup> 'Inuentio sanctae crucis' in Malcolm Godden ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the Second Series*, EETS ss 5 (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1979), 174-6; 'Exaltatio sanctae crucis', in W. Skeat, ed. *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, EETS os 76, 82, 94 and 114 (London: N. Trübner, 1881-1900), repr. in 2 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1966), 144-57; Mary-Catherine Bodden, ed. and trans., *The Old English Finding of the True Cross* (Cambridge and Wolfeboro, NH: D. S. Brewer, 1987).

<sup>461</sup> See, for instance, the *Portiforium* and the *Leofric Collectar*. Hughes, *Portiforium*, I, nos. 1593-1601 (Exaltation) and 1776-86 (Invention); E. S. Dewick and W. H. Frere, eds., *The Leofric Collectar*, 2 vols., HBS 45 and 56 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1914 and 1921), I, cols. 167-71 (Invention) and 230-2 (Exaltation).

<sup>462</sup> Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 1013-1155. For the models on which this ceremony was based, see Sarah Larratt Keefer, 'The Veneration of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, eds. Bedingfield and Gittos, 143-84, at pages 143-60.

prayers used in finding lost items, medical remedies and in protecting people from demons.<sup>463</sup>

All these aspects, and more, of the holy cross in Anglo-Saxon England have been analysed from a variety of disciplinary perspectives in the three volumes of the Sancta Crux/Halig Rod project edited by Karen Jolly, Catherine Karkov and Sarah Larratt Keefer.<sup>464</sup> Ælfric's homilies on the feasts of the cross are the subject of an article by Joyce Hill, who argues that differences of context and audience account for Ælfric's varying treatments of these two legends.<sup>465</sup> The series also investigates liturgical ceremonies: the blessings of crosses in Anglo-Saxon benedictionals, the Good Friday Veneration service, and Venantius Fortunatus' hymns to the cross.<sup>466</sup> The various uses of the sign of the cross, and the terms used for it, are studied by David Johnson and Ursula Lenker.<sup>467</sup> Most relevant to this chapter, of course, are the articles on prayer and prayerbooks in these volumes. Catherine Karkov examines *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* primarily with regard to the three miniatures in the prayerbook, but argues that they were intended as focal points for the manuscript's

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<sup>463</sup> The *ordo Gyf ðe ðynce*, discussed on pages 113-5 above, is an example of private prayer for use against devils, whilst the medical collections known as the *Leechbook* and *Lacnunga* include examples of the sign of the cross used in charms and medicine: see pages 175-6 below.

<sup>464</sup> Karen Louise Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov and Sarah Larratt Keefer, eds., *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 1, Medieval European Studies 9 (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2008); Karen Louise Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov and Sarah Larratt Keefer, eds., *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 2, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006); Karen Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov and Sarah Larratt Keefer, eds., *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter*, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 3 (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2010).

<sup>465</sup> Joyce Hill, 'Preaching the Cross: Texts and Contexts from the Benedictine Reform', in *Cross and Culture*, 36-48.

<sup>466</sup> Helen Gittos, 'Hallowing the Rood: Consecrating Crosses in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *Cross and Culture*, 242-75; Sarah Larratt Keefer, 'The Performance of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Cross and Culture*, 203-41; Inge B. Milfull, 'Hymns to the Cross: Contexts for the Reception of *Vexilla regis prodeunt*', in *The Place of the Cross*, 43-57.

<sup>467</sup> David F. Johnson, 'The *Crux Usualis* as Apotropaic Weapon in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Place of the Cross*, 80-95; Ursula Lenker, 'Signifying Christ in Anglo-Saxon England: Old English Terms for the Sign of the Cross', in *Cross and Cruciform*, 233-75.

private prayers.<sup>468</sup> R. M. Liuzza lists the late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts which contain prayers to the cross, commenting on the creation of programmes for private worship using liturgical sources such as the prayers for the Veneration of the Cross.<sup>469</sup> The Sancta Crux/Halig Rod project has clearly done much to further the understanding of the meaning of the cross in Anglo-Saxon England, and I intend to extend this understanding by focusing on the use of the sign of the cross in private prayer and the development of private prayer programmes dedicated to the cross.

### Praying before the cross

In the eleventh-century church, the cross could be venerated in a number of ways: through relics, through the crosses which were erected in churches, or by making the sign of the cross. In his sermon ‘Exaltatio sanctae crucis’, Ælfric writes of the true cross:

Is swa-þeah to witenne þæt heo is wide todæled .  
 mid gelomlicum ofcyrfum to lande gehwilcum .  
 ac seo gastlice getacnung is mid gode æfre  
 á unbrosnigendlic . þeah þe se beam beo to-coruen .  
 þæt heofonlice tacn þære halgan rode  
 is ure gúðfana wiþ þone gram-lican deofol .  
 þonne we us bletsiað gebylde þurh god  
 mid þære rode tacne . and mid rihtum geleafan  
 (‘Exaltatio sancte crucis’, ll. 143-50).<sup>470</sup>

According to Ælfric, the holiness of the cross is not only contained in the cross on which Christ hung, but remains implicit in any image made of it, because its spiritual

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<sup>468</sup> Catherine E. Karkov, ‘Abbot Ælfwine and the Sign of the Cross’, in *Cross and Cruciform*, 103-32; see in particular 105-16.

<sup>469</sup> R. M. Liuzza, ‘Prayers and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross’, in *Cross and Culture*, 276-320; see in particular 281-91.

<sup>470</sup> ‘It is, however, to be known that it is scattered widely with frequent cuttings-off amongst every land, but the spiritual significance is with God forever, always incorruptible, even though the tree may be cut apart. The heavenly sign of the holy cross is our banner against the cruel devil, when we bless ourselves boldly through God with the sign of the cross, and with the right belief.’ ‘The Exaltation of the Holy Cross’, in Skeat, *Lives of Saints*.

significance ('getacnung') remains with God, still undivided though the true cross itself is in fragments. Therefore, since the cross is such a powerful sign of the spiritual reality beyond the physical world, it is powerful enough to overcome the devil himself.

Therefore, while only a fortunate few had access to relics of the True Cross, the majority of Christians were encouraged to access the cross's power through praying before its representations. This is evident from the blessings for crosses in Anglo-Saxon benedictionals. For example, the *Canterbury Benedictional* contains the liturgy for a blessing, which suggests how such crosses may have been honoured.<sup>471</sup> This ceremony, which is conducted by the bishop (*Canterbury Benedictional*, 129, l. 39), involves the singing of litanies, an exorcism of water, the washing of the cross, and a number of prayers interspersed with antiphons (130-4). During one pair of antiphons, the cross is censed with incense (132, ll. 24-9). One of these two is the antiphon 'O crux splendidior cunctis astris', which will be discussed further below. Several of these prayers are linked by their emphasis on the power of the cross to give protection against the devil and against all harm.

Interestingly, these prayers also suggest that the actual blessing of the cross would have taken place in a location that was not its usual resting place. The prayer 'Salus immortalis, rex angelorum' includes the words,

concede propitius . ut in locis ac domibus fidelium ubi crux ista manet .  
fugantur demones et inmundi spiritus (133, ll. 6-8).<sup>472</sup>

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<sup>471</sup> This eleventh-century manuscript is London, British Library Harley 2892, which originated from Canterbury in the second quarter of the eleventh century. R. M. Woolley, ed., *The Canterbury Benedictional* (*British Museum, Harl. MS 2892*), HBS 51 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1917), xiii-iv, xxv; Gneuss, no. 429. The relationship between different manuscripts including these rites, and an outline of the ceremony, is explained in Gittos, 'Hallowing the Rood', 246-62.

<sup>472</sup> 'Grant, O merciful one, that in the places and the homes of the faithful where this cross resides, demons and unclean spirits may be put to flight.'

This suggests that the cross could have subsequently been taken to the place of worship, or perhaps that it was a portable cross for use on pastoral visits. Woolley notes that plural grammatical forms have been written above the text so that more than one cross can be blessed, so perhaps many crosses from over the diocese would have been gathered together to be blessed by the bishop.<sup>473</sup> Alternatively, a reference to ‘signum sanctę crucis . quod ... famulus tuus .i. deotus erexit’ (133, ll. 28, 30) suggests that the cross may have been of some size and donated by a patron.<sup>474</sup> If so, the construction of the cross was itself an act of willing devotion.<sup>475</sup>

The Canterbury ceremony does not refer specifically to the use of the cross in private prayer; however, it does imply how the cross was adored, actions which may have taken place in private as well as in liturgical settings. The cross is to be consecrated ‘per [os] et per manus atque officium nostrum’ (130, ll. 3-4): this suggests that it will be kissed and touched, and Offices will be sung before it.<sup>476</sup> It will also be knelt before: the bishop prays ‘ut omnibus hic genu flectentibus ac tuam supplicantibus maiestatem gratia tua largiatur’ (133, ll. 31-2).<sup>477</sup> Most importantly, the cross is specifically named as an image which points towards the true cross:

Benedic quesumus domine hanc crucem fabricatam ad instar et ad imaginem crucis . in qua passus est filius tuus unigenitus ihesus [*sic*] christus pro salute mundi (131, ll. 8-10).<sup>478</sup>

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<sup>473</sup> Woolley, *Canterbury Benedictional*, 129, n. 1.

<sup>474</sup> ‘Sign of the holy cross which ... your devoted servant [name] has erected.’

<sup>475</sup> See also the prayer ‘Qui pretioso unigeniti’: ‘[H]oc signum crucis quod uoluntaria mentis deuotione famuli tui religiosa fides construxit’, 131, ll. 30-1 (‘this sign of the cross which the religious faith of your servant built by willing devotion of the mind’).

<sup>476</sup> ‘Quatinus consortio’: ‘Through the mouth, and through the hands, and our Offices.’ Woolley reads ‘os’ for the manuscript’s ‘hos’.

<sup>477</sup> ‘Qui in virtute unigenitę’: ‘So that your grace may be given to all those bending the knee and beseeching your majesty here.’

<sup>478</sup> ‘Tu conditor caeli’: ‘Bless O Lord, we ask, this cross, made in the likeness and in the image of the cross in which your only-begotten son Jesus Christ suffered for the salvation of the world.’

Once blessed and in its place, a cross could be adored in a number of ways. According to the *Regularis concordia*, this should take place as part of the Good Friday liturgy. This includes singing Venantius' hymn 'Pange, lingua' and saying the three prayers for Good Friday: 'Adoro te', 'Gloriosissime conditor mundi' and 'Qui tuas manus mundas'.<sup>479</sup> Elsewhere, the nineteenth of the *Vercelli Homilies* recommends going barefoot to 'Cristes bec' (Christ's book, presumably the gospels) during Rogationtide, and saluting his 'rodetacna 7 oðre halige reliquias' (*Vercelli Homilies*, 19, ll. 91-4).<sup>480</sup> This suggests not only that the cross would have been kept in a church, where a gospel-book would be found, but also that the status of a *reliquium* was given not only to the fragments of the true cross, but to any cross.

Considering how essential the adoration of a *crux* or *rodetacn* was to the feasts of the cross, it is natural that it was also an important part of monastic private devotion. It was shown in Chapter Two, table 2.3, that *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* includes a set of private prayers to the cross (*ÆP*, no. 46). Amongst these appears a list of reasons for adoring the cross:

HAE SVNT .IIII. CAUSAE QVIBUS SANCTA CRUX ADORATVR.  
 PRIMA CAUSA EST, QVI IN VNA DIE septem cruces adit, aut septies unam  
 crucem adorat, septem porte inferni clauduntur illi, et septem porte paradisi  
 aperiuntur ei.  
 Secunda causa est, si primum opus tuum tibi sit ad crucem, omnes demones,  
 si fuissent circa te, non potuissent nocere tibi.  
 Tertia causa est, qui non declinat ad crucem, non recipit pro se passionem  
 Christi, qui autem declinat, recepit eam et liberabitur.  
 Quarta causa est, quantum terrae pergis ad crucem, quasi tantum de  
 hereditate propria offeras Domino (no. 46.12).<sup>481</sup>

<sup>479</sup> Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 1013-1155.

<sup>480</sup> 'The signs of his cross and other holy relics.' D. G. Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, EETS os 300 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 315-26.

<sup>481</sup> 'These are four reasons why the holy cross is adored. The first reason is, whoever approaches seven crosses in one day, or adores one cross seven times, seven doors of hell are closed to him, and seven doors of paradise are opened to him. The second reason is, if your first act for yourself is to the cross, all the demons, if they have been around you, would not have been able to harm you. The third reason is, whoever does not bow to the cross does not receive the passion of Christ for himself; but whoever does bow has accepted it and will be saved. The fourth reason is, as much land as you walk



Even if this text does not refer to private worship, it shows that venerating the cross was simply a part of everyday life, and something which the monk had plenty of opportunities to do. He was expected to bow before it, and it appears that there were prayers intended for this kind of worship.

Indeed, prayers of this kind can be found in Ælfwine's private devotions to the cross, and include a series of antiphons, which are prefaced by the rubric '[C]VM HOC DICIS, PROSTERNE IN TERRAM ET DIC' (no. 46.9).<sup>482</sup> As these begin, '[e]cce lignum crucis, in quo salus mundi pependit',<sup>483</sup> it is arguable that the speaker is to prostrate him- or herself before a cross, even though that is not specifically stated in the rubric.

Three other prayers, or series of prayers, amongst these private devotions have rubrics which specifically imply prayer before a cross of some kind. These are a series of seven prayers to different parts of Christ's body, with the rubric, '[S]I VIS ORARE ANTE CRVCIFIXVM HOS PSALMOS CANTA' (no. 46.1),<sup>484</sup> an '[O]RATIO AD CRVCEM CVM SEPTEM PETITIONIBUS' (no. 46.13);<sup>485</sup> and a prayer with the rubric, '[A]NTE CRVCEM DOMINI DEPRECATIO SANCTA LEGENDA' (no. 46.14).<sup>486</sup> The prayers to the body of Christ directly follow a miniature of the crucifixion, so in Ælfwine's copy, they were probably intended to be said before that image.<sup>487</sup> The words 'ante

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on when approaching the cross will be as much as your own inheritance which you offer to the Lord.' The same text is found in Tiberius A. iii, ff. 59v-60r. Ker, no. 186.10 (e).

<sup>482</sup> 'When you say this, prostrate yourself on the ground and say ...'

<sup>483</sup> 'This is the wood of the cross, on which the salvation of the world hung.'

<sup>484</sup> 'If you want to pray before a crucifix, sing these psalms.'

<sup>485</sup> 'Prayer to the cross with seven petitions.'

<sup>486</sup> 'Per gloriam et virtutem': 'A holy prayer to be read before the cross of the Lord.' Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, no. 46.14. In Arundel 155, 'Per gloriam et virtutem' has the similar rubric 'Ante crucem domini. Oratio sancta' ('before the cross of the Lord, a holy prayer'), whereas in London, British Library Harley 863, it is simply headed 'Oratio ad sanctam crucem' ('prayer to the holy cross'). Ferdinand Holthausen, ed., 'Altenglische Interlinearversionen Lateinischer Gebete und Beichten', *Anglia* 65, 230-54 (1941), no. 13; Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, I, col. 450.

<sup>487</sup> Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, plate 1. Above the crucified Christ appears the inscription, 'Hec crux consignet Ælfwinum corpore mente' ('may this cross sign Ælfwine in body and in mind'), so the miniature was clearly an original part of the manuscript. For Catherine Karkov's work on this series of prayers, see n. 336 above.

crucem/crucifixum’, which in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook* only occur in these two examples, imply more clearly prayer before a cross than the commoner ‘ad crucem’. These examples show that physical representations of the cross in holy spaces were an important part of prayer.

However, Ælfric evidently believed that it was necessary to clarify the meaning of such devotion for the benefit of the laity, presumably for fear that they would fall into idolatry. He cautions that,

Ðære halgan rode tácn. is ure bletsung. and to ðære rode we ús gebiddað. na swa ðeah to ðam treowe. ac to ðam ælmihtigum drihtne. ðe on ðære róde for ús hángode (‘Dominica .V. Quadragesime’, ll. 290-3).<sup>488</sup>

The *rod* can be prayed to because it is a *tacn* signifying the Lord who hung upon it. By using this terminology, Ælfric distinguishes between the transcendent sign of the cross and the mere *treow* from which the *rod* was made.

### **Making the sign of the cross**

If bowing before a cross was a commonplace part of everyday monastic life, signing oneself with the cross was even more so. Nothing could prosper without being blessed in the name of Christ, according to the *Regularis concordia*, and so those who lived under a Rule were to dedicate all they did to him:

omni tempore nocturnis horis, cum ad opus diuinum d(æ) lectulo surrexerit frater, primum sibi signum sanctę crucis inprimat per sanctę trinitatis inuocationem (*RC*, ll. 257-60).<sup>489</sup>

<sup>488</sup> ‘The holy cross sign is our blessing, and we pray to the cross – not, however, to the tree, but to the almighty Lord who hung for us on the cross.’ Godden, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: the second series*, 127-36.

<sup>489</sup> ‘At every time of the night Hours, when a brother has risen from bed for the divine work, may he first of all imprint the sign of the holy cross upon himself, through the invocation of the Holy Trinity.’ The gloss upon ‘signum sanctę crucis’ in Tiberius A. iii is ‘tacn þære halgan rode’.

The sign of the holy cross could be used for protection, for healing, and as a weapon against the devil, and it is clear that it was chiefly made upon the forehead.<sup>490</sup> This was part of Christian practice at least as far back as the second century, as Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition* teaches that the forehead should be 'sealed' as a protection against the devil, using the sign with which the Israelites marked their doorposts in the Passover (*Apostolic Tradition*, ch. 37.1-3).<sup>491</sup> Ælfric likewise taught that this sign, the Hebrew letter Tau, is the *rodetacen* which with Christians should sign themselves:

we sceolon mearcian ure forewearde heafod. and urne lichaman mid cristes rodetacne. þæt we beon ahredde fram forwyrde. þonne we beoð gemearcode ægðer ge on foranheafde. ge on heortan mid blode þære drihtenlican ðrowunge ('Sermo de sacrificio in die Pascae', ll. 55-9).<sup>492</sup>

While the body in general should be signed, as a sign of the mark of Christ on the heart within, the forehead is mentioned specifically: its name, *forewearde heafod*, apparently proves to Ælfric that it should be the antithesis of *forwyrde*. Similarly, in Goscelin of St Bertin's life of St Edith, the saint makes the sign of the cross upon her forehead so often that the relic of her thumb remains perpetually intact.<sup>493</sup> *Vitae* such as this, in which the saint makes the sign of the cross as a protection against evil, may have been instrumental in encouraging an audience to do the same.

The sign made upon the forehead was so important that it was, naturally, a central part of the holy sacraments. The last rites are alluded to in two of the prayers

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<sup>490</sup> The various uses of the sign of the cross, particularly in saints' *vitae*, have been examined in Johnson, 'The *Crux Usualis*', 80-95. Ursula Lenker has also written on the different ways of making the sign of the cross and on the Old English terminology used for them. Lenker, 'Signifying Christ', 235-40, 254-5, 266-70.

<sup>491</sup> Gregory Dix, ed., *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St Hippolytus of Rome, Bishop and Martyr*, repr. with corrections by Henry Chadwick (London: SPCK, 1968).

<sup>492</sup> 'We should mark our forehead and our body with Christ's cross sign, so that we may be saved from destruction. Then we will be marked both on the forehead and in the heart with the blood of the Lord's suffering.' Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the Second Series*, 150-68.

<sup>493</sup> André Wilmart, ed., 'La Légende de Ste Édith en prose et vers par le moine Goscelin', *Analecta Bollandiana* 56, 5-101 (1938), ch. 21.

in praise of the cross in the *Vespasian Psalter*. In the first of these, ‘O sanctum et venerabile nostri redemptoris signum’, the speaker prays that he may escape all kinds of persecutions and wickedness, ‘postquam huius uitę terminum inuiolabili tuę protectionis signo munitus’ (*Vespasian*, no. 6, l. 11).<sup>494</sup> Similarly, ‘Salve crux sancta et veneranda’ has:

in hora exitus mei quando morte preuentus tuum auxilium inuocare non ualeo. pro tui uenerabile signum quod fronte gero sacro crismate impressum. esto mihi adiutrix aduersus principes tenebrarum et terrores eorum (no. 8, ll. 14-16).<sup>495</sup>

The speaker prays for those who have been signed with the ‘banner’ of the cross

O crux gloriosa. o lignum pretiosum et ammirabile signum in quo est salus uita. et resurrectio nostra. salua omnes in te liberatos. et uere tuo uexillo signatos (ll. 20-22).<sup>496</sup>

This also may be a reference to the last rites, or more probably to those who have entered the church through baptism. In either case, a person can neither enter the church nor leave this life without being united with Christ through the sign of the cross.

With all of this evidence for the sign of the cross in mind, it becomes more apparent that some prayer texts themselves imply that the speaker should make the sign of the cross while praying. ‘Per gloriam et virtutem’, in Ælfwine’s private prayers to the cross, begins with the petition,

Per gloriam et uirtutem sancte crucis tue, Domine Iesu Christe, cuius signaculum mihi inpono corde et corpore, salua me (*ÆP*, no. 46.14).<sup>497</sup>

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<sup>494</sup> ‘After the end of this life, strengthened by the sign of your inviolable protection.’

<sup>495</sup> ‘In the hour of my departure, when, having come to death, I cannot call upon your aid, through the venerable sign of you which I bear impressed with holy chrism on my forehead, be a help to me against the powers of darkness and their terrors.’

<sup>496</sup> ‘O glorious cross, O precious wood and wondrous sign, in which is our salvation, life and resurrection, save all those freed in you, and truly sealed by your banner.’

The verb ‘impono’, with its physical connotations and with the object ‘corpore’ as well as ‘corde’, suggests that the speaker not only signs him- or herself symbolically, in spirit, but also physically upon his or her body with Christ’s *signaculum*.<sup>498</sup> If this diminutive form of the word *signum* has the specific meaning of the little sign of the cross made upon the body, then the prayer ‘Tuam crucem adoramus’, again in Ælfwine’s devotions to the cross, may also require the speaker to sign him- or herself whilst saying the prayer:

per huius signaculum crucis prosternentur inimici et fugentur demonia. Per istius crucis signaculum a periculis mundi liberemur (*ÆP*, no. 46.10).<sup>499</sup>

Making the sign of the cross was such a simple and yet meaningful way of expressing one’s faith, that it is one of the chief ways in which monastic and lay religious practice coincided. Relatively little is known about how laypeople prayed at this time. However, it appears from the Blickling Homily for the Third Sunday in Lent that they were taught to do so with the sign of the cross:

eallum Cristenum mannum is beboden þæt hi ealne heora lichoman seofon siþum gebletsian mid Cristes róde táce. Ærest on ærne morgen, oþre siþe on underntíd, þriððan siþe on midne dæg, feorþan siþe on nontíd, fiftan siþe on æfen, syxtan siþe on niht ær he ræste, seofon siþe on uhtan. Huru he hine Gode bebeode. Ond gif þa lareowas þis nellap fæstlice Godes folce bebeodan, þonne beoþ hi wiþ God swyþe scyldige, forþon þæt Godes folc sceal witon hu hi hi sylfe scyldan sceolan wiþ deoflu (*Dominica Tertia in Quadragesima*, ll. 117-24).<sup>500</sup>

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<sup>497</sup> ‘Through the glory and power of your holy cross, O Lord Jesus Christ, whose [little] sign I place upon myself in heart and in body, save me.’

<sup>498</sup> ‘Impono’ is, for example, used in the sense of the laying on of hands in ordination and confirmation. Albert Blaise, ed., *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., rev. Henri Chirat (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), s. v. ‘impono’, no. 1. The same signing of both the forehead and the heart occurs in ‘Qui comparasti nos pretioso sanguine tuo’, a morning prayer in a long series of assorted private prayers in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, which asks for protection through the cross: ‘Christe ... salua nos ... cuius signum in frontibus et cordibus nostris infigimus’ (‘O Christ ... save us ... whose sign we fix onto our foreheads and our hearts’). Günzel, *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, no. 76.54.

<sup>499</sup> ‘May demons be put to flight through the [little] sign of this cross. May we be freed from the perils of the world through that [little] sign of that cross.’

<sup>500</sup> Richard J. Kelly, ed. and trans., *The Blickling Homilies: Edition and Translation (with General Introduction, Textual Notes, Tables and Appendices, and Select Bibliography)* (London and New

As Alcuin taught Charlemagne, the times of the canonical Hours should be observed by laypeople as well as monks.<sup>501</sup> For the homilist, the sign of the cross is one of the most important acts of Christian prayer, so much so that it is commanded to all Christians, whether they are monastic or not, and priests who fail to teach this are guilty before God. This is not only intended to ensure the piety of the laity, but to enable them to protect themselves from demons. Not everyone would become a monk or nun, but all human beings faced spiritual battles, and Christians were armed with the weapon of the holy cross.

The sign of the cross was therefore an essential part of the church's ministry to the laity. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422 and Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Miscellaneous 482 contain a pair of texts for priests to use when visiting the homes of the sick and dying. The rites for the sick include the instruction,

Wyrce her se *preost* rode tacn mid þam axum *and* [sealte] *and* wætere gemenged on þa breost[e] þæs seocan mannes *and* ofer ða bruwan.<sup>502</sup>

This rite serves as a reminder that cross prayers and *ordines* existed in a wider context, both inside and outside of the monastery: the sign of the cross in its various forms was used in prayers, blessings, charms and medical remedies.

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York: Continuum, 2003), 26-37. 'It is commanded to all Christian men that they should bless their entire bodies seven times a day with the sign of the Christ's Cross. First in the early morning, the second time at before noon (9 o'clock), the third time at midday, the fourth time at none (3 o'clock), the fifth time in the evening, the sixth time at night before he goes to sleep, and the seventh time at dawn. At all such times, he should commend himself to God. If the teachers will not impart this upon God's people, they will be very guilty before God because God's people ought to know how to protect themselves from devils.' All translations from the *Blickling Homilies* are taken from this edition.

<sup>501</sup> See pages 56-7 above.

<sup>502</sup> 'Here, the priest should make the sign of the cross, with the ashes and salt and water mixed, on the chest of the sick man and over the eyebrows.' Bernhard Fehr, ed., 'Altenglische Ritualtexte für Krankenbesuch, heilige Ölung und Begräbnis', in *Texte und Forschungen zur englischen Kulturgeschichte: Festgabe für Felix Liebermann zum 20. Juli 1921*, eds. Max Förster and Karl Wildhagen, 20-67 (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1921), 56-7. I have quoted the version in Corpus Christi 422.

There are no clear distinctions between these categories. It would be deviating from the focus of this chapter to examine the use of the cross in charms and healing too closely, and Karen Jolly has considered its various manifestations in detail elsewhere.<sup>503</sup> However, it is relevant to note that these remedies make particularly creative use of the sign of the cross. In the Old English *Leechbook*, London, British Library, Royal 12. D xvii, one remedy for an illness caused by elves involves ‘writing’ three crosses with holy oil (‘writ .III. crucem mid oleum infirmorum’; *Leechbook*, 350, ll. 9-10),<sup>504</sup> writing the sign of the cross over the healing drink and using a written prayer dipped in the drink to write a cross on the patient’s every limb, saying, ‘signum crucis christi conservate [*sic*] in uitam eternam . amen’ (ll. 10-17).<sup>505</sup> A charm in the *Lacnunga*, London, British Library Harley 585, similarly uses the cross for finding lost cattle. The speaker is instructed to pray and say the charm three times, facing east, west, south and north, asking that the cross may bring back the cattle (*Lacnunga*, ll. 850-9), and to say:<sup>506</sup>

Crux (Cristi) abscondita est et inuenta est; Iudeas Crist ahengon, dydon dæda þa wyrrestan, hælon þ(æt) hy forhelan ne mihtan; swa þeos dæd nænige þinga f[o]rholen ne wurþe, þurh þa haligan Cristes rode. Amen (ll. 859-62).<sup>507</sup>

<sup>503</sup> Karen L. Jolly, ‘Tapping the Power of the Cross: Who and for Whom?’ in *The Place of the Cross*, eds. Jolly, Karkov and Keefer, 58-79; Karen Louise Jolly, ‘Cross-Referencing Anglo-Saxon Liturgy and Remedies: the Sign of the Cross as Ritual Protection’, in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, eds. M. Bradford Bedingfield and Helen Gittos, HBS Subsidia 5 (London: Boydell Press, 2005), 213-43.

<sup>504</sup> ‘Write a cross three times with oil of the sick.’ Oswald Cockayne, ed., *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, 3 vols., Rolls Series 35:1-3 (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1965), II.

<sup>505</sup> ‘[May] the sign of Christ’s cross keep you in eternal life. Amen.’

<sup>506</sup> Edward Pettit, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers from British Library MS Harley 585: The Lacnunga*, 2 vols., Mellen Critical Editions and Translations 6 (Lewiston, NY, Queenston and Lampeter: Mellen, 2001), I. All translations from *Lacnunga* are from this edition.

<sup>507</sup> ‘[T]he Cross of Christ was lost and is found; the Jews hung Christ, did the worst of deeds, hid that which they could not conceal; so may this deed not be concealed by any means, through the holy Cross of Christ. Amen.’

The cross, which itself was lost and found again by St Helena, will help the reader to find the lost cattle. Since the cross was the powerful sign of God himself expressed in the physical world, it was part of the remedy for any difficulty, however secular, in which one needed spiritual help.

While the scribes who copied the *Leechbook* and *Lacnunga* may have been satisfied that these charms were no less Christian for being used in secular life, Ælfric in particular was anxious to distinguish such remedies from pagan charms. In his view, the cross was the only sign which could legitimately be used as a blessing:

Peah þe man wafige wundorlice mid handa  
 ne bið hit þeah bletsung buta he wyrce tacn  
 þære halgan rode . and se reða feond  
 biþ sona afyrht for ðam sige-fæstan tacne .  
 Mid þrym fingrum man sceall senian . and bletsian .  
 for þære halgan þrynnysse . þe is þrim-wealdend god  
 ('Exaltatio sancte crucis', ll. 151-6).<sup>508</sup>

Not only is the sign of the cross the only acceptable way of blessing oneself, but it must also be done precisely, using three fingers to signify the Trinity.

However unorthodox Ælfric may have found the uses of the sign of the cross outside of the monastery, they have a great deal in common with monastic rituals for personal protection. Of particular importance is the *ordo* for dealing with demonic persecution in the *Portiforium*, which was introduced in detail in Chapter Two (see pages 113-5 above). This not only lists prayers for use in times of trouble, but also explains how and why to use them:

GYF ÐE ÐYNCE þæt ðine fynd þwyrlice ymbe þe ðrydian ðonne gang þu on  
 gelimplicere stowe . 7 þe ða halgan rode to gescyldnesse geciiġ 7 asete þe  
 aðenedum earmum (*Portiforium*, II, 24, ll. 3-5).<sup>509</sup>

<sup>508</sup> 'Even though a man may wave strangely with his hands, it is nevertheless not a blessing unless he make the sign of the holy cross, and the fierce enemy will immediately be afraid of the victorious sign. One must sign and bless oneself with three fingers, because of the Holy Trinity, who is the glorious ruler God.'



It is not clear what this ‘gelimpticere stowe’ (suitable place) might be. It may be before a representation of the cross; however, this need not be the case, as the reader is advised to form the shape of the cross himself by stretching out his arms, and thus to call upon its power. A number of prayers and psalms follow, which make particularly explicit references to being protected by the cross. The speaker prays to Christ,

concede ut ego miser et peccator famulusque tuus. *N. sanctæ signo CRUCIS munitus ac protectus omnium mihi aduersantium machinas dirumpere ualeam* (ll. 14-16).<sup>510</sup>

The term *signaculum* is used in these prayers, most notably in the instructions following the final prayer, in which the reader is told,

wyrc swyþe gelome cristes rode tacen on ðinum heafde · 7 cweð þis gelome. *Ecce crucem domini. 7 cweþ ðis þonne. Hoc signaculo sanctæ crucis* (ll. 29-31).<sup>511</sup>

This is a particularly important mention of the sign of the cross in that it instructs the reader precisely how to sign himself. Furthermore, this *ordo* repeatedly tells the reader to pray with ‘aðenedum earmum’ (ll. 5, 18-19, 23; ‘outstretched arms’), a posture in which, as Liuzza notes, the speaker does not simply pray in front of a cross, but takes on the form of Christ on the cross, identifying himself with him.<sup>512</sup>

The text also reminds the reader that the cross is the sign which will usher in the Last Judgement itself: one of the *preces* for this *ordo* is, ‘[h]oc signum crucis erit in coelo

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<sup>509</sup> ‘If it seems to you that your enemies are thinking about you insolently, then go to a suitable place and call upon the holy cross for your protection, and sit down with outstretched arms.’ This *ordo* can also be found in British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, f. 59. Phillip Pulsiano, ed., ‘British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, fol. 59rv: An Unrecorded Charm in the Form of an Address to the Cross’, *American Notes and Queries*, n. s. 4:1 (1991): 3-5.

<sup>510</sup> ‘Grant that I, a miserable sinner and your servant, [name], strengthened and protected by the sign of the holy cross, may prevail in breaking up the schemes of all my adversaries.’

<sup>511</sup> ‘Make Christ’s cross sign very frequently on your head, and say this frequently: ‘This is the cross of the Lord’; and say this then: ‘By this little sign of the holy cross’.’

<sup>512</sup> Liuzza, ‘Prayers and/or Charms’, 319-20.

cum dominus ad iudicandum uenerit' (l. 25).<sup>513</sup> This calls to mind the transcendent significance of the cross: it links the past and the future together with the needs of the speaker in the present. This *ordo* therefore demonstrates effectively two of the most important features of prayer to the holy cross. It is intended to give complete protection from all kinds of harm, both physical and spiritual, and is particularly concerned with the devil. It shows how integral a part of prayer gesture and posture were, and, in particular, the sign of the cross made upon the forehead.

So far, this chapter has analysed the different ways in which Anglo-Saxon monks and nuns could pray through the holy cross, whether in the form of relics, a cross erected in a church, or by making the sign upon one's forehead. In whichever of these ways the sign of the cross was made, it was a sign pointing to the immeasurable and unknowable God, and it was through the cross that the inexpressible could be symbolised. This is the case in all cross devotion, but private prayer sequences reveal which parts of the liturgy were considered important enough to be extracted for private use, in the desire for a deeper understanding of the divine mysteries. This can be seen in the *Vespasian Psalter* prayer 'Salve crux sancta et veneranda':

Quis tui misterii *profunditatem. et sanctitatis* magnitudinem sensu comprehendere. uel uerbis plene potest enarrare. cum signum tuę imaginis tantam in se contineat uirtutem. ut quocumquemodo exprimat aduerse potestates *et di[a]bolica fantasmata* inde fugentur[?]<sup>514</sup>

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<sup>513</sup> 'This sign of the cross will be in heaven when the Lord will come to judge.'

<sup>514</sup> 'Who can understand the depth of your mystery and the greatness of the holiness with their sense or tell fully in words, since the sign of your image contains so much power in itself, that in whatever way it is expressed, the hostile powers and diabolical illusions flee from there?' Kuhn, *Vespasian*, no. 8, ll. 7-9. The 'aduerse potestates' recall Eph. 6:12: 'quia non est nobis conluctatio aduersus carnem et sanguinem sed aduersus principes et potestates aduersus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum contra spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus' ('for our wrestling is not against flesh and blood; but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the high places'). It is perhaps a sign of the skill in adapting sources typical of these prayers that 'aduersus', in *Ephesians*, is used as a preposition, but is adapted into an adjective by the composer of the prayer. See also 'Sancta et ueneranda crux' in the *Portiforium*, which similarly

The words ‘quocumquomodo exprimatur’<sup>515</sup> indicate the many ways in which the symbol of Christ’s cross can be made: in words, in image and in gesture. In all of these, God’s inexpressible power is so great that not only the true cross, not even only its image, but the sign of its image (‘signum tuę imaginis’) is enough to put all demons to flight.

### **Identifying Offices and prayer programmes devoted to the Holy Cross**

As discussed in Chapter Two, private prayers do not only appear in continuous series, but also in sequences of prayers which were grouped together according to a theme, or because they were considered to be especially effective for a particular purpose. It can never be known for certain how Wulfstan or Ælfwine used his prayerbook, or how often or when each man said a particular group of prayers, or where he began and ended.<sup>516</sup> The same set of prayers may have been used in diverse ways on different occasions and by different people, and there is a risk of imposing possibly artificial distinctions on a group of texts. However, at certain points in Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks, there are strong suggestions as to where one group of texts ends and another begins. These divisions can be indicated through the use of rubrics, a change of genre, or by supplementing the prayers with groups of psalms and antiphons. Of course, Anglo-Saxon manuscripts do not always divide up their contents as clearly as a modern edition might imply, and the use of private prayerbooks can ultimately only be speculated about. However, it is sometimes apparent that a collection of prayers has been organised according to a particular theme.

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praises the cross, ‘cuius uirtutes humana lingua non sufficit enarrare’ (‘whose powers the human tongue is not able to tell’). Hughes, *Portiforium*, II, 20, ll. 2-3.

<sup>515</sup> ‘In whatever way it is expressed.’

<sup>516</sup> For the use of the name ‘Wulfstan’ in reference to the owner of the *Portiforium*, see n. 43 above.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will examine organised programmes of prayers to the cross: that is, groups of prayers which are linked together with psalms, *Paternosters* and antiphons, and have rubrics guiding the reader in how to use them. Some of these have already been discussed in brief in Chapter Two, on pages 115-23 above. In that chapter, it was proposed that, although there is no clear distinction between a prayer programme and an Office, late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks do include some private Offices in an early stage of their development. I identified an Office, or proto-Office, as a programme of prayer modelled on the liturgy of the canonical Hours: it may begin with a psalm verse such as ‘Deus in adiutorium’ (Ps. 69:2), followed by psalm verses and the *Paternoster*, *Kyrie* or *Gloria Patri*, and perhaps a hymn, and it tends to finish with collects.

Here, I will examine the different programmes of prayer to the cross in *Galba*, *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook* and the *Portiforium*. Even within these three manuscripts, there is a variety of distinctly different programmes of prayer to the cross. This suggests that Anglo-Saxon monks and nuns were experimenting with liturgical forms, sometimes creating private Offices, and sometimes creating private prayer programmes based on other liturgies. In particular, the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday was used as a plan for private prayer, and it is to this that I will turn first of all. R. M. Liuzza has already compared the different versions of the Veneration liturgy.<sup>517</sup> However, he focuses on the version in Tiberius A. iii, using the *Portiforium* and *Regularis concordia* as points of comparison, and only mentions *Galba* and Arundel 155 in passing.<sup>518</sup> In the following analysis, I extend Liuzza’s work by considering different levels of sophistication seen in the various private

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<sup>517</sup> Liuzza, ‘Prayers and/or Charms’, 299-7.

<sup>518</sup> *Ibid.*, 301, nn. 76-7.

prayer programmes based on the Veneration, and comparing them to the emergent private Offices of the Holy Cross in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*.

### **The Veneration of the Cross**

The majority of prayer sequences found in the private prayerbooks are based, to a greater or lesser extent, on the liturgy. Sequences of prayers to the cross are most commonly modelled on the liturgy for the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, which features the three prayers 'Adoro te', 'Gloriosissime conditor mundi' and 'Quatuas manus mundas'. As discussed in detail in Chapter Two (pages 117-8 above), both the *Galba Prayerbook* and the *Portiforium of St Wulstan* include the three prayers for this ceremony, as do the eleventh-century additions to the psalter London, British Library Arundel 155.<sup>519</sup> In all three of these manuscripts, 'Adoro te' appears in a form which has clearly been taken directly from the *Regularis concordia* rather than from versions in earlier prayerbooks such as the *Book of Cerne* and the *Libellus Parisinus*. This can be seen in the fact that they all include the same six petitions to Christ dying and rising again, whereas the versions in *Cerne* and *Parisinus* have fifteen and thirteen lines respectively, concerning the creation, the Exodus and the life of Christ.<sup>520</sup>

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<sup>519</sup> Additionally, the first two prayers appear in the eleventh-century manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library d'Orville 45, 'Adoro te' appears in the tenth-century additions to the *Royal Prayerbook*. Stephan Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch für Karl den Grossen: Seine Rekonstruktion und seine Stellung in der frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte der libelli precum*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 89 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2003), 389-91, nos. 52 and 54; Joseph P. Crowley, ed., 'Latin Prayers Added into the Margins of the Prayerbook British Library, Royal 2.A.XX at the Beginnings of the Monastic Reform in Worcester', *Sacris Erudiri* 45 (2006), no. 20.

<sup>520</sup> A. B. Kuypers, ed., *The Prayer Book of Aedelwald the Bishop, Commonly Called the Book of Cerne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), no. 19; Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 1069-82. Lilli Gjerløw has divided the different variants of 'Adoro te' into two groups, the 'common form' seen in *Cerne* and the *Libellus Parisinus*, and the 'Concordia form' seen in *Galba* and the *Portiforium*, partly on the basis of the number of petitions included in the prayer. Lilli Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis: The Regularis Concordia and the Decreta Lanfranci. Manuscript Studies in the Early Medieval Church of Norway* (Oslo: Norwegian Universities Press, 1961), 16-21, 24-8; Kuypers, *Cerne*, no. 19; André Wilmart, ed., *Precum libelli quattuor aevi karolini* (Rome: Ephemerides

*Galba*, Arundel 155 and the *Portiforium* include a total of four different adaptations of the Veneration liturgy, and these attest to how this ceremony was taken from its liturgical source and adapted for private use in four markedly different and increasingly sophisticated ways. Table 3.3 below outlines the Veneration liturgy as prescribed in the *Regularis concordia*, with the incipits of the three prayers given in bold.

Table 3.3: *Texts for the Regularis concordia liturgy of the Veneration of the Cross.*<sup>521</sup>

Description	Text or incipit
Reading	‘In tribulatione sua’ (Os. 6:1 ff.)
Response	‘Domine audivi’ (Hab. 3:2 ff.)
Prayer	‘Deus a quo et Iudas’ [no text given]
Reading	‘Dixit Dominus ad Moysen’ (Ex. 12:1 ff.)
Psalm	‘Eripe me Domine’ (Ps. 139)
Gospel	Passion according to John
Prayers	Beginning ‘Oremus, dilectissimi nobis’ [no text given]
Improperia, divided up by the Trisagion in Greek and Latin	‘Popule meus’; Agios o Theos/Sanctus Deus ‘Quia eduxi uos per desertum’; Agios o Theos/Sanctus Deus ‘Quid ultra’; Agios o Theos/Sanctus Deus
Antiphons	‘Ecce lignum crucis’ ‘Dum fabricator mundi’
Hymn	‘Pange, lingua’
The seven penitential psalms divided up by three prayers: ‘Adoro te’, ‘Gloriosissime conditor mundi’, ‘Qui tuas	... cum magno cordis suspirio vii <sup>tem</sup> poenitentię psalmos cum orationibus sancte cruci compe(n)tentibus decanta<nd>o peroret. <i>IN prima quidem oratione, tres psalmos primos cum oratione:</i> <b>Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te in cruce ascendentem; deprecor te, ut ipsa crux liberet me de diabolo percutiente.</b> <b>Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te &lt;in cruce&gt; uulneratum; deprecor te, ut ipsa uulnera remedium sint animę meę.</b> <b>Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te in sepulchro positum; deprecor te ut ipsa mors sit uita mea.</b> <sup>522</sup> <b>Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te descendentem ad inferos</b>

Liturgicae, 1940), *Libellus Parisinus*, no. 2.12. For more details on the differences between the two versions, and the place of Arundel 155 in this scheme, see n. 537 below.

<sup>521</sup> Except where indicated, this is taken from Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 1013-1107; cf. Thomas Symons, ed. and trans., *Regularis concordia: Anglica nationis monachorum sanctimonialiumque. The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1953), chs. 43-5. For the history of the Veneration ceremony and the prayer ‘Adoro te’, see Keefer, ‘The Veneration of the Cross’, Keefer, ‘The Performance of the Cross’, and Susan Boynton, ‘Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters’, *Speculum* 82, 896-931 (2007): 911-14.

<sup>522</sup> This line does not appear in the text of the *Regularis concordia* in Tiberius A. iii, but it does appear in London, British Library Royal 2 B. v. Symons, *Regularis Concordia*, ch. 45.

manus mundas'	<p><b>liberantem captiuos; deprecor te, ut non ibi me dimittas introire.</b></p> <p><b>Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te resurgentem ab inferis ascendentem ad celos; deprecor te, miserere mei.</b></p> <p><b>Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te uenturum iudicaturum; deprecor te, ut in tuo aduentu non intres in iudicio cum me peccante, sed deprecor te, ut ante dimittas quam iudices. Qui uiuis et regnas.</b><sup>523</sup></p>
	<p><i>IN secunda, duos medioxim(o)s sequente(m) oratione:</i></p> <p><b>Domine Ihesu Christe, gloriosissime conditor mundi, qui cum sis splendor glorię coeternus Patri Sanctoque Spiritui, ideo dignatus es carnem ex immaculata uirgine sumere et gloriosas palmas tuas in crucis patibulo permisisti configere, ut claustra dissipares inferni et humanum genus liberares de morte; respice et miserere michi misero, obpresso facinorum pondere multarumque nequitiarum labe polluto; no[n] me digneris derelinquere, piissime Pater, sed indulge, quod impie gessi. Exaudi me prostratum coram adoranda gloriosissima cruce tua, ut merear tibi mundus adsistere et placere conspectui tuo. Qui con [sic] Patre.</b><sup>524</sup></p>
	<p><i>[I]N tertia ultimos duos cum oratione:</i></p> <p><b>Deus omnipotens, Ihesu Christe, qui tuas manus mundas propter nos in cruce posuisti et de tuo sancto sanguine nos redemisti; mitte in me sensum et intellegentiam, quomodo habeam ueram penitentiam et habeam bonam perseuerantiam omnibus diebus uite mee. Amen.</b><sup>525</sup></p>

<sup>523</sup> '... with great sighing of the heart may he [the abbot] conclude by reciting the seven psalms of penitence with penitential prayers to the holy cross. For the first prayer, the first three psalms, with the prayer: 'O Lord Jesus Christ, I adore you climbing onto the cross; I ask you that that cross may free me from the piercing devil. O Lord Jesus Christ, I adore you wounded on the cross; I ask you that those wounds may be the cure for my soul. O Lord Jesus Christ, I adore you placed in the tomb; I ask you that that death may be my life. O Lord Jesus Christ, I adore you going down to the people of hell, freeing the captives; I ask you that you may not send me to go there. O Lord Jesus Christ, I adore you rising from the people of hell, ascending to the heavens; I ask you to have mercy on me. O Lord Jesus Christ, I adore you about to come to judge; I ask you that in your coming you may not enter into judgement with me, sinning, but I ask you that you may forgive before you judge, you who live and reign ...'

<sup>524</sup> 'Secondly, the two middle ones, with the following prayer: 'O Lord Jesus Christ, most glorious creator of the world, who while you are the splendour of glory, coeternal with the Father and the Holy Spirit, because of that you deigned to take on flesh from the immaculate Virgin and allowed your glorious palms to be fixed to the gallows of the cross so that you might destroy the gates of hell and free humankind from death. Look upon and have mercy on miserable me, burdened by the weight of sins and befouled by the dishonour of many crimes. Do not deign to abandon me, most holy Father, but be lenient towards what I have impiously done. Hear me, prostrated before your venerable and most glorious cross, that I may merit to appear before the world to you and be pleased in your sight. Who, with the Father ...'

<sup>525</sup> 'Thirdly, the last two, with the prayer: 'Almighty God, Jesus Christ, who because of us laid your clean hands on the cross and redeemed us by your holy blood, bestow on me sense and understanding by which I may have true penitence and may have good perseverance all the days of my life.'

The dotted line in table 3.3 above indicates the point at which the versions in the private prayerbooks begin. At this point in the Good Friday liturgy, the monks said the first three penitential psalms followed by the prayer ‘Adoro te’, then the next two penitential psalms followed by ‘Gloriosissime conditor mundi’, and then the last two followed by ‘Qui tuas manus mundas’. Interestingly, this pattern was used as the basis of four prayer programmes in Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks: one in the *Galba Prayerbook*, one in Arundel 155, and two in the *Portiforium of St Wulstan*. I will examine each of these programmes in this order, beginning with the one in *Galba*, which is closest to the version in the *Concordia*, and ending with the *Portiforium* versions, which are the most elaborate.

The *Galba Prayerbook* includes this part of the Veneration ceremony almost exactly as it appears in the *Regularis concordia* (RC, ll. 1069-1101). In fact, the last two rubrics have been reproduced verbatim from that text (*Prayer-Book*, 145, l. 1; 146, l. 6).<sup>526</sup> The *Galba* text does not, however, develop the liturgy any further: it does not, for example, add any antiphons to the psalms and prayers. What it does do is offer some further explanation of the text. Unlike the *Regularis concordia*, *Galba* gives the incipits of each of the seven penitential psalms, prefaced by the rubric ‘Ps.’ (143, ll. 1-3; 145, ll. 2-3; 146, ll. 7-8). In addition, all three Latin prayers are followed by an English translation (144, ll. 6-20; 145, ll. 14-21; 146, ll. 1-5, 14-18). This would make it more suitable for readers who needed to be reminded which psalms were the penitential psalms, and for those who might either desire or need to read the prayers in their own language.

It is not clear whether this sequence was intended for use with the prayers immediately preceding it. This uncertainty is partly due to the damage done to

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<sup>526</sup> Muir also notes that a line has been left blank just before ‘Adoro te’, presumably so that the rubric instructing the reader to say the first three penitential psalms could be inserted there. Muir, *Prayer-Book*, 143, n. 2.



*Galba*. However, the first folio of the text, f. 110r, includes the ending of the preceding prayer ‘Mane cum surrexero’. This, in turn, begins on f. 108, at the start of which begins the prayer ‘Meis culpis, domine’ (*Prayer-Book*, 140-3). Likewise, the Veneration prayers end on f. 114r, followed immediately by the proto-Office of the Trinity discussed in Chapter Two (pages 118-19 above), which continue to the end of f. 117v (*Prayer-Book*, 146-9). Therefore, regardless of disagreements about the original foliation of this manuscript, it is at least certain that the Veneration of the Cross was preceded by two confessional prayers and followed by an Office of the Trinity. It may perhaps be the case that the confessional prayers were intended to be a part of a sequence of prayers dedicated to the cross, in which case the presence of ‘Mane cum surrexero’ suggests that it may have been for use in the morning.<sup>527</sup> Alternatively, the abrupt change of genre suggests that the Veneration prayers form a complete prayer programme on their own. In fact, the position of the proto-Office of the Trinity immediately after the prayers to the cross may be significant: it appears that, as in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, private Offices for different occasions were grouped together in the manuscript (*Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, nos. 49-51).

While *Galba* extracts the psalms from the Veneration liturgy, as well as the three prayers, Arundel 155 strips the prayers of their liturgical trappings altogether. This mid-eleventh-century Roman psalter has forty-four Latin prayers on ff. 171r-92v, all with a full interlinear gloss in Old English of approximately the same date. These private prayers are not linked together by psalms or antiphons, although some

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<sup>527</sup> This prayer begins, ‘Domine ihesu christe, mane cum surrexero intende in me et governa actos meos et uerba mea et cogitationes meas ut toto die tra[n]seam in tua uoluntate’ (*Prayer-Book*, 141, ll. 1-3). ‘O Lord Jesus Christ, when I rise early in the morning reach out to me and govern my actions and my words and my thoughts so that, all day long, I may go over to your will.’

of the prayers have rubrics indicating how and why they were to be said.<sup>528</sup>

Therefore, they can be regarded as simply a series of prayers rather than an Office.

Nevertheless, the arrangement of its prayers according to genre shows the mind of a compiler at work. This is shown in table 3.4, in which prayers to the cross are indicated in bold, and other prayers in italics.

*Table 3.4: The private prayers in London, British Library Arundel 155.*

<b>Number in edition</b> <sup>529</sup>	<b>Type of prayer</b>
<i>1-3</i>	<i>Prayers to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit</i> <sup>530</sup>
<b>4-9</b>	<b>'Adoro te'</b> <sup>531</sup>
<b>10</b>	<b>'Gloriosissime conditor mundi'</b>
<b>11</b>	<b>'Qui tuas manus mundas'</b>
<b>12</b>	<b>'Qui pro humano genere'</b>
<b>13</b>	<b>'Per gloriam et virtutem'</b>
<b>14</b>	<b>'Omnipotens, dilectissime deus'</b>
<b>15</b>	<b>'Pro sancta cruce tua'</b>
<i>16-27</i>	<i>Prayers of confession</i>
<i>28-43</i>	<i>Prayers to the saints</i>
<i>44</i>	<i>'Liberator animarum' (for use after chanting the psalter)</i>

It should be apparent from this table that, in Arundel 155, the sequence of prayers for the Veneration has been extended by the addition of an extra four prayers to the cross: 'Qui pro humano genere', 'Per gloriam et virtutem', 'Omnipotens, dilectissime deus' and 'Pro sancta cruce tua'. Even if this manuscript cannot in any way be said to include any Offices, it shows that the Veneration of the Cross was being developed and extended in private use.

<sup>528</sup> 'Per gloriam et virtutem' has a rubric specifying that it is to be said in front of a cross: 'Ante crucem domini. Oratio sancta' (Holthausen, *Interlinearversionen*, no. 13; 'Before the cross of the Lord. A holy prayer.')

<sup>529</sup> Nos. 1-16 and 18-27, and part of no. 28, are edited by Holthausen, *Interlinearversionen*, 231-54; no. 17 by H. Logeman, ed., 'Anglo-Saxonica Minora', *Anglia* 11, 97-120 (1889): 115-9; the remainder of no. 28 and nos. 29-44 by Jackson J. Campbell, ed., 'Prayers from MS. Arundel 155', *Anglia* 81 (1963), 82-117. Gneuss, no. 306; Ker, no. 135.

<sup>530</sup> See pages 35, 85 and 100-1 above.

<sup>531</sup> Holthausen edits the six petitions of this prayer as six separate prayers.

The texts based on the Veneration in the *Portiforium of St Wulstan* also include extra prayers, and show the increasing level of sophistication with which this liturgy was adapted and became more like a private Office. Ff. 581-618 of the *Portiforium* contain a large number of private prayers, of which all but one of the prayers to the cross have been grouped together. Since the Veneration prayers appear twice in this sequence, it can be argued that there are two Offices, or proto-Offices, based on the Veneration in this manuscript, one immediately following the other. Table 3.5 gives the incipits of these prayers to the cross, found on ff. 609-16 of the *Portiforium*. The bold text indicates prayers, as opposed to antiphons or psalms, the italics indicate rubrics, and the dotted lines show where each Office appears to begin and end.

Table 3.5: The developing Offices based on the Veneration of the Cross in the Portiforium of St Wulstan.

Page no. in Hughes vol. II	Description	Text
1-18		[A lacuna of 8 folios <sup>532</sup> is followed by a series of private prayers]
18	<b>OFFICE NO. 1</b> First three penitential psalms	<i>Hic decanta VII penitentiales psalmos.</i> Domine ne in furore tuo <i>Ps.</i> Beati quorum Domine ne in furore
	<i>Paternoster</i> and antiphons	Pater noster. Adhoramus te Christe. Omnis terra. Per signum crucis. Ne derelinquas me domine [...]
18-19	‘Adoro te’	<i>Oratio ad crucem.</i> <b>Domine ihesu christe, adoro te in cruce ascendentem [...]</b>
19	The next two penitential psalms, <i>Paternoster</i> and the same antiphons as above	<i>De eadem re unde supra.</i> Miserere mei deus. Domine exaudi pater noster et preces
	<b>‘Gloriosissime conditor mundi’</b>	<b>Domine ihesu christe, gloriosissime conditor mundi [...]</b>
	Final two penitential psalms and the same antiphons as above	De profundis. Domine exaudi. <i>Preces ut supra</i>
	<b>‘Qui tuas manus mundas’</b>	<i>Alia oratio.</i> <b>Quesumus omnipotens ihesu christe qui tuas manus mundas propter nos [...]</b>
	<b>‘Qui pro humano genere’</b>	<i>De eadem re.</i> <b>Domine ihesu christe qui pro humano genere crucis patibulum sustinuisti ...</b>

<sup>532</sup> Hughes, *Portiforium*, I, 175.

	‘Deus cui cuncte obediunt creature’	<i>Vnde supra. Deus cui cuncte obedi[u]nt creature ...</i>
20	‘Sancta et ueneranda crux’	<i>Ut supra. Sancta et ueneranda crux, in qua nos gloriari oportet [...]</i>
20	<b>OFFICE NO. 2</b> Kyrie and two antiphons, each in both Latin and English.	<i>Item aliae orationes latine et anglice.</i> Kyrieleyson christeleison kyrieleyson. Adhormus [ <i>sic</i> ] te christe [...] <i>ANGLICE.</i> We gebiddað þe drihten [...] <i>LATINE.</i> Per signum crucis de inimicis nostris libera nos deus noster. Ðurh rode tacen þu alyddest us ure drihten.
	Three penitential psalms	<i>Ps.</i> Domine ne in furore. <i>Ps.</i> Beati quorum. <i>Ps.</i> Domine ne in furore tuo.
	Antiphon in Latin and English	Omnis terra adoret te [...] <i>ANGLICE.</i> Eall eorðe gebidde [...]
20-1	‘Adoro te’ [Latin alternating line-by-line with English. The second part of each line only appears in the English.]	<i>LATINE.</i> <b>Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te in cruce ascendentem.</b> <i>ANGLICE.</i> <b>Drihten hælend Crist ic bidde ðe on rode astigende · ic bidde þe þæt seo sylfe rod me alyse fram deofles slæge.</b> <b>[...] in cruce uulneratum.</b> <i>ANGLICE.</i> [...] on rode gewundadne [...] <i>LATINE.</i> [...]in sepulchro positum. <i>ANGLICE.</i> [...] on byrigenne geledne [...] <b>[...] descendentem ad inferos.</b> <i>ANGLICE.</i> [...] adune to helwarum [...] <i>LATINE.</i> [...] resurgentem ab inferis. <i>ANGLICE.</i> [...] arisende fram helwarum [...] <i>HOC PROSEQUITUR LATINE.</i> [...] uenturum iudicaturum. <b>[...] towardne deman [...] ðu þe leofast 7 rixast god mid god fæder in annysse haliges gastes · á in weorulda weoruld. Amen.</b>

21	Two penitential psalms and <i>Kyrie</i>	<i>INDE PSALMUS.</i> Miserere mei Deus. Domine exaudi. Kyrieleison.
21	Three antiphons, each in Latin and English	<i>LATINE.</i> Dicite in nationibus [...] <i>ANGLICE.</i> Sæggað on þeodum [...] Crucem tuam adoramus domine [...] <i>ANGLICE.</i> Drihten þine halgan rode we geadmedað [...] O crux benedicta [...] <i>ANGLICE.</i> Hala þu gebletsode rod [...]
21-2	<b>‘Gloriosissime conditor mundi’</b>	<i>ORATIO.</i> <b>Domine ihesu christe gloriosissime conditor mundi [...]</b> <b>Drihten hælend crist se wuldorfullesta middaneardes scyppend [...]</b>
22	Two penitential psalms and <i>Kyrie</i>	De profundis clamaui. Domine exaudi. II. KIRRIELEISON.
	Four antiphons each in Latin and English, including one line of ‘Adoro te’	Tuam crucem adoramus domine [...] Drihten ðine halgan rode we geeadmedað [...] Salua nos Christe saluator [...] Eala hælend Crist gehæl us [...] Ne derelinquas me domine pater et dominator uitæ meæ [...] Eala ðu drihten fæder 7 wealdend mines lifes ne forlæt ðu me [...] Domine ihesu christe adoro te in cruce ascendentem spineam coronam in capite portantem [...] [D]rihten helend crist ic geadmede þe on rode astigendne 7 ðyrnenne kynehelm on heafde berendne [...]
	<b>‘Qui crucem tuam ueneror’</b>	<b>Deus qui crucem tuam ueneror [...]</b>
22-3	<b>‘Tuam misericordiam recolentes’</b>	<b>Domine ihesu christe, tuam misericordiam recolentes [...]</b>
23 23-4	<b>‘Qui per crucem passionis’</b>	<b>Domine ihesu christe, qui per crucem passion[i]s tue [...]</b> [There follow some confessional prayers, apparently for use with a priest, in the middle of which is a lacuna of one folio. Afterwards follows the <i>ordo</i> for use against devils.]

Although there is, of course, a risk of imposing artificial boundaries onto a continuous series of prayers, it is apparent that the rubric introducing the penitential psalms indicates a distinct change of purpose in the text. First, the psalms mark the beginning of several folios of relatively short prayers almost exclusively devoted to the cross, whereas the texts on the previous folios are prayers to the saints or long prayers of confession and penitence (*Portiforium*, II, 3-18). Second, the prayers to the cross are linked by the penitential psalms and antiphons dedicated to the cross. This practice is otherwise unknown in the private prayers in the *Portiforium*. The rubric introducing the penitential psalms is of particular note: ‘Hic decanta VII penitentiales psalmos’ (18, l. 29).<sup>533</sup> The ‘hic’ (‘here’) implies that the reader is not simply reading prayers singly or at random, but that he is engaged in a programme which has to be followed in a particular order. For these reasons, we can therefore be reasonably confident that a kind of private Office, albeit one in its developing stages, is taking place at this point in the manuscript.

The first of the Veneration texts in the *Portiforium* stays close to the version in the *Regularis concordia* and the *Galba Prayerbook*. As shown in table 3.5 above, the reader is instructed to chant the first three of the seven penitential psalms (18, ll. 30-1), then the prayer ‘Adoro te’ (18, ll. 36-9; 19, ll. 1-11); the next two psalms (19, l. 13) and ‘Gloriosissime conditor mundi’ (ll. 14-23); the final three psalms (l. 24), and then ‘Qui tuas manus mundas’ (ll. 25-9). However, this text goes beyond the equivalent one in *Galba* by extending the basic pattern with antiphons and additional prayers. After the first three penitential psalms, the reader is instructed to say the *Paternoster* and the antiphons ‘Adoramus te Christe’, ‘Omnis terra’, ‘Per signum crucis’ and ‘Ne derelinquas me domine’, of which only the final antiphon is written

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<sup>533</sup> ‘Here, chant the seven penitential psalms.’

out in full (18, ll. 31-4). Rubrics further on in the text indicate that the same antiphons are to be said with each set of psalms: these rubrics read, ‘Miserere mei deus. Domine exaudi, pater noster *et preces*’<sup>534</sup> (19, l. 13) and ‘De profundis. Domine exaudi. *preces ut supra*’ (l. 24).<sup>535</sup>

Furthermore, the Office has been extended through the addition of three extra prayers to the cross after the Veneration prayers: ‘Qui pro humano genere’, ‘Deus cui cuncte obediunt creature’ and ‘Sancta et ueneranda crux’ (19, ll. 30-40; 20, ll. 1-11). It is noticeable that ‘Qui pro humano genere’ follows the Veneration prayers in both the *Portiforium* and Arundel 155: it may be that the pattern of three prayers in the *Regularis concordia* was being expanded to include a fourth.

Perhaps surprisingly, this developing Office of the cross is immediately followed by another based on the Veneration of the Cross, beginning with the rubric ‘Item aliae orationes latine et anglice’ (20, l. 12).<sup>536</sup> This follows a similar pattern to the previous text, although the third Veneration prayer, ‘Qui tuas manus mundas’, does not appear in this version at all. Before and after each of the two Veneration prayers, the reader says the *Kyrie eleison*, the penitential psalms and some antiphons. Similarly, this Office ends with a series of three prayers. However, the second *Portiforium* text develops the Veneration liturgy further by using a different selection of antiphons each time, which indicates the increasing complexity with which this basic pattern was treated in the developing private Office.

Furthermore, all of the antiphons in this text appear in both Latin and English, as do ‘Adoro te’ and ‘Gloriosissime conditor mundi’.<sup>537</sup> In the case of

<sup>534</sup> Emphasis mine. ‘Have mercy on me, O God’, ‘Hear, O Lord’, *Paternoster* and *preces*.’

<sup>535</sup> Emphasis mine. ‘Out of the depths’, ‘Hear, O Lord’, *preces* as above.’

<sup>536</sup> ‘Also, other prayers in Latin and English.’

<sup>537</sup> As indicated in table 3.5, the first line of ‘Adoro te’ appears as the final antiphon in the Office, immediately before the prayer ‘Qui crucem tuam ueneror’. Unusually, this takes a different form from that hitherto encountered in the *Portiforium*: ‘Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te in cruce



‘Adoro te’, each line appears first in Latin and then in translation, and the second part of each line is only found in the English: for example:

LATINE. Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te in cruce ascendentem.  
 ANGLICE. Drihten hælend crist ic bidde ðe on rode astigende · ic bidde þe  
 þæt seo sylfe rod me alyse fram deofles slæge.  
 Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te ... (20, ll. 23-6).<sup>538</sup>

Muir notes that only *Galba* and the *Portiforium* include the Old English translation of the Veneration prayers;<sup>539</sup> indeed, the translation is essentially the same in these two manuscripts, and distinct from the gloss in Arundel 155. It is at least possible that this translation was included for saying together with the laity: as discussed on pages 95-6 above, Bishop Wulfstan may have taken the book with him when travelling in his diocese.<sup>540</sup> Tracey-Anne Cooper notes that, according to the *Waltham Chronicle*, a version of ‘Adoro te’ was apparently said by Tovi the Proud, a thegn of King Cnut, while praying in penitence before a stone cross.<sup>541</sup> If this

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ascendentem *spineam coronam in capite portantem; deprecantem* deprecor te ut ipsa crux liberet me ab *angelo* percutiente’ (*Portiforium*, II, 22, ll. 23-5, my emphases; ‘O Lord Jesus Christ, I adore you climbing onto the cross, wearing a thorny crown on your head; praying, I ask you that that cross may free me from the piercing angel’). Gjerløw notes that, in the ‘Concordia form’ of this prayer, the reference to the crown of thorns does not appear, and ‘ab angelo percutiente’ appears as ‘de diabolo percutiente’ (‘from the piercing devil’). The version in Arundel 155 resembles the other form of the prayer, the ‘common form’, in its version of the first line of ‘Adoro te’, and the ‘Concordia form’ in its use of the third prayer – and, one might add to Gjerløw’s findings, in the use of only six lines in the first prayer. Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis*, 16-18, 20, 25-6; Holthausen, ‘Interlinearversionen’, nos. 4-9.

Furthermore, the translation of this line in the *Portiforium* is closer to the gloss in Arundel 155 than to the translation of the whole prayer earlier on in the *Portiforium*: they translate ‘adoro te’ as ‘ic geadmede þe’ (*Portiforium*, II, 22, l. 26; Holthausen, *Interlinearversionen*, no. 4, l. 1; ‘I adore you’) instead of the more usual ‘ic bidde ðe’ (e.g. *Portiforium*, II, 20, l. 24; ‘I ask you’). The surprising change of text and translation in the *Portiforium* implies that, although the *Regularis concordia* was the preferred source for the compiler, he or she evidently had other versions to hand, including one possibly related to the *Book of Cerne*.

<sup>538</sup> ‘*Latin*. O Lord Jesus Christ, I adore you climbing onto the cross. *English*. Lord Saviour Christ, I ask you climbing onto the cross: I ask you that that same cross may free me from the devil’s attack. O Lord Jesus Christ, I adore you ...’

<sup>539</sup> Muir, *Prayer-Book*, 143, n. 1.

<sup>540</sup> R. W. Pfaff, ‘The ‘Sample Week’ in the Medieval Latin Divine Office’, in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship: Papers Read at the 1997 Summer Meeting and the 1998 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge and Manchester, NY: Ecclesiastical History Society, Boydell Press, 1999), 82.

<sup>541</sup> Tracey-Anne Cooper, ‘The Monastic Origins of Tovie the Proud’s Adoration of the Cross’, *NQ* n. s. 52:4, 437-40 (2005): 437.

chronicle reflects anything of the reality of Tovi's prayer, or even what the chronicler expected a layman would pray before a stone cross, then it is not impossible that the prayers for the Veneration of the Cross were translated and taught to laypeople.

The three versions of the Veneration liturgy in Arundel 155, the *Galba Prayerbook* and the *Portiforium of St Wulstan* therefore show four different ways in which manuscripts of the same era adapted the *Regularis concordia* liturgy for the Veneration of the Cross. *Galba* detaches the second half of the liturgy and translates it for use as a programme of private prayer. Arundel 155 removes the liturgical additions, but adds an extra four prayers to the sequence. The two versions in the *Portiforium*, however, extend the sequence considerably, by adding translations, extra prayers, and, most importantly, antiphons to the cross in order to join the different elements of the liturgy together, bringing it closer to a complete private Office of the Cross.

### **Other Offices of the cross**

The adaptations of the Veneration are not the only prayer programmes dedicated to the cross in late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks. Other, distinctly different ones can be found in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* and elsewhere in the *Portiforium of St Wulstan*, which show both similarities and dissimilarities to the texts based on the Veneration.

On ff. 76r-85v of *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* there appear three distinct groups of texts, which the editor, Beate Günzel, has titled the Offices of the Trinity, the Holy Cross, and the Blessed Virgin Mary (*ÆP*, nos. 49-51). The first is prefaced by the miniature of the Holy Trinity (no. 48), and the latter two have headings in the manuscript itself: 'IN HONORE SANCTI [*sic*] CRVCIS' (no. 50) and 'IN HONORE SANCTE

MARIAE' (no. 51). This would suggest that the compiler of the manuscript consciously planned these items as discrete programmes of devotion in themselves. Furthermore, the contents and rubrics of these programmes suggest that they were consciously modelled on monastic communal worship. Günzel's description of these texts as 'Offices' is therefore perfectly reasonable, even though there is not a separate text for each Hour. They can also be used as a model with which to compare the other potential Offices of the cross. In the following table, rubrics are indicated in italics, and prayers in bold.

Table 3.6: In honore sanctae crucis: an Office of the cross in Ælfwine's Prayerbook (no. 50).

No. in Günzel	Description	Incipit of text
	Opening psalm (verse)	<i>IN HONORE SANCTI</i> [ <i>sic</i> ] <i>CRVCIS</i> . Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine [Ps. 69]
		Gloria patri. Sicut erat.
	Antiphon	A. Salua nos, Christe.
	Psalms	Deus in nomine tuo [Ps. 53] Confitemini Domino [Ps. 117] Beati immaculati [Ps. 118], usque in finem.
		Quicumque uult.
	Antiphon	A. Salua nos, Christe saluator [...]
50.1	Capitulum	<i>CAPITVLVM</i> . Christus peccata nostra pertulit [...] [1 Pt. 2:24]
	Response	R. O crux benedicta [...]
	Versicle	V. O crux admirabilis [...]
	Hymn	<i>YMNVS</i> . VEXILLA REGIS [no text]
	Versicle	V. Omnis terra adorat te, Deus.
	Antiphon	A. Super omnia.
		Magnificat.
	Antiphon	A. Super omnia ligna cedrorum [...]
		Kyrieleison. Christeleison. Kyrieleison. Paternoster. Et ne nos inducas. Credo in Deum. Carnis resurrectio.
	Antiphons	Adoramus te, Christe. Hoc signum sancte crucis [...] Dicite in nationibus. Tuam crucem adoramus, Domine.
	Psalm	Domine exaudi [Ps. 101/142]
50.2	<b>Prayer</b>	<i>ORATIONES DE SANCTA CRVCE AC SALVBRITE</i> . <b>DEUS CUI CUNCTE OBEDIVNT CREATVRE [...]</b>
50.3	<b>Prayer</b>	<i>ITEM ALIA</i> . <b>ILLVMINA, DOMINE, VULTUM TVVM SVPER NOS [...]</b>
50.4	<b>Prayer</b>	<i>ALIA</i> . <b>DEVS, QUI BEATAE CRVCIS PATIBVLVM [...]</b>
50.5	<b>Prayer</b>	<i>ALIA ITEM</i> . <b>DEUS, QVI PER SANGVINEM et crucem [...]</b>

From table 3.6 above, it should be clear that *In honore sanctae crucis*<sup>542</sup> is consciously planned out in the manner of a monastic Office, more so than the Veneration programmes. The text begins with ‘Deus in adiutorium meum intende’, the verse with which the liturgy of the Hours should begin, according to the *Regula*

<sup>542</sup> I will use this title in preference to the ungrammatical title found in the manuscript.

*Benedicti*.<sup>543</sup> After this, *In honore sanctae crucis* is structured around four psalms, a *capitulum* on Christ's victory on the cross, the hymn 'Vexilla regis' by Venantius Fortunatus,<sup>544</sup> and the most fundamental prayers and tenets of the faith, in the form of the *Quicumque vult*, *Gloria Patri*, *Magnificat*, *Kyrie*, *Paternoster* and *Creed*. All of these elements are linked together with antiphons and responses appropriate to the praise of the cross. Finally, like the developing Offices of the cross in the *Portiforium of St Wulstan*, *In honore sanctae crucis* ends with four prayers, unconnected by any antiphons. As this text appears to offer a highly developed private Office, it provides a useful comparison for other programmes of prayer dedicated to the cross.

Günzel does not identify any other text in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* as an 'Office of the Cross', and yet it is arguable that there is another such text earlier in the manuscript. Ff. 66r-73v of *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* were discussed in Chapter Two (pages 108-10 above). This is a considerably less carefully organised collection of prayers to the cross, and accordingly Günzel has titled it simply 'Devotions to the Holy Cross' (*ÆP*, no. 46). Alternatively, Alicia Corrêa has more confidently identified it as 'the Office of the Cross': these two choices of title indicate the difficulty of categorising the private worship of this time.<sup>545</sup> Table 2.3 (page 109) has already indicated, in very general terms, the contents of these folios. Summarised briefly, they begin with a series of seven psalms and prayers to be said to seven parts of Christ's body; these are followed by a number of prayers and

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<sup>543</sup> Timothy Fry *et al.*, ed. and trans., *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981), ch. 17.3.

<sup>544</sup> For Venantius' hymns to the cross, see page 209 below.

<sup>545</sup> Alicia Corrêa, 'Daily Office Books: Collectars and Breviaries', in Richard W. Pfaff, ed., *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, *Old English Newsletter Subsidia* 23, 45-60 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1995), 51.

antiphons, and a list of reasons for adoring the cross;<sup>546</sup> and the folios close with a series of prayers and collects prefaced with the *Gloria Patri*, *Kyrie*, *Paternoster*, *Creed*, and a group of antiphons.

Although the ‘Devotions to the Holy Cross’ do not appear to have an overall plan, it may be that small groups of these prayers were separated from the rest and used as Offices of the cross. This possibility is most strongly suggested by the prayers on ff. 72r-73v. Towards the bottom of f. 72r, there appears the rubric ‘ORATIO IN .I. MANE AD CRUCEM’ (*ÆP*, no. 46.16), which suggests that it is a separate programme for prayer to the cross to be undertaken in the morning.<sup>547</sup> This follows a pattern which is more reminiscent of *In honore sanctae crucis*, the Office of the cross discussed above. The following table, 3.7, outlines this text; as above, italics indicate rubrics and bold type indicates prayers.

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<sup>546</sup> Noticeably, two of the prayers in the middle section of the ‘Devotions to the Holy Cross’ also appear in the prayers to the cross in Arundel 155, with very similar rubrics. ‘Pro sancta cruce tua’ has the heading ‘ORATIO AD CRUCEM CVM SEPTEM PETITIONIBVS’ (*ÆP*, no. 46.13; ‘Prayer to the cross with seven petitions’). The same rubric accompanies this prayer in Arundel 155. (‘Interlinearversionen’, no. 15). Another similarity between the two manuscripts can be seen in the prayer ‘Per gloriam et uirtutem’. In *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, it is prefaced by the rubric ‘ANTE CRUCEM DOMINI DEPRECATIO SANCTA LEGENDA’ (*ÆP*, no. 46.14; ‘a holy prayer to be read before the cross of the Lord’), while Arundel 155 has the similar rubric ‘Ante crucem domini. Oratio sancta’ (*Interlinearversionen*, no. 13; ‘before the cross of the Lord. A holy prayer’). Although *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook* does not have an Office based on the Veneration of the Cross *per se*, it still draws on the same stock of texts as the Veneration Offices.

<sup>547</sup> ‘Prayer in the early morning to the cross.’

Table 3.7: Oratio in .I. mane ad crucem: a possible Office of the cross in Ælfwine's Prayerbook (nos. 46.16-21).

No. in Günzel	Description	Incipit of text
46.16	Psalm	<i>ORATIO IN .I. MANE AD CRUCEM.</i> VERBA MEA AURIBUS PERCIPE, DOMINE [Ps. 5], usque in finem
		Gloria patri. Sicut erat. Kyrieleison. Christeleison. Kyrieleison. Pater noster. Credo.
46.17	Antiphons	<i>PRECES.</i> Adoramus te, Christe [...] Per signum crucis [...] Omnis terra adorat te [...] Psalmum dicam nomini tuo, Domine.
	Psalm	Domine exaudi [Ps. 101/142]
46.18	<b>Prayer</b>	<i>COLLECTA.</i> <b>Respice, quesumus, Domine Deus noster [...]</b>
46.19	<b>Prayer</b>	<i>ALIA.</i> <b>Gregem tuum, quesumus, Domine pastor bone [...]</b>
46.20	<b>Prayer</b>	<i>COLLECTA.</i> <b>Adesto familie tue, quesumus [...]</b>
46.21	<b>Prayer(s)</b>	<i>ORATIO.</i> <b>OBSECRO TE, DOMINE Iesu Christe filii Dei uiui, per crucem tuam et per sanctam passionem tuam, ut dimittas delicta mea.</b> <b>Pro beata cruce, custodi capud meum [...]</b>
	Final blessings	Et omnes benedictiones, que in scripturis sanctis scripte sunt, sint super me omnibus diebus uite meae. Amen. Benedicat me Deus pater [...]

Though somewhat shorter, this bears some obvious similarities to *In honore sanctae crucis*. It begins with an opening psalm, imploring God to hear the speaker's prayers. It features the most important prayers of the Christian church in the *Gloria Patri*, *Kyrie* and *Paternoster*, and it has four antiphons, mostly in praise of the cross. Like *In honore sanctae crucis*, *Oratio in .I. mane* prescribes the psalm 'Domine exaudi' before a block of about four prayers, after which it closes with a couple of general blessings upon the speaker. Even if Ælfwine's 'Devotions to the Holy Cross' are not considered to be an Office, there are good grounds to regard *Oratio in .I. mane* as one.

Part of the reason for this is its use of antiphons. The antiphons in this Office are quoted below in full:

*PRECES.* Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi, quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum.  
 Per signum crucis de inimicis nostris libera nos, Deus noster.  
 Omnis terra adorat te, Deus, et psallat tibi. Psalmum dicam nomini tuo, Domine (no. 46.17).<sup>548</sup>

These three antiphons, and a number of others, continually feature in the texts dedicated to the cross which have already been discussed. Table 3.8 below shows the structures of the four prayer programmes analysed above alongside another, *Gyf ðe ðynce*, which is the *ordo* for use against devils in the *Portiforium*, as seen in Chapter Two (pages 113-15 above). Antiphons are indicated in bold type, and an asterisk shows where the whole antiphon, rather than simply the incipit, is given in the manuscript.

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<sup>548</sup> ‘*Preces.* We adore you Christ and we bless you because through your cross you redeemed the world. Through the sign of the cross free us from our enemies, our God. All the earth adores you, God, and sings to you; I will sing a psalm to your name, O Lord.’



Table 3.8: A comparison of the antiphons used in five prayer programmes dedicated to the cross.

<b>Veneration 1</b> <i>(Portiforium, II, 18-20)</i>	<b>Veneration 2</b> <i>(Portiforium, II, 20-3)</i>	<i>Gyf ðe ðynce (Portiforium,</i> <b>II, 24)</b>	<i>Oratio in .I. mane</i> <b>(ÆP, nos. 46.16-21)</b>	<i>In honore sanctae crucis</i> <b>(ÆP, no. 50)</b>
Three psalms and <i>Paternoster</i>	<i>Kyrie</i>	Prayer	Psalm, <i>Gloria</i> , <i>Kyrie</i> , <i>Paternoster</i> , <i>Creed</i>	Psalm, <i>Gloria</i>
<b>Adoramus te</b>	<b>Adoramus te*</b>	<b>O sancta crux*</b>	<b>Adoramus te*</b>	<b>Salua nos</b>
<b>Omnis terra</b>	<b>Per signum crucis*</b>	Two psalms, <i>Kyrie</i> and <i>Paternoster</i>	<b>Per signum crucis*</b>	Three psalms, <i>Quicumque</i> <i>vult</i>
<b>Per signum crucis</b>	Three psalms	<b>Per signum sancte crucis</b>	<b>Omnis terra*</b>	<b>Salua nos*</b>
<b>Ne derelinquas me*</b>	<b>Omnis terra*</b>	<b>Adoramus te</b>	Psalm, five prayers, two blessings	Capitulum
Prayer, two psalms, <i>Paternoster</i>	Prayer, two psalms, <i>Kyrie</i>	<b>Salua nos</b>		<b>O crux benedicta*</b>
<b>Adoramus te</b>	<b>Dicite in nationibus*</b>	Prayer and psalm		<b>O crux admirabilis*</b>
<b>Omnis terra</b>	<b>Crucem tuam*</b>	<b>Hoc signaculo sanctae</b> <b>crucis*</b>		Hymn
<b>Per signum crucis</b>	<b>O crux benedicta*</b>	Psalm, <i>Kyrie</i> , <i>Paternoster</i>		<b>Omnis terra</b>
<b>Ne derelinquas me</b>	Prayer, two psalms, <i>Kyrie</i>	<b>Hoc signum crucis erit*</b>		<b>Super omnia</b>
Prayer, two psalms	<b>Tuam crucem adoramus*</b>	<b>Per signum sancte crucis</b>		<i>Magnificat</i>
<b>Adoramus te</b>	<b>Salua nos*</b>	<b>Omnis terra</b>		<b>Super omnia*</b>
<b>Omnis terra</b>	<b>Ne derelinquas*</b>	Psalm, prayer		<i>Kyrie</i> , <i>Paternoster</i> , <i>Creed</i>
<b>Per signum crucis</b>	<b>Adoro te*</b>	<b>Ecce crucem domini</b>		<b>Adoramus te</b>
<b>Ne derelinquas me</b>	Three prayers	<b>Hoc signaculo sanctae</b> <b>crucis</b>		<b>Hoc signum sancte crucis</b> <b>erit*</b>
Four prayers				<b>Dicite in nationibus</b>
				<b>Tuam crucem adoramus</b>
				Psalm and four prayers

This table shows some significant similarities in the antiphons used in each text.

‘Adoramus te’ and ‘Omnis terra’ appear in all five texts. Furthermore, ‘Per signum crucis’, ‘Salua nos’, ‘O crux benedicta’ ‘Tuam crucem adoramus’, ‘Dicite in nationibus’ and ‘Hoc signum sanctae crucis erit’ all appear in both the *Portiforium* and *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*.

These antiphons were clearly derived from the feasts of the cross in the late Anglo-Saxon church. Most of them are to be found in Wulfstan’s own collectar, which forms part of the *Portiforium* and therefore are a good guide to what would have been known to the compiler of the prayerbook. In that manuscript, ‘Adoramus te’, ‘O crux benedicta’, ‘Tuam crucem adoramus’, ‘Hoc signum crucis erit’, ‘Super omnia’, ‘Salua nos’, ‘Ecce crucem domini’, ‘O crux admirabilis’, ‘Per signum crucis’ are all antiphons, versicles or responses for the different Hours on the sixth *feria*, which were dedicated to the Holy Cross.<sup>549</sup> Additionally, ‘Ne derelinquas me’ is one of the antiphons listed in the *Portiforium* collectar under the rubric ‘Incipiunt responsorio [*sic*] de Iudit’,<sup>550</sup> and ‘Crucem tuam’ is one of a number of ‘Antiphone ante crucem decantandae dum defertur’ in the *Portiforium*.<sup>551</sup> ‘Dicite in nationibus’ is not found in the *Portiforium*, but in the *Leofric Collectar* it is used at various Hours on the feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross, on the Sunday after Easter, and at Matins from the octaves of Easter to the octaves of Pentecost.<sup>552</sup> If a private Office of the cross can be identified by its imitation of communal liturgy, and if *In honore sanctae crucis* can be considered a private Office, then the other prayer

<sup>549</sup> Hughes, *Portiforium*, II: Vespers: ‘Adoramus te’ (no. 2749), ‘O crux benedicta’ (no. 1597), ‘Tuam crucem adoramus’ (no. 2749), ‘Hoc signum crucis erit’ (nos. 2745 and 2747), ‘Super omnia’ (no. 2743); Prime: ‘Salua nos’ (no. 2751); Terce: ‘Ecce crucem domini’ (no. 1779); Sext: ‘O crux admirabilis’ (no. 2752); None: ‘Per signum crucis’ (no. 1600).

<sup>550</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 2432; ‘here begins the responsory of Judith.’

<sup>551</sup> Hughes, *Portiforium*, I, no. 749; ‘antiphons before the cross to be sung while it is venerated. ‘Crucem tuam’ is also an antiphon for the Veneration of the Cross in the *Regularis concordia*, I, 1061.

<sup>552</sup> Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, I, cols. 167, 169-170, 230-1; 148, 150 and 153.

programmes, which draw on the same stock of antiphons, can arguably be regarded as Offices too.

### **Thematic interests of the prayers to the cross**

Since these texts make use of the same antiphons and prayers, there will inevitably be a great extent to which the thematic concerns of each one are similar. However, the precise selection of prayers and antiphons used in each programme causes them to have slightly different emphases.

The three prayers for the Veneration of the Cross are oriented towards what Christ has done for the speaker personally, and for humankind in general. The six petitions of ‘Adoro te’ emphasise that Christ’s conquering of death has given life to the speaker himself:

Domine ihesu christe, adoro te in sepulchro positum,  
deprecor te ut ipsa mors sit uita mea (*Portiforium*, II, 19, ll. 1-2).<sup>553</sup>

The following prayer, ‘Gloriosissime conditor mundi’, is more concerned than ‘Adoro te’ with the individual speaker’s sinfulness, but the two prayers are linked by the awareness that Christ underwent the cross for the sake of the whole of humanity:

dignatus es carnem ex immaculata uirgine sumere et gloriosas palmas tuas in crucis patibulo permisisti configere, ut claustra dissipares inferni, et humanum genus liberares de morte. Respice et miserere mei miserrimo oppresso facinorum pondere multarumque nequitiarum labe polluta (19, ll. 15-19).<sup>554</sup>

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<sup>553</sup> ‘O Lord Jesus Christ, I adore you placed in the tomb; I ask you that that death may be my life.’

<sup>554</sup> ‘You deigned to take on flesh from the immaculate Virgin and allowed your glorious palms to be fixed to the gallows of the cross so that you might destroy the gates of hell and free humankind from death. Look upon and have mercy on most miserable me, burdened by the weight of sins and befouled by the dishonour of many crimes.’

The third prayer, 'Qui tuas manus mundas', very similarly, recalls Christ's placing his hands upon the cross 'propter nos' (ll. 25-6; 'for us'), before asking him for the gifts of penitence and perseverance for the rest of the speaker's life (ll. 27-9).

This basic sequence was augmented in different ways in the versions of the Veneration in the *Portiforium* and in Arundel 155. In each manuscript, 'Qui tuas manus mundas' is followed by the prayer 'Qui pro humano genere'. It is not difficult to see why this prayer was used as a kind of fourth Veneration prayer. Like the previous one, it praises Christ for shedding his blood on the cross 'pro humano genere' (19, ll. 30-1; 'for humankind'), before asking for forgiveness and protection in the future (ll. 32-5). In the *Portiforium*, this is followed by 'Deus, cui cuncte obediunt creature' and 'Sancta et ueneranda crux'. The former asks for God's protection upon all believers through the cross, looking back to the Tree of Life in Eden, compared with which the cross is 'lignum uitae paradisi reparator',<sup>555</sup> and will destroy the venom of the tempting serpent (ll. 38-9). The latter prayer, by contrast, looks forward to the Day of Judgement, as the speaker prays that Christ may protect him through the cross and let him enter heaven (20, ll. 6-10). The overall theme of the first Veneration text in the *Portiforium* is therefore Christ's redemption of humankind through his sharing of human nature, and requests for future help for the speaker himself, after which he ends by meditating upon the cross's role in opening the gate to heaven.

The second *Portiforium* text based on the Veneration also makes use of 'Adoro te' and 'Gloriosissime conditor mundi', but with the addition of a large number of antiphons and the prayers 'Qui crucem tuam ueneror', 'Tuam misericordiam recolentes' and 'Qui per crucem passionis tue'. As discussed above,

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<sup>555</sup> 'The tree of life and the restorer of Paradise.'

it may have been used with the laity. It also appears to have been intended for use on Good Friday itself. In ‘Qui crucem tuam ueneror’, the speaker prays to Christ, ‘pro nobis pendens hodie in cruce’ (22, ll. 30-1).<sup>556</sup> Also, an interlinear addition of the words ‘hodierna die’ (‘on this day’) was made to the text of ‘Gloriosissime conditor mundi’ after it was originally copied, resulting in the phrase:

gloriosas palmas tuas *hodierna die* in crucis patibulo promisisti configere  
(21, ll. 25-6).<sup>557</sup>

The emphasis in this text is again on Christ’s redemption of humanity on the cross. ‘Qui crucem tuam ueneror’ is similar to ‘Gloriosissime conditor mundi’: the speaker asks, ‘salua me peccatorem prostratum adorantem te humiliter et confitentem’ (22, ll. 31-2).<sup>558</sup> The following prayer likewise praises Christ for becoming human in order to redeem human beings, in more certain terms than do the other prayers:

nos tantum amplexus es caritate ut iustus pro peccatoribus morereris. Nec enim periret essentia nostra fieri dignatus es redemptio nostre [*sic*]  
(22, ll. 36-8).<sup>559</sup>

The prayers found in the *Portiforium*’s two Veneration texts, then, have similar concerns. Where the second differs from the first is in its addition of the antiphons. The unifying theme of all of these antiphons is the praise of the cross, and the first two sets of antiphons strike a particularly triumphant note: for example, ‘Dicite in nationibus quia dominus regnauit a ligno’ (21, l. 11).<sup>560</sup> The third set of

<sup>556</sup> ‘Hanging on the cross for us today.’

<sup>557</sup> Emphasis mine. ‘On this day you promised your glorious palms to be fixed to the gallows of the cross.’ For a facsimile of this page of the manuscript, see *Parker Library on the Web*, version 1.2, <<http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/>>, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, 613, l. 3. ‘Promisisti’ is presumably an error in place of the more usual ‘permisisti’ (permitted): cf. *Portiforium*, II, 19, l. 17.

<sup>558</sup> ‘Save me, a sinner, prostrated, adoring you humbly and confessing.’

<sup>559</sup> ‘Tuam misericordiam recolentes’: ‘You embraced us so completely in love that you, the just one, might die for us sinners. Lest our substance might die, you deigned to become our redemption.’

<sup>560</sup> ‘Say amongst the peoples that the Lord has reigned from the tree.’

antiphons ask Christ to save the speaker from his enemies, and to have mercy upon all Christians: for example,

Salua nos Christe saluator per uirtutem sancte crucis qui saluasti Petrum in mari miserere nobis (22, ll. 13-14).<sup>561</sup>

These antiphons immediately precede ‘Qui crucem tuam ueneror’ and therefore set the tone for its increased focus on the speaker’s sinfulness.

The prayer programmes in the *Portiforium* can be usefully compared with those in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*. *In honore sanctae crucis* has a similar selection of antiphons to the *Portiforium* texts, and therefore to some extent shares their triumphal quality. The antiphon ‘Super omnia’, which does not appear in the other prayer programmes that I have discussed, specifically praises the cross as that on which Christ triumphed and conquered death (*ÆP*, no. 50.1). The closing prayers are not concerned with the speaker as a sinner at all, but with protection for the future in this world and the next. ‘Deus, qui beatae crucis patibulum’ asks that God’s people may have

fidei fundamentum spei suffragium in aduersis defensio, in prosperis iuuamentum (no. 50.4).<sup>562</sup>

The following prayer closes the Office by asking God that his people may be enriched by his peace and by the society of angels (50.5). This Office therefore has a slightly more pronounced emphasis on Christ’s triumph on the cross and his gifts which were given through it, and, like the first of the *Portiforium* texts, concludes by looking towards heaven.

<sup>561</sup> ‘Save us, saviour Christ, through the power of the holy cross; you who saved Peter on the sea, have mercy on us.’

<sup>562</sup> ‘A foundation for faith, aid for hope, defence against enemies, assistance in fortune.’

*Oratio in .I. mane ad crucem* again shares some of its antiphons with the other prayer programmes, but is slightly more oriented towards prayer to the cross as a defence against devils, or enemies in general. The opening psalm is not one of the penitential psalms, or ‘Deus in adiutorium’, but is instead ‘Verba mea auribus percipe’, Psalm 5:

Verba mea auribus percipe Domine  
 intellege clamorem meum ...  
 quoniam ad te orabo Domine  
 mane exaudies vocem meam  
 mane adstabo tibi et videbo  
 quoniam non deus volens iniquitatem tu es ...  
 Domine deduc me in iustitia tua propter inimicos meos  
 dirige in conspectu meo viam tuam (Ps. 5:1, 4-5, 9).<sup>563</sup>

This is clearly a psalm particularly suited to opening an Office, as it asks God to hear the speaker’s cry, and it is also apt for morning prayer. In particular, the speaker calls upon a God who does not tolerate wickedness, and asks to be shielded from his enemies. The three short collects in this Office pray specifically for the monastery, or the church in general. It is his family (‘familiam tuam’, *ÆP*, no. 46.18; ‘familie tue’, no. 46.20) and his flock (‘[g]regem tuum’, no. 46.19), which the speaker asks to be protected against the devil’s attack (no. 46.19) and from the wickedness of its enemies (no. 46.20). The following prayer is a *lorica* in which the speaker asks that each part of his body be protected through the cross from the attacks of the devil, and his soul from all his enemies.

The prayer programmes dedicated to the cross, therefore, have slightly different emphases. *Oratio in .I. mane* looks to the cross for protection against the devil; *In honore sanctae crucis* asks God for his protection; and the *Portiforium* texts

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<sup>563</sup> ‘Give ear, O Lord, to my words, understand my cry ... For to thee will I pray: O Lord, in the morning thou shalt hear my voice. In the morning I will stand before thee, and will see: because thou art not a God that willest iniquity ... Conduct me, O Lord, in thy justice: because of my enemies, direct my way in thy sight.’

stress the cross's role in the redemption of humankind, with the second text emphasising Christ's triumph a little more. However, the various prayer programmes all include each of these different themes in some way, showing not only how the cross was called upon for many different reasons, but also the extent to which the programmes are united by their use of a common corpus of prayers and antiphons. The prayers to the cross in the *Portiforium* and *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* develop a pattern beginning with an opening psalm, and featuring all the central prayers and canticles of the church, linked together by psalms and antiphons, and ending with a series of approximately four prayers. If this can be described as a form of Special Office, then Anglo-Saxon manuscripts may well include more Offices than scholars have so far recognised, if we are able to look at them as an Anglo-Saxon monk would have done.

#### **Appendix: Venantius Fortunatus and 'Pange, lingua'**

So far, I have mainly examined how prayers and antiphons from different sources could be put together to form new forms of worship. Relatively little attention has been paid to how new prayers were created in the first place. My discussion of the Offices of the cross has demonstrated that antiphons from the feasts of the cross were widely used in private worship. Such is the flexibility of liturgical genres that lines from hymns could be used as antiphons, and these could themselves go on to be used in building new prayers.

A good example of this in the Anglo-Saxon church is 'Pange, lingua' by Venantius Fortunatus, a hymn which happens to have been instrumental in bringing a piece of the True Cross to Francia, thereby precipitating the celebration of the feasts of the cross in the western church. Venantius gained his fame with an



epithalamium written for the wedding of Sigibert, the Frankish king, in 566.<sup>564</sup> He is now best known for his work at Poitiers, where Radegund, the former wife of King Lothar of Thuringia, had founded a convent at which she was the deaconess.<sup>565</sup> Venantius became closely associated with Radegund while he was at Poitiers and in particular with her quest to gain a piece of the True Cross from Emperor Justin II and Empress Sophia in Constantinople; once the relic had been obtained in 569, he wrote a series of hymns in honour of the cross as part of the ceremony celebrating their arrival.<sup>566</sup> Six of Venantius' hymns are dedicated to the cross. However, as Milfull notes, two are *carmina figurata* and two are in the wrong metre for singing as a hymn, leaving only 'Pange, lingua' and 'Vexilla regis prodeunt', which may have been intended for the procession with the newly-gained relics.<sup>567</sup> The latter may also have been sung during the Office at the convent when the arrival was commemorated in later years.<sup>568</sup>

On the Continent, 'Pange lingua' came to be a part of the Good Friday Veneration of the Cross from the ninth century onwards, as is indicated by the appearance of its incipit in a number of ninth- and tenth-century liturgical books.<sup>569</sup> The hymn also appears in four eleventh- and twelfth- century hymnals from northern French monasteries;<sup>570</sup> and in the 'New Hymnal', a collection of Continental origin which, in its fullest form, reached England with the Benedictine Reform, often in

<sup>564</sup> Brian Brennan, 'The Career of Venantius Fortunatus', *Traditio* 41, 49-78 (1985): 54.

<sup>565</sup> Brennan, 'The Career of Venantius Fortunatus', 61; Judith George, *Venantius Fortunatus: a Latin poet in Merovingian Gaul* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 30-1.

<sup>566</sup> Brennan, 'The Career of Venantius Fortunatus', 61-2; George, *Venantius Fortunatus*, 30-1.

<sup>567</sup> Milfull, 'Hymns to the Cross', 44. For the texts of these six hymns, see Friedrich Leo, ed., *Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati presbyteri italicici opera poetica*, MGH, Auctores Antiqui 4.1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), <<http://www.dmgh.de/>>, II, nos. 1-6.

<sup>568</sup> Milfull, 'Hymns to the Cross', 45-6.

<sup>569</sup> Keefer, 'Veneration of the Cross', 152-3.

<sup>570</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

manuscripts associated with the reform centres of Canterbury and Winchester.<sup>571</sup> As on the Continent, ‘Pange, lingua’ was one of the hymns employed for the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday. It is prescribed for this service in the *Regularis concordia*,<sup>572</sup> and likewise in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422 and Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 120; furthermore, in these two manuscripts, the verses of ‘Pange lingua’ are copied out in full, with the incipit of the seventh verse, ‘Cruce fidelis’, indicating its use as an antiphon.<sup>573</sup> According to the *Leofric Collectar*, ‘Pange, lingua’ was also in frequent use in Holy Week.<sup>574</sup>

These various liturgical uses of this hymn, and in particular its prescription in the *Regularis concordia*, indicate that ‘Pange, lingua’ would have been well known by monastics, and therefore that it may have had an influence upon monastic literature. It has already been demonstrated that Venantius was read and quoted in Anglo-Saxon England: Michael Lapidge finds four manuscripts containing all or part of Venantius’ *Carmina*,<sup>575</sup> and the *Carmina* were also both quoted and cited in a range of works by key Anglo-Saxon authors.<sup>576</sup>

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<sup>571</sup> Inge B. Milfull, ed., *The Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a Study and Edition of the ‘Durham Hymnal’*, CSASE 17 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 5-13.

<sup>572</sup> Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, l. 1062. The version of the text in London, Cotton Faustina B. iii specifies that this hymn is ‘versus Fortunati’ (the verses of Fortunatus). Symons, *Regularis concordia*, ch. 44.

<sup>573</sup> Keefer, ‘Veneration of the Cross, 153. Corpus Christi 422 (the Red Book of Darley) is a liturgical miscellany, whereas the Veneration of the Cross in Bodley 120 can be found on a binding leaf. Keefer, ‘Veneration of the Cross’, 144; *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422, 316-8. See also Keefer, ‘The Performance of the Cross’, 212-4.

<sup>574</sup> It is a hymn for the fifth Sunday in Lent, Palm Sunday and the two following days. The *divisio* ‘Lustra sex qui iam peracta’ is given for Palm Sunday. Milfull, ‘Hymns to the Cross’, 49-50 and n. 35; Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, I, cols. 115, 122, 125.

<sup>575</sup> The *Carmina* can be found in London, British Library, Additional 24193, ff. 17-158 (early ninth century, possibly from Orleans, with English provenance in the second half of the tenth century). Excerpts from the *Carmina* are found in Badminton, Duke of Beaufort Muniments, 704. l. 16 (possibly Canterbury, second quarter of the tenth century); and Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 144/194 (possibly England, early tenth century, provenance St Augustine’s, Canterbury). A fragment can be found in Cambridge, Pembroke College, 312C, no. 5 (tenth or eleventh century). Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 169, 335.

<sup>576</sup> The *Carmina* are quoted or cited in: Aldhelm’s *Enigmata*, *Carmen de Virginitate* and *Carmina Ecclesiastica*; Bede’s verse life of St Cuthbert, *De arte metrica*, *Historia ecclesiastica*, *Expositio apocalypseos* and *De orthographia*; Alcuin’s *De laude Dei* (Alcuin also refers to Venantius in his

It can therefore be assumed that Venantius' hymns, and 'Pange, lingua' in particular, were widely known in the late Anglo-Saxon church, and therefore that the language of this hymn would have had an impact on the religious writing of the period. This impact has already been noted in hagiography.<sup>577</sup> Venantius' phraseology can also be seen in private prayer, probably having reached it through the medium of antiphons for the cross feasts.

The one particularly influential part of 'Pange, lingua' in Anglo-Saxon liturgy and prayer is the verse 'Crux fidelis', which reinforces the probability that Corpus Christi 422 and Bodley 120 are typical in using this verse as an antiphon between the others. The text of this verse is as follows:

Crux fidelis, inter omnes arbor una nobilis  
nulla talem silva profert flore fronde germine,  
*dulce lignum, dulces clavo dulce pondus sustinens!*  
(‘Pange, lingua’, ll. 22-4).<sup>578</sup>

It was mentioned above (on page 166) that the antiphon ‘O crux splendidior cunctis astris’ appears in the blessing of the cross in the *Canterbury Benedictional*. The third line of ‘Crux fidelis’, italicised in the quotation above, was clearly used to create part of that antiphon:

O crux splendid[i]or cunctis astris mundo celebris hominibus multum  
amabilis sanctior uniuersus que sola fuisti digna portare talentum mundi  
*dulce lignum dulces clau[i] dulcia ferens pondera salua presentem cateruam in*

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*Versus de patribus, regibus et sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae*); Wulfstan Cantor's *Epistola specialis* to Bishop Ælfheah. *Ibid.*, 187, 225, 233, 231, 249.

<sup>577</sup> Rosalind Love has noted the influence of 'Pange, lingua' on Goscelin of St Bertin's life of St Edith. R. C. Love, 'The Sources of the Vita S. Edithe', 1997, *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register*, <<http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/>>; Wilmart, 'La Légende de Ste Édith', 74, ll. 2-3.

<sup>578</sup> Emphasis mine. 'Faithful cross, the one noble tree amongst all others, no wood bears any with such a flower, branch and seed, sustaining sweet wood, a sweet nail and a sweet weight.' Leo, *Venanti Fortunati opera poetica*, 2.2. I have used this edition, in preference to Milfull, *Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, as it includes the verse 'Sola digna tu fuisti', which I will discuss shortly. This verse does not appear in the sources edited by Milfull, but must have been known to the Anglo-Saxon church, judging from its appearance in Corpus Christi 422. *Parker Library on the Web*, Corpus Christi 422, 317.

tuis hodie laudibus congregatam alleluia (*Canterbury Benedictional*, 132, ll. 26-9).<sup>579</sup>

In both the hymn and the antiphon, the cross is a sweet wood bearing sweet nails and the sweet weight of Christ. Furthermore, immediately before the quotation from ‘*Crux fidelis*’ appear the words, ‘*que sola fuisti digna portare talentum mundi*’.<sup>580</sup> This may be a paraphrase of the first line of the final verse of ‘*Pange, lingua*’, which reads as follows:

*Sola digna tu fuisti ferre pretium saeculi  
atque portum praeparare nauta mundo naufrago,  
quem sacer cruor perunxit fusus agni corpore  
(‘Pange, lingua’, ll. 28-30).<sup>581</sup>*

Here, the words ‘*ferre pretium saeculi*’ have been replaced with close synonyms, resulting in the same overall meaning.

The antiphon ‘*O crux splendidior cunctis astris*’ was itself subsequently used in the context of private prayer. As mentioned above, the ‘*Devotions to the Holy Cross*’ in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook* begin with a miniature of the crucifixion (*ÆP*, no. 45) and a sequence of prayers and psalms to be said to parts of Christ’s body, headed with the rubric, ‘*SI VIS ORARE ANTE CRVCIFIXVM HOS PSALMOS CANTA*’ on f. 66r (no. 46.1).<sup>582</sup> Like the Offices and proto-Offices of the cross, discussed above, this

<sup>579</sup> Emphasis mine. ‘O cross more brilliant than all the stars, honoured by the world and greatly lovable to men, holier than all things, you who alone were worthy to bear the prize of the world. Sweet wood, sweet nails, bearing sweet weights. Save the present company, gathered in your praises today, alleluia.’ This is an antiphon for the feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross. Hesbert, no. 4019. Renato-Joanne Hesbert, ed., *Corpus Antiphonale Officii 3: Invitatoria et antiphonae*, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta Series Maior: Fontes 7-12* (Rome: Herder, 1963-79).

<sup>580</sup> ‘You who alone were worthy to bear the prize of the world.’

<sup>581</sup> Emphasis mine. ‘You alone were worthy to bear the treasure of the world and to prepare a port for the sailor in the shipwrecked world, whom the holy blood anointed, poured from the body of the Lamb.’

<sup>582</sup> The use of the miniature of the crucifixion as a part of this prayer sequence has been analysed by Catherine E. Karkov, ‘Text as Image in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*’, in *The Power of Words: Anglo-Saxon Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg on his Seventieth Birthday*, eds. Hugh Magennis and Jonathan Wilcox, *Medieval European Studies* 8, 95-114 (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2006), 98-104.

sequence of psalms and prayers could have been used as a complete act of worship to accompany the miniature of the crucifixion, which is implied by the rubric instructing the reader to pray ‘ANTE CRVCIFIXVM’. The first of these prayers is to be said to Christ’s right foot:

AD PEDEM DEXTRVM. Domine quid multiplicati sunt. [Ps. 3]  
 ORATIO. O CRVX SPLENDIDIOR CVNCTIS ASTRIS, mundo celebris atque mihi<sup>583</sup>  
 multum amabilis, plurimum et suavis, que sola fuisti digna portare talentum  
 mundi. Dulce lignum. Dulces clauis. Dulcia ferens pondera. Salua me, tuum  
 famulum, in tuis laudibus omni die deuotus. AMEN (*ÆP*, no. 46.1).<sup>584</sup>

This prayer is the antiphon ‘O crux splendidior cunctis astris’, appearing almost exactly as in the *Canterbury Benedictinal*, but with an important change of emphasis. In *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, it has become a prayer for the speaker praying on his own, as a result of the changes to ‘mihi’ (‘to me’) and ‘tuum famulum’ (‘your servant’). It is no longer a prayer for a specific occasion, implied in the word ‘hodie’ (‘today’) in the *Benedictional*, but asking Christ’s blessing ‘omni die’ (‘every day’).

The remainder of *Ælfwine’s* sequence of prayers to Christ’s body derives from an *ordo* for the Adoration of the Holy Cross.<sup>585</sup> The final prayer is said to Christ’s ears. It may appear odd that this comes last, with the prayer to his heart being penultimate, but perhaps this was intended to emphasise Christ’s hearing the speaker’s prayers.<sup>586</sup>

<sup>583</sup> Günzel reports that the word ‘mihi’ was added to *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook* by a later hand.

<sup>584</sup> ‘To the left foot. ‘Why, O Lord, are they multiplied?’ Prayer. O cross more brilliant than all the stars, honoured by the world and greatly lovable to me, and immensely sweet, you who alone were worthy to bear the prize of the world. Sweet wood, sweet nails, bearing sweet weights. Save me, your servant, devoted to your praises every day. Amen.’ The same pattern is followed for Christ’s left foot, his two hands, mouth, chest and ears.

<sup>585</sup> This *ordo* can also be found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Rossi 205, an eleventh-century manuscript from Moissac, although the psalms and body parts are slightly different in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*. Boynton, ‘Prayer as Liturgical Performance’, 926-7.

<sup>586</sup> Catherine Karkov has noted how some of the psalms accompanying these prayers are concerned with God giving ear to the speaker’s prayers. She also argues that the seven prayers are spoken to the openings into Christ’s body: the five wounds, the mouth and the ears. Karkov, ‘Abbot Ælfwine and the Sign of the Cross’, 108-10.

O CRUX VIRIDE LIGNO, QVIA SVPER TE pependit redemptor Israelis. O quam *dulce lignum*, quam *dulces clavi*, quam *dulcia ferens pondera*. O quam pretiosum lignum, quam pretiosa gemma, que Christum meruit portare, per quem salus mundi facta est (*ÆP*, 46.7).<sup>587</sup>

Again, the italics indicate how the antiphon draws on the themes and imagery of ‘Crux fidelis’: ‘dulce lignum, dulces clavo dulce pondus sustinens’ (‘Pange, lingua’, l. 24).<sup>588</sup> The prayers to Christ’s body therefore draw mainly on the one verse of ‘Pange, lingua’ which was used as an antiphon, and from this verse they select specifically the imagery of the cross as the one tree which is worthy to bear the sweet nails and the sweet weight of Christ.

This line from Venantius’ hymn was therefore used as part of an antiphon, which was then used as a private prayer. Antiphons themselves could become influential on other forms of religious writing. ‘O crux splendidior cunctis astris’ is quoted by Hrabanus in his *Sanctae crucis exaltatio*, and therefore by Ælfric in his homily for the Exaltation, which is largely a translation of this work.<sup>589</sup> In this way, an antiphon could be drawn on as language for another kind of text. This can also be seen in the prayers to the cross in the *Vespasian Psalter*. These are longer than the prayers in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, and take their phrasing freely from hymns and antiphons. Two of these prayers draw upon ‘Pange, lingua’, and here again the same images are selected from the same verse. For example, the prayer ‘Salve crux sancta et veneranda’ praises the cross as being ‘cunctis astris splendidior’ (*Vespasian*, no. 8,

<sup>587</sup> ‘O crux viride ligno’, emphases mine. ‘O cross with living wood, upon you hung the Redeemer of Israel. O such sweet wood, such sweet nails, bearing such sweet weights. O such precious wood, such precious gems, which deserved to bear Christ, through whom the salvation of the world was achieved.’ This prayer, like ‘O crux splendidior cunctis astris’, is an antiphon or response for the Invention or Exaltation of the Cross. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonale Officii*, nos. 4020, 7267.

<sup>588</sup> ‘Sustaining sweet wood, a sweet nail and a sweet weight.’

<sup>589</sup> R. Jayatilaka, ‘The Sources of Ælfric, *Lives 27* (The Exaltation of the Holy Cross) (Cameron B.1.3.27)’, 1997, *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register*, <<http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/>>, accessed 20 October 2008; Boninus Mombritius, ed., *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, 2 vols. (Paris: Albertum Fontemoing, 1910), 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1978), I, 381, ll. 14-17; ‘Exaltatio sancte crucis’ in Skeat, *Lives of Saints*, II, ll. 117-21.

l. 19),<sup>590</sup> indicating the likely influence of the antiphon ‘O crux splendidior cunctis astris’. Yet it also shows the direct influence of ‘Crux fidelis’, as it begins with an image which appears in that verse but not in ‘O crux splendidior cunctis astris’:

*Salve crux sancta et ueneranda. gloriosa et laudanda. quę inter omnes arbores una es nobilis* (l. 1).<sup>591</sup>

This is clearly reminiscent of the first line of ‘Crux fidelis’:

*Crux fidelis, inter omnes arbor una nobilis  
nulla talem silva profert flore fronde germine,  
dulce lignum, dulces clauo dulce pondus sustinens*  
(‘Pange, lingua’, ll. 22-4).<sup>592</sup>

The following prayer, ‘Ave sancta crux’, makes extended use of the images in the second and third lines, as indicated in continuous italics:

*Sicut enim magnalia domini nostri iesu christi qui hostia pro nobis in te pendit manent incomprehensibilia; sic laudem tuam et uirtutem tuam nulla mortalis umquam preualet promere lingua. Ille equidem est fructus tuus piissimus. dulce lignum. dulce pomum. dulces clauos. dulce pondus. dulce onus sustinens ... Denique in comparatione tua aurum est ut stipula. gemmę ut fauillae. et ut sentina omnis mundi gloria; sol ut nebula. et cuncta quę transeunt tibi inequalia sunt. Non orbis quadriformes partes tam felicem ferunt arborem. in radice. fronde. flore. fructu. sanctoque germine* (*Vespasian*, no. 9, ll. 11-18).<sup>593</sup>

In ‘O crux splendidior cunctis astris’, the cross is brighter than all the stars; here, it is brighter than gold, gems and the sun. In the *Vespasian* prayers, the imagery found in

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<sup>590</sup> ‘More brilliant than all the stars.’

<sup>591</sup> Emphasis mine. ‘Hail, holy and venerable cross, glorious and praiseworthy, you who alone are noble among all trees.’

<sup>592</sup> Emphasis mine. ‘Faithful cross, the one noble tree amongst all others, no wood bears any with such a flower, branch and seed, sustaining sweet wood, a sweet nail and a sweet weight.’

<sup>593</sup> ‘Ave sancta crux’, emphases mine. ‘For just as the wonders of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hung on you as a sacrifice for us, remain inconceivable, so no mortal tongue can ever merit your praise and your power. Indeed, he is your most holy fruit, sweet wood, sweet fruit, sweet nails, sweet weight, bearing a sweet burden ... For in comparison to you, gold is as straw, gems as ashes, and all the glory of this world is as dregs, the sun as a cloud, and all things which pass away are unequal to you. The four corners of the world do not bear a tree so blessed in root, in leaf, in flower, in fruit, and in holy seed.’

Venantius' hymn and in 'O crux splendidior cunctis astris' is elaborated upon and used to form a longer meditation upon the inconceivable glories of the cross.

In the texts which I have discussed, it can therefore be seen that a line from Venantius' hymn became part of an antiphon, which was then in turn used both in private prayer and in Hrabanus' and Ælfric's homilies for the Exaltation of the Cross, which shows just how intertwined different liturgical genres were. In order to understand how Anglo-Saxon monks and nuns perceived the religious life, it is important to understand these various expressions of the faith as part of an interconnected whole, rather than as separate genres with no impact on one another.

The prayers examined all draw upon 'Crux fidelis', but concentrate on a very specific image from one particular verse. This indicates that this one image was particularly meaningful to the composers and compilers of liturgical and private prayer collections. The *Vespasian* prayers are of especial interest as they develop these images further. The cross is not merely the greatest of trees, it is brighter than the stars; and not merely so, but brighter than anything else in creation. The glory of God cannot be shown except through the cross, and the glory of that cross cannot be truly expressed in human words: such things are 'magnalia ... incomprehensibilia' ('inconceivable wonders'). Prayers to the cross therefore praise God in metaphors of the most beautiful and precious things that the physical world has to offer.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has begun from the conclusions reached in Chapter Two and extended them to prayer to the holy cross. More than the previous chapter, it has been



concerned with the location and the bodily nature of prayer, by considering the crosses in front of which Anglo-Saxon monks and nuns may have prayed, and how and when they made the sign of the cross. I showed that any representation of Christ's cross was considered to be sacred, whether it was a relic, a cross used in worship, or the sign made upon the speaker's body. Indeed, the nineteenth of the *Vercelli Homilies* implies that a cross in a monastery was in itself regarded as a relic, and the prayers in the *Canterbury Benedictional* show that it was kissed and touched in worship.

This evidence provides a valuable context for the private prayers in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*. The abundance of prayers to the cross in that manuscript suggests that eleventh-century monks and nuns had ample opportunities to come before a cross for worship, and that the speaker was expected to bow before the cross and sign him- or herself in prayer. The vernacular homilies suggest that this sign was most commonly made upon the forehead, an implication which is borne out by the instructions in the *Portiforium of St Wulstan* to make the *signaculum* of Christ's cross upon one's forehead when praying against devils. It was also shown that laypeople, too, were expected to protect themselves from demonic activity and pray to God using the sign of the cross.

The second half of this chapter explored the different prayer programmes dedicated to the cross in late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, both those which draw on the liturgy of the Veneration of the Cross, and those which were more consciously modelled on the monastic Offices. I analysed a number of different adaptations of the Veneration service, arguing that Anglo-Saxon prayerbook compilers elaborated this prayer sequence far beyond its liturgical origins, drawing on prayers and antiphons from other feasts to create programmes which were in some ways similar

to the Special Offices. Furthermore, I found that a group of prayers amongst the prayers to the cross in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* bear a particularly close relationship to the Special Office further on in the same manuscript. If a Special Office can be defined as an imitation of the liturgy of the Hours which is intended for private use, then this *Oratio in .I. mane* is arguably an example of the genre.

My closing discussion focused on an area of the liturgy which has so far been neglected in this thesis: the hymns. The brief quotations from 'Pange, lingua' in antiphons and prayers from eleventh-century England serve as reminders that the liturgy was drawn upon to make new prayers, and strongly indicate a more dynamic response to this hymn in Anglo-Saxon England than may have been supposed. These quotations also show that prayer writers were keen to enrich their compositions with metaphorical language, as the best possible way to utter the glory of the cross, which cannot be fully expressed in words. In praying to the cross, the Anglo-Saxon monk or nun was protected from evil, meditated on the joys of salvation, and was assured of entry into Paradise. In confessional prayer, by contrast, he or she was mindful of sin and judgement. It is these prayers which will be the subject of my final chapter.

*Table 3.9: The private prayers referred to in this chapter in my main manuscripts.*

Name	Page nos.	Early Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks		Late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks/compendia			AS psalters	
		Cerne	Harley 863	Portiforium	Aelfwine	Tib A. iii	Arundel 155	Vespasian A. i
O crux splendidior cunctis astris	166, 211-13				no. 46.1			
Hae sunt .IIII. causae	168-9, 198				no. 46.12	Ker, no. 186.10(e)		
Ecce lignum crucis	169	no. 66			no. 46.9			
Per gloriam et virtutem	169, 172-3, 198		col. 450		no. 46.14		no. 13	
O sanctum et venerabile	172							no. 6
Tuam crucem adoramus	173				no. 46.10			
Gyf ðe ðynce	176-8, 201			24		Ker, no. 186.10(d)		
Salve crux sancta et veneranda	178-9, 215							no. 8
Adoro te	181-94, 203	no. 19		18-19, 20-1			nos. 4-9	
Gloriosissime conditor mundi	181-94, 203			19, 21-2			no. 10	
Qui tuas manus mundas	181-94, 204			19	cf. no. 52.10		no. 11	
Omnipotens dilectissime deus	186						no. 14	
Pro sancta cruce tua	186, 198				no. 46.13	Ker, no. 186.10(f)	no. 15	



## CHAPTER 4

**CONFESSION AND PRIVATE PRAYER**

In the preceding two chapters, I examined the adaptation of prayers from the liturgies of the Hours and of the Cross for use in private prayer, and explored how these texts could easily be adapted beyond liturgical uses, creating new forms such as the Special Offices. In this chapter, I will consider private confessional prayers in the same manner. Several liturgical manuscripts contain rites for public confession and penance, which at least in theory could have been used as models for private prayer. To adapt confessional prayer for private use, however, was a much more complex undertaking from adapting prayers for the Hours or the Veneration of the Cross. Unlike those rites, the processes of confession, penance and absolution required the skill of a priest. I will build on recent studies of public penitential ceremonies, such as the work of Sarah Hamilton, in order to compare private confessional prayer to the communal rites.<sup>594</sup>

It has already been shown in Chapter One that Alcuin strongly dissuaded his readers, both the missionaries to the land of the Goths and the boys of St Martin's in Tours, from thinking that their own private confessions were sufficient.<sup>595</sup> The same concerns were voiced in tenth-century England: homilists such as Ælfric often

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<sup>594</sup> For a full-length study of penance in the tenth and eleventh centuries, particularly in Continental Europe, see Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance 900-1050* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001); see also Sarah Hamilton, 'Remedies for 'Great Transgressions': Penance and Excommunication in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Francesca Tinti, ASS 6, 83-105 (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2005).

<sup>595</sup> See pages 71-3 above.

warned against the dangers of failing to confess to a priest, as each person would remain guilty of their unconfessed sins on Judgement Day.<sup>596</sup> Nevertheless, in both eras, many manuscripts contain private prayers of confession and contrition for one's sins. This chapter will show what the purpose of these solitary confessional prayers was and how they may have been used. First of all, however, it is necessary to demonstrate what was understood by 'confession' in this era. Due to the difficulties of adapting confessional prayer for private use, solitary confession has some characteristics in common with other forms of confession, and some which are unique to private prayer. As a consequence, the first half of this chapter will survey the different kinds of confession which took place in late Anglo-Saxon England.

First of all, I will discuss confession made in private to a priest or another spiritual elder. This was evidently considered to be the most beneficial kind of confession, as a priest could listen to the penitent's personal sins and assign penances appropriate to their circumstances. Without the aid of a priest, a Christian could not be assured of salvation on the Judgement Day: for this reason, the penitent might ask the priest

þæt þu sy me to gewitnesse on domes dæge, þæt þe deofol ne mage on me anweald agan.<sup>597</sup>

On an examination of sacerdotal confession alone, it would appear that confession in private prayer was invalid and without purpose.

However, confession to a priest should be seen in the context of the other forms of confession which existed at the time. I therefore broaden the discussion of

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<sup>596</sup> See, for example, Ælfric's *Sermo ad populum in octavis Pentecosten dicendus*, ll. 391-404. John C. Pope, ed., *Homilies of Ælfric: a Supplementary Collection*, 2 vols., EETS os 259-60 (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967-8), I, 415-47.

<sup>597</sup> 'That you may be a witness for me on the Day of Judgement, so that by you the devil may not be able to gain power over me.' Roger Fowler, ed., 'A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor', *Anglia* 83, 1-34 (1965), ll. 76-8.

what confession was by drawing attention to the evidence for confessions made from one monk or nun to another, and before the whole monastic community. In the secular world, penitential ceremonies, presided over by bishops, also took place. On Ash Wednesday, the bishop would hear all the penitents' sins, and teach them penance, before casting them out of the church community. After Lent, on Maundy Thursday, they returned to make a formal confession, after which they were absolved and were received back into the church. These rites therefore combined all the elements of confession to a priest with a liturgy which was the same for all those who took part in it.<sup>598</sup>

Having demonstrated what 'confession' meant in the eleventh century, I then undertake my own analysis of confessions made in solitude, to God alone, demonstrating that there is plenty of evidence that these took place. Solitary confessions included set prayers which have many features in common with the formal confessions made in penitential ceremonies: for example, they include long lists of all the sins which the penitent could have committed. However, they also have distinct characteristics of their own. In private confession, the penitent makes more extravagant and hyperbolic confessions of sin, expressing both a greater self-consciousness and a deeper awareness of his or her relationship with God. While a study of this kind has already been undertaken by Allen Frantzen in his examination of the confessions in the early Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks, I will analyse the series of confessional prayers in two later manuscripts: the *Portiforium of St Wulstan* and London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A. iii.<sup>599</sup>

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<sup>598</sup> For example, the rites for Ash Wednesday and Maundy Thursday in the *Egbert Pontifical*. H. M. J. Banting, ed., *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals (The Egbert and Sidney Sussex Pontificals)*, HBS 104 (London: Boydell Press, 1989), 130-2.

<sup>599</sup> Allen J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 84-90.

In ending this chapter, I briefly examine Old English poems which bear the distinguishing features of private confessional prayers, arguing that poems of this kind may well have been intended as prayers for individual use. The different genres of eleventh-century religious texts were fluid and interchangeable: prayers for use without a confessor resemble those which were used with one, and Anglo-Saxon poetic form could be employed as the language of private prayer.

### **Terminology and texts**

Since so many kinds of confession existed in late Anglo-Saxon England, it is helpful to distinguish clearly between them. In this chapter, the term ‘sacerdotal confession’ refers specifically to confession made in private, whether by a monastic or a layperson, to a priest, abbot or bishop.<sup>600</sup> It involved the penitent both making a confession of the sins which he or she had committed, and also saying a formal prayer confessing to all kinds of sins. The confessor would then teach the penitent how to live a better life and assign penance according to his or her circumstances. ‘Monastic confession’ refers generally to the more informal forms of confession practised in monasteries and convents, in which confession was made either before the whole community or in partnership with another monk or nun.<sup>601</sup> ‘Public confession/penance’ is used to describe the process of private confession to the bishop and the readmittance of penitents to the church in a public ceremony on Maundy Thursday. This category therefore includes sacerdotal confession within the context of a formal and public penitential rite.<sup>602</sup> Finally, ‘solitary confession’ refers

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<sup>600</sup> Sacerdotal confession is discussed on pages 230-41 below.

<sup>601</sup> See pages 241-3.

<sup>602</sup> See pages 243-51.



to the practice of confession and tears before God alone, and to the prayers which were used for this purpose.<sup>603</sup>

Prayers for use in solitary confession can be regarded in two possible ways. Firstly, it could be argued that they should not be called ‘confessions’ at all. If this view is taken, then solitary confessional prayers were designed to inspire the penitent with sorrow and contrition, in order that he or she might prepare to confess to a priest. There is considerable merit in this argument. As will be shown below, there is evidence from confessional manuals that penitents were expected to confess in the sight of God alone first, before admitting their sins to their confessor.<sup>604</sup> On these grounds, solitary confession appears to be of a lower status, intended purely as an instigation to, and preparation for, confession to a priest. The first part of this chapter, which demonstrates the absolute importance of sacerdotal confession, raises the possibility that solitary confession was not considered to be true confession.

Alternatively, a distinctly different interpretation for the existence of solitary confession could be made: that these prayers can rightly be called confessions, but they were understood to be a different kind of confession from sacerdotal confession. Viewed in this light, they are a perfectly legitimate form of repentance of sins, provided that they are not regarded as a substitute for the more complete absolution given by the priest. This argument is strengthened by the presence of rubrics in private prayerbooks, identifying a prayer as a ‘confessio’. As this chapter progresses, I will argue that many forms of confession existed aside from sacerdotal confession, which were nevertheless considered to be legitimate confessions. Solitary confession had its own place amongst these. This chapter will therefore suggest that the latter interpretation of solitary confession is the more likely.

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<sup>603</sup> Following this discussion of the different kinds of confession, I will analyse prayers for solitary confession on pages 251-74.

<sup>604</sup> See pages 254-5.

It is important to remember that the texts under discussion in this chapter were composed and used before the systematisation of the church's sacraments in the twelfth century.<sup>605</sup> Although sacerdotal confession and the penance which it involved were universally considered to be essential, the concept of confession was wide enough to encompass the different grades of formality seen in the four kinds of confession defined above. My study of confession in late Anglo-Saxon England will therefore use the term 'confession' in the second sense. I will assume that sacerdotal confession, penance and absolution were a duty and a necessity for all Christians, but also that other forms of confessing sins and expressing sorrow for them were considered to be acts of confession, either in their own right or as a preparation for sacerdotal confession.

In order to demonstrate the existence of the different forms of confession and what took place during them, this chapter draws on a wide range of texts, in order to explore significant examples of each type of confession. What was expected to take place in sacerdotal confession can be seen most clearly in guides for confessors, such as the six texts of the so-called *Old English Handbook*, which will be introduced below.<sup>606</sup> That these confessions did in fact take place as they were supposed to is demonstrated through the use of vernacular homilies, which also indicate how high a value was placed upon sacerdotal confession. For examples of public confessional rites, I have selected the *Lanalet Pontifical*, as it includes a particularly wide range of prayers for episcopal absolution. I have also quoted the *Egbert Pontifical* for examples of rubrics instructing how this ceremony should take place. My discussion of solitary confession focuses on those in the *Portiforium of St Wulstan* in particular,

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<sup>605</sup> For more details on the contributions of different theologians to this debate, see Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 41, 2 vols. (Leiden, New York and Köln: E. J. Brill, 1994), II, 516-32, 583-609.

<sup>606</sup> See pages 229-30.

as this has an especially long series of confessional prayers. I also examine the personal prayers in London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A. iii, as examples of the more intimate nature of vernacular prayer.

The following table lists all the texts which I use in this chapter, aside from the *Regula Benedicti* or *Regularis concordia*. Each text is listed according to the kind of confession which it exemplifies: sacerdotal, monastic, public or solitary. Where I consider it necessary, I have noted the manuscript in which the texts appear: many of them are copied together, or alongside texts which were discussed in earlier chapters.

Table 4.1: Evidence for private confessional prayer.<sup>607</sup>

	Text	Manuscript information (where appropriate)
Evidence for sacerdotal confession	Vercelli Homily III	
	<i>Sermo ad populum dominicis diebus</i>	Napier no. LVII. <sup>608</sup>
	Ælfric, <i>In octavis Pentecosten dicendus</i>	
	Ælfric, <i>Letter to the Monks of Eynsham</i>	
Texts for use in sacerdotal confession	<i>Old English Handbook</i> (six associated texts)	Some or all sections are found in: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201; London, Cotton Tiberius A. iii (ff. 55r-56v, 94v-97); <sup>609</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library Junius 121; Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Miscellaneous 482. <sup>610</sup>
	Forms of confession in Tiberius A. iii	Tiberius A. iii, ff. 45v-46r ('Man mot hine gebiddan') <sup>611</sup> ff. 51v-55r ('Gif þu wilt nu læof') <sup>612</sup>
Texts for use in monastic confession	'Confessio inter presbiteros' ( <i>Galba Prayerbook</i> )	London, British Library Galba A. xiv, ff. 98r-v, 88r-v, 99r-102v
Texts for use in public	<i>Egbert Pontifical</i>	Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10575

<sup>607</sup> In searching for references to confession in this chapter, I have made use of the Old English Corpus online. Antonette diPaolo Healey, John Price Wilkin and Xin Xiang, eds., *The Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (University of Toronto, November 2009), <<http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doecorpus/>>, accessed 20 October 2009.

<sup>608</sup> Arthur Napier, ed., *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883), 291-9. For the relation of this homily to the genuine works of Wulfstan, see Jonathan Wilcox, 'The Dissemination of Wulfstan's homilies: the Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Carola Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 2, 199-217 (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1992), 212-3.

<sup>609</sup> In addition to its many other contents, Tiberius A. iii (Gneuss, no. 363; Ker, no. 186) includes two series of confessional texts, which are tabulated in Tracey-Anne Cooper, 'Lay Piety, Confessional Directives and the Compiler's Method in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Haskins Society Journal* 16, 47-61 (2005): 49-50. The first confessional series begins with a group of prayers (some to be said in solitude, one to be said with a priest), followed by two exhortations to confession, and then by the first three sections of the *Old English Handbook*. The second confessional section begins with sections III to V of the *Handbook*, although section IV is regarded as incomplete by Fowler. Fowler, 'Handbook', 2.

<sup>610</sup> As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, Corpus Christi 201 and Junius 121 contain the *Benedictine Office*, while Laud Misc. 482 includes the rites for visiting the sick and dying. The compilers of these manuscripts evidently had an interest in clerical education and the ministry to the laity. Fowler, 'Handbook', 2-3.

<sup>611</sup> Max Förster, ed., 'Zur Liturgik der angelsächsischen Kirche', *Anglia* 66, 1-55 (1942): 8-11.

<sup>612</sup> Hans Sauer, ed., 'Zwei spätaltenglische Beichtermahnungen aus Hs. Cotton Tiberius A. iii', *Anglia* 98 (1980): 1-33.

confession and penance	<i>Lanalet Pontifical</i>	Bibliothèque de la ville de Rouen A. 27
	‘Dryhten þu halga god’ (prayer for public confession)	London, Cotton Vespasian D. xx, ff. 87r-92v
Evidence for solitary confession	‘Directions for Private Devotions’ (prayer <i>ordo</i> )	<i>Ælfwine’s Prayerbook</i> , Titus D. xxvi, f. 2
	<i>The Rewards of Piety</i> (poem)	Corpus Christi 201, pp. 165-7. <sup>613</sup>
	<i>Instructions for Christians</i> (poem)	Cambridge, University Library Ii. I. 33
	<i>Ælfric, Dominica III post epiphania Domini</i>	
	‘Qui in hunc mundum’ (prayer for solitary confession)	London, British Library Arundel 155, ff. 177v-178v
Prayers of solitary confession	<i>Portiforium of St Wulstan</i>	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, pp. 581-618
	Old English confessional prayers	Tiberius A. iii, ff. 44r-45v, 46v-50v
	<i>A Prayer</i> (poem)	London, British Library Cotton Julius A. ii, 136r-137r London, Lambeth Palace Library 427, 183v
	<i>Resignation A</i> (poem)	<i>Exeter Book</i> , ff. 117v-119v
	‘In naman þære halgan þrynesse’ ( <i>Galba Prayerbook</i> )	Galba A. xiv, ff. 104r-105v

A great deal of information on the practice of sacerdotal confession in the tenth and eleventh centuries can be gained from a study of the penitential manuals used in England at this time.<sup>614</sup> In particular, I have selected a group of confessional texts which has been edited by Roger Fowler under the title of ‘An Old English

<sup>613</sup> Note that *The Rewards of Piety* (Ker, no. 49.2 (b)-(c)) is in an earlier part of this manuscript; the *Handbook*, and the *Benedictine Office* discussed in Chapter Two, were added in the mid-eleventh century.

<sup>614</sup> A number of different traditions of Continental penitentials existed in the eighth to tenth centuries, all of which were available in tenth-century England. Some copies originated on the Continent in the tenth century, while others were copied in England. Three Old English penitentials survive, known as the *Scrifiboc* (or *Confessional*), the *Penitential*, and the *Old English Handbook*. Allen J. Frantzen, ‘The Tradition of Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England’, *ASE* 11 (1983): 23-56, see in particular 35-49; see also Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 133-50. For the penitentials associated with Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury and their practical applications, see Thomas Charles-Edwards, ‘The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*’, in *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence*, ed. Michael Lapidge, CSASE 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 141-74.

Handbook for the Use of a Confessor', and appears to have been, if not actually compiled, then certainly read, amended and quoted by Wulfstan the Homilist.<sup>615</sup> Together, the constituent sections of the *Handbook* illuminate how the practice of confession was expected to take place in the late Anglo-Saxon church. While they are mostly concerned with sacerdotal confession, they also include useful teachings on solitary confession and public penance. *Handbook* I, the only section in Latin, is an *ordo* for solitary confession to be undertaken before visiting the priest (*Handbook*, ll. 1-24). Section II is a set prayer for the penitent to say before his confessor (ll. 25-81). While section IV combines a description of the practice of public penance with a tariff of penances (ll. 113-303), sections III (ll. 82-112), V (ll. 304-432) and VI (ll. 432-78) are treatises addressed to the confessor, on how confession should be heard and penance assigned. As a group, they are extremely important for the study of confession, as they not only include texts for use by the confessor, but also explanations and justifications of the penitential process.

### **Sacerdotal confession**

The *Regula Benedicti* has relatively little to say about confession; however, it does make a couple of references to confession to the abbot. For example, the fifth step of humility is reached when the monk reveals secret bad thoughts and deeds to his

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<sup>615</sup> Melanie Heyworth, 'The 'Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor': Authorship and Connections', *NQ*, n. s. 54:3 (2007): 218-22. Fowler's designation of this text as a 'handbook' has been questioned. Of the six manuscripts which he includes in his edition, only Corpus Christi 201 contains all six of the sections of this text, and nowhere are they all found in the order in which Fowler presents them in his edition. It may therefore be better to conclude, with Tracey-Anne Cooper, that this hypothetical 'handbook' was in fact merely a group of six short texts concerned with confession and penitence in pastoral care, which were associated with one another and on which the compilers of different manuscripts could draw to suit their own purposes. Tracey-Anne Cooper, 'Lay Piety', 51-3. A full guide to the manuscripts can be found in Fowler, 'Handbook', 1-4.

abbot (*Rule*, ch. 7.44).<sup>616</sup> A later section of the *Regula* explains how to deal with mistakes and breakages which monks might make: in these circumstances, if they do not confess at once to the abbot to do penance, and it is discovered, their punishment must be the greater. To this is added,

Si animae vero peccati causa fuerit latens, tantum abbati aut spiritalibus senioribus patefaciat, qui sciat curare et sua et aliena vulnera, non detegere et publicare (ch. 46.5-6).<sup>617</sup>

Revealing one's sins to the abbot is important because he will not only listen to the confession, but also heal the wounds of sin and teach a better way of life.<sup>618</sup>

The late Anglo-Saxon *Regularis concordia* restates Benedict's requirement for monks to undergo confession. On Sundays, each monk had to confess to the abbot whatever was on his conscience (*RC*, ll. 431-6). If there were too many brothers, the remainder had to confess on Monday (ll. 436-9).<sup>619</sup> Furthermore, any monk was supposed to be able to confess at any time if he were tempted (ll. 442-4). Significantly, if the 'spiritual father' were absent, the monks were expected to confess to his replacement (ll. 435-6).

Private confession to a superior was also expected on certain feast days. On Maundy Thursday, at Prime, the monks were expected to make their confession to the prior, in a place which is simply referred to as 'confessionis locum' (ll. 916-24;

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<sup>616</sup> Timothy Fry *et al.*, eds. and trans., *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981). All translations from the *Regula Benedicti* are taken from this edition.

<sup>617</sup> 'When the cause of the sin lies hidden in his conscience, he is to reveal it only to the abbot or to one of the spiritual elders, who know how to heal their own wounds as well as those of others, without exposing them and making them public.'

<sup>618</sup> Sarah Hamilton has noted that Benedictine monks may not have recognised a clear distinction between penance and monastic discipline. Furthermore, she argues that the practice of confessing sins in secret or in public according to the circumstances of their commission may have led to the development of the 'Carolingian dichotomy', which was discussed on pages 69-71 above. Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, 81-3.

<sup>619</sup> Lucia Kornexl, ed., *Die Regularis concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 17 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1993).

the place of confession). Again, on Christmas Day and the first day of the Easter feast, all the brothers were supposed to come to the abbot to ask forgiveness of their sins in Chapter after Prime (ll. 698-706).

The possible context for this kind of confession is made clearer in Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, which is based on the *Regularis concordia* to some degree, but intended for the use of one particular monastery.<sup>620</sup> Ælfric outlines the Sunday confession in brief, but then adds a few extra details:

sedeat abbas in claustro una cum fratribus et exeant singuli ad confessionem, humiliter illi confitentes quicquid tota ebdomada inpugnante aduersario commiserint (ch. 7).<sup>621</sup>

Christopher A. Jones has drawn attention to the fact that Ælfric, unlike his source, specifies that this confession should take place in the cloister, and that at Eynsham apparently only the abbot might hear these confessions.<sup>622</sup> This may perhaps have been due to the small size of Ælfric's monastery.<sup>623</sup> Evidently, different monastic houses followed slightly different customs depending on their needs.

In all of these examples, the role of the abbot is that of a priest: he has the divine gift of uncovering the particular sins of the monks in his care, and through his skill in confession, the wounds of sin are healed. This role may have been undertaken by the abbot, or by another senior monk, but in all cases, the monks have the opportunity to speak privately to a spiritual superior, confessing their sins and receiving personal guidance.

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<sup>620</sup> Christopher A. Jones, ed. and trans., *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, CSASE 24 (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1998), 19-21.

<sup>621</sup> '[T]he abbot shall sit in the cloister together with the brothers, and one by one they shall go to confession, humbly confessing to him whatever they have done at the Enemy's instigation during the entire [past] week'. Jones, *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, 112-13. All translations from the *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* are taken from this edition.

<sup>622</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

<sup>623</sup> Elsewhere in his edition, Jones explains that the small size of Eynsham, compared to Winchester, made it unnecessary to allow Good Friday as well as Holy Saturday for the monks' washing and shaving. *Ibid.*, 40.



The importance of sacerdotal confession can be inferred from the evidence suggesting that it was expected of laypeople as well as monastics. The third of the *Vercelli Homilies* tells its audience what to expect ‘þonne ge rihtre andetnesse to eowrum scriftum becumen’ (*Vercelli Homily* III, ll. 25-6).<sup>624</sup> This phrase is noteworthy: it suggests that confession was unremarkable. Catherine Cubitt has pointed out that, while Wulfstan objects to the demise of public penance in his own time, he says nothing of the sort about confession to a priest alone, and he and Ælfric would have been the first to speak up in this way if priests were failing in their duty to provide confession for the laity.<sup>625</sup> Of course, not everyone took part as they were expected to do. The late eleventh-century *Sermo ad populum dominicis diebus* contains a list, taken from the works of Wulfstan of York, of the different ways in which sinners serve the devil, which includes making excuses for not confessing their sins.<sup>626</sup> However, this implies that confession was freely available, and that it was the sinner’s fault for not presenting himself to the priest. It is therefore clear from the homilies that a well-developed system of sacerdotal confession existed in late Anglo-Saxon England, both within and without the monastery, which was considered absolutely essential for living the Christian life.

Sacerdotal confession was valuable because it was made up of many parts and so offered complete healing. According to *Handbook* II, a penitent was expected to go to his confessor, affirm his faith in the Trinity, in eternal life and in

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<sup>624</sup> ‘When you receive good confession according to your confessors.’ Donald Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, EETS os 300 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

<sup>625</sup> Catherine Cubitt, ‘Bishops, Priests and Penance in Late Saxon England’, *EME* 14:1, 41-63 (2006): 52-3. For Wulfstan, see his homily for Lent, in which he complains that public penance is not practised as often as it should be. ‘Sermo in .XL.’ in Dorothy Bethurum, ed., *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 233-5, ll. 60-2. For more details on the part played by Ælfric and Wulfstan in developing and promoting confession and penance, see Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 141-7.

<sup>626</sup> Homily LVII in Napier, ed., *Wulfstan*, 298, ll. 28-33; 299, ll. 1-7. For the relationship between this homily and the works of Wulfstan, see n. 609 above.

the Judgement, and then to bow humbly and say a long prayer making a formal confession of sin (*Handbook*, ll. 25-34). This prayer begins:

Ic andette ælmihtigum Gode *and* minum scrifte, þam gastlican læce, ealle þa synna þe me æfre þurh awirgede gastas on besmitene wurdon: oððe on dæde oððe on geþohte, oððe wið wæp*men* oððe wið wif*men* oððe wið ænige gesceaft, gecyndelicra sinna oððe ungecyndelicra (ll. 35-9).<sup>627</sup>

Using a set prayer under the guidance of the priest, the penitent makes a comprehensive confession of sins, divided into categories according to how they were committed and against whom. In very general terms, he repents of the kinds of sins committed (ll. 40-7), viewing his actions by acknowledging them as manifestations of the chief sins, such as greed (l. 41), envy (l. 41) and pride (l. 47). He recognises that sinful desire has entered his body through his senses, and been expressed through all the parts of his body:

Ic andette eal þæt ic æfre mid eagam geseah to gitsunge oððe to tælnesse, oððe mid earum to unitte gehirde, oððe mid minum muðe to unnytte gecwæð. Ic andette þe ealles mines lichamon synna, for fel *and* for flæsc, *and* for ban *and* for sinuwan ... (ll. 48-52 ff.).<sup>628</sup>

This confession appears to have been for monastic use: the penitent confesses that he has held his office unworthily and neglected the Hours (ll. 55-9). Furthermore, the confession is validated not only through the authority of the confessor, but also through the altar and holy relics:

Swa ic to dæg ealle andette mine scylda toforan Drihtene, hælendum Criste, se wealdeð heofonas *and* eorðan, *and* beforan þissum halgan weofode *and*

<sup>627</sup> 'I confess to Almighty God and to my confessor, the spiritual doctor, all the sins by which I was ever defiled through malign spirits: either in deed or in thought, or against men or against women or against any created thing, natural sins or unnatural.'

<sup>628</sup> 'I confess everything of desire or blame that I ever saw with my eyes, or of slander which I heard with my ears, or of folly which I said with my mouth. I confess to you the sins of all of my body: through the skin and through the flesh, through the bone and through the sinews ...'

þisum reliquium, and beforan minum scryfte and Drihtenes mæssepreoste (ll. 64-8).<sup>629</sup>

The relics are a sign of how seriously confession was taken, and make the holiness of the saints a witness to it. These lines may also suggest the ease with which penitents were able to come before relics for confession in a monastery. For example, if the long lists of relics owned by Exeter Cathedral before the twelfth century can be used as a guide, then it is likely that the inhabitants of such communities could pray before relics easily and frequently.<sup>630</sup> Finally, the penitent asks God for forgiveness (*Handbook*, ll. 62-75) and the priest that he may be his witness on the Judgement Day (ll. 76-80). The penitent therefore repents of all the sins which he may have committed, but in general terms and without expressing his contrition at great length.

Of course, the speaker may not have committed all of the sins which he is expected to confess to in these set prayers. It may be the case that, as Allen Frantzen argues, penitents were simply expected to confess to a general list of sins, rather than ‘his own sins’.<sup>631</sup> However, there is evidence in Tiberius A. iii which suggests that on some occasions the penitent was supposed to use the confession selectively, admitting only the sins which he or she had in fact committed. A brief prayer for sacerdotal confession is prefaced by the following instructions:

Man mot hine gebiddan, swaswa he mæg 7 cán, mid ælcum gereorde 7 on ælcere stowe. Nu is her on englisc andetnyss 7 gebed. Ac seðe þis singan wylle, ne secge he na mare on þære andetnyssse, þonne he wycende wæs: for-þon-ðe ure Hælend nele, þæt man on hine sylfne leoge, ne eac ealle menn on áne wisan ne syngiað.

<sup>629</sup> ‘Thus today I confess all my faults before the Lord, the Saviour Christ, who rules the heavens and the earth, and before this holy altar and these relics, and before my confessor and Mass-priest of the Lord.’

<sup>630</sup> Patrick W. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: a Tenth-Century Cultural History*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), 171-209.

<sup>631</sup> Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 170. Frantzen is referring to a confession in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 718, which is a longer version of the set confession in *Handbook II*. He believes, however, that this text is for ‘devotional’ use by a community, rather than with a priest.

Ic eom *andetta* ælmihtigan Gode 7 eac minum *scrifte* ...<sup>632</sup>

Because everyone sins in different ways, the priest's role is particularly important: he needs to deal with each person's case individually. If this advice was typical, set forms of confession may have had the role of a prompt, reminding the penitent of the sins which he or she may have committed.

The priest could also ask the penitent of which sins he or she was personally guilty, and prescribe appropriate penance. This is evident from *Vercelli Homily III*, which explains to an audience what they could expect from their confessors:

Broðor mine, þonne ge rihtre andetnesse to eowrum *scriftum* becumen, þonne sceal he eow geornlice ahsian mid hwylcum gemete oððe mid hwylcum *intingum* syo syn þurhtogen wære þe he geandette þæt he ær gefremede, 7 æfter þam gemete þære dæde, he sceal him þa hreowsunge gedeman. He sceall hine eac swa læran þæt he of þam þweorlicum *geþohtum* andetnesse do, 7 he sceal hine manian þæt he of þam eahta [h]eafodleatrum andetnesse do, 7 se sacerd him sceal synderlice ælcne leahtor genæmnan 7 swa of þam his andetnesse anfon (*Vercelli Homily III*, ll. 25-33).<sup>633</sup>

According to this homily, the penitent's sins should be divided up and understood according to a theological scheme, the 'eahta [h]eafodleatrum' ('eight chief sins'), which refers to the eightfold division of sins explained by Cassian in *De institutis coenobiorum*.<sup>634</sup>

<sup>632</sup> 'One must pray as he can and knows how to, with any language in any place. Now here is a confession and prayer in English. But whoever wants to sing this, may he say no more in that confession than he was doing, because our Lord does not want a man to lie about himself, nor do all men sin in one and the same way. I confess to Almighty God and also to my confessor ...' Förster, 'Zur Liturgik', 8-10.

<sup>633</sup> 'My brothers, when you receive good confession from your confessors, then he must ask you eagerly to what extent or for what reasons the sin was committed which [the sinner] confessed that he did before; and, after the extent of the deed, he must determine the penance for him. He must also teach him that he should make a confession of perverse thoughts, and he must instruct him that he should make a confession of the eight chief sins, and the priest must name each sin to him individually and so receive his confession of them.'

<sup>634</sup> The eight sins are listed in *De institutis coenobiorum* book 5, ch. 1: according to Cassian, they are gluttony, fornication, greed, wrath, sorrow, acedia, vainglory and pride. Michael Petschenig, ed., *De institutis coenobiorum, De incarnatione contra Nestorium*, CSEL 17 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004), 81, ll. 13-23, 82, ll. 1-4.

*Handbook III* describes the same process from the perspective of the confessor:

Ðæt sceal geþencan se þe bið manna sawla læce *and* heora dæda gewita þæt gedal *and* þæt gescad, hu he mannum heora dæda gescrife; *and* þeah hwæðre ne fordeme ne hig ormode ne gedon. Þonne se man him his misdæda andettan wille, gehire him ærest geþildlice hu his wise gerad sy. Gif he wille *and* cunne eadmodlice his dæda andettan, *and* þu ondgite þæt him his sinna reowan, lær hine luflice *and* mildheortlice; gif he ne cunne his dæda andettan *and* his giltas asmeagan, acsa hine his wisena *and* atred him þa giltas ut *and* asec his dæda (*Handbook*, ll. 82-91).<sup>635</sup>

Sacerdotal confession involves more than saying a set prayer: according to both the homily and *Handbook III*, the confessor should talk to the penitent about each of his sins. He should aim to understand the reasons why, and circumstances in which, each one was committed, and how serious each sin was. A priest can teach the penitent how to confess, adapting his teaching with sensitivity and care so that it is appropriate to the sinner's attitude. This is what sacerdotal confession offered and solitary confession could not.

The priest also had to exercise his discernment in assigning penance in proportion to the status of the sinner and the seriousness of the sin. *Handbook III* stresses that the confessor must judge the penitent according to his status in life and to the severity of his sins:

man sceal medemian *and* gescadlice toscadan ylde *and* geoguðe, welan *and* wædlan, hale *and* unhale *and* hade gehwylcne. *And* gif hwa hwæt

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<sup>635</sup> 'He who is the doctor of men's souls, and a witness of their deeds, should know the kind and the way by which he should hear men's confession of their deeds, and nevertheless he must not condemn them nor make them despondent. When the man wants to confess his misdeeds to him, may he first patiently hear what his habit of life is. If he wishes and knows how to confess his deeds humbly, and you recognise that his sins distress him, teach him lovingly and mercifully. If he does not know how to confess his deeds and think about his sins, ask him about his habits and search out his sins, and seek out his deeds.'

ungewealdes misdeð, ne bið þæt na gelic þam ðe willes *and* gewealdes silfwilles misdeð (*Handbook*, ll. 104-8).<sup>636</sup>

Similarly, the tariff of penances for sins in *Handbook IV*, which is mostly concerned with murder, sexual sin and witchcraft, shows how men of different ecclesiastical ranks were expected to receive increasingly harsh penalties for forcible murder:

Gyf læwede man neadunga man slihð, fæste iii gear, an on hlafe *and* on wætere, *and* twa swa his scrift him tæce, *and* bereowsige his misdæda æfre. Gyf hit bið subdiacon, fæste six gear; gyf hit beo diacon, fæste seofon gear; gyf hit beo mæssepreost, fæste x gear, *and* biscop xii *and* reowsige æfre (ll. 138-43).<sup>637</sup>

This demonstrates not only how penance was gradated according to the level of a churchman's rank and responsibilities, but also how a confessor had an important role to play in determining what would be the best form of penance according to the situation.

As these texts were aimed at confessors in their teaching of the penitents in their charge, it was important that they knew how to hear confessions and award appropriate penances. The metaphor of sins as wounds is a widespread one in confessional literature, and it is given a particularly comprehensive use in *Handbook V*. The priest is a doctor who has a good salve for healing the wounds of sin (*Handbook*, ll. 317-22).<sup>638</sup> Furthermore, confession and good teaching are like a

<sup>636</sup> 'One must make a distinction and reasonably differentiate between age and youth, wealth and poverty, health and illness and every status. And if someone does something wrong unintentionally, it is not the same as what he does wrong willingly and intentionally.'

<sup>637</sup> 'If a layman kills a man forcibly, may he fast for three years, one on bread and water, and two as his confessor teaches him, and may he forever repent of his misdeeds. If it is a subdeacon, may he fast for six years; if it be a deacon, may he fast for seven years; if it be a Mass-priest, may he fast for ten years, and a bishop twelve, and may he forever repent.' Although this section of the *Handbook* is concerned with public penance, the tariff is of penances which should subsequently be assigned by the penitent's priest.

<sup>638</sup> God and Christ, as well as the priest, are traditionally referred to by the metaphor *medicus*. The pre-Christian origin of this term, and its many uses by Augustine, have been examined by Rudolph Arbesmann, and Patrick Sims-Williams identifies Ephrem of Syria as the first Christian to use the metaphor. Allen Frantzen, meanwhile, has commented on its use by Alcuin and Ælfric. Rudolph

healing drink which causes the penitent to vomit up the poison of the sins which are within him (ll. 322-7). Although it is stated that people sin ‘þurh deofles scife’ (ll. 307-8),<sup>639</sup> Alice Cowen has argued that a rigid distinction between the devil’s responsibility for sin and the sinner’s is inappropriate for understanding this kind of penitential literature: the wound metaphor is concerned with the presence of sin in the self, and in any case the passage is aimed at confessors, not penitents, urging them to fulfil their responsibilities to heal the wounded soul.<sup>640</sup> It is therefore evident that the confessor’s role was indispensable, as he healed more serious wounds than did a doctor of the body.

The various texts of the *Handbook* therefore testify to the fact that confession was a skill which had to be practised by a discerning priest, who is a doctor for the soul. Sacerdotal confession gives the penitent the opportunity to make a general confession of sinfulness, as well as personal guidance and penance for his or her own particular sins. It therefore gives the penitent the most complete form of confession and absolution that could be.

Sacerdotal confession was crucial due to its role as a preparation for Judgement Day, when all deeds would be made known, and all sins revealed, unless they had been confessed and repented. Ælfric’s sermon for the octaves of Pentecost states that:

Ne mæg þonne nán man nahwar béon behydd,  
ac ealle beoð þær þé æfre cuce wæron,  
and þær beoð æteowde ure eallra geðohtas,

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Arbesmann, ‘The Concept of ‘Christus Medicus’ in St. Augustine’, *Traditio* 10 (1954): 1-28; Patrick Sims-Williams, ‘Thoughts on Ephrem the Syrian in Anglo-Saxon England’, in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixth-Fifth Birthday*, eds. Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, 205-26 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 214; Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 89 and 159.

<sup>639</sup> ‘At the devil’s instigation.’

<sup>640</sup> Alice Cowen, ‘*Byrstas* and *bysmeras*: the Wounds of Sin in the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*’, in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: the Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 10, 397-411 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 401-2.

and ealle ure dæda eallum þam werodum;  
 þæt ðe ár wæs gebet ne bið þær na ætéowed,  
 ac ða ungebettan synna beoð þær geswutelode;  
 hi beoð þonne ofsceamode, and sorhfulle on móde,  
 þæt hí ær noldon andettan heora synna,  
 and dædbote gedón be heora lareowes dihte  
 (*In octavis Pentecosten dicendus*, ll. 391-9).<sup>641</sup>

Here, again, the ‘lareow’ or spiritual teacher is indispensable. It is noteworthy that the sinners are specifically said to be *ofsceamode*. According to an exhortation to confession found in Tiberius A. iii, it is better to shame oneself in front of one man – one’s confessor – than in front of God and all people on the last day. The confessor is instructed to tell the penitent:

Micle betere is þam men, þæt him scamige her on life beforan anan men his synna, þonne him scyle eft gescamian on Godes dome ætforan heofenwaran and eorðwaran and helwaran, þær ne mæg nan man nan þing Gode bediglian, þæs þe he æfre her on life geworhte godes oþpe yfeles.<sup>642</sup>

The same argument is made in the homilies (for example, in *Vercelli Homily VIII*, ll. 9-14), and was clearly a widespread idea in Anglo-Saxon penitential literature.<sup>643</sup>

It is because of this overwhelming importance of the confessor on the Judgement Day that the penitent in *Handbook II* was to say to his priest,

Nu ic bidde þe eadmodlice, Drihtenes sacerd, þæt þu sy me to gewitnesse on domes dæge, þæt þe deofol ne mage on me anweald agan, and þæt þu to

<sup>641</sup> ‘Then, no man will be able to be hidden anywhere, but all who were ever alive will be there, and there all of our thoughts and all of our deeds will be shown to the multitudes. That which was amended before will not be shown there, but the unrepented sins will be revealed there. They will then be ashamed, and sorrowful in spirit, that they did not want to confess their sins and do penance according to their teacher’s command.’ Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, I.

<sup>642</sup> ‘It is much better for the man that he shame himself with his sins here in this life before one man [i.e. the confessor], than that he should shame himself afterwards at the judgement of God before the inhabitants of heaven, of earth and of hell, where no man can hide anything from God which he has ever done here in this life, either of good or of evil.’ Sauer, ed., ‘Beichtermahnungen’, no. 2, ll. 6-9.

<sup>643</sup> This motif has been explored in detail by Malcolm Godden, who finds two basic variants throughout various homilies, *Christ III* and in a letter by Alcuin, although he identifies Boniface as the ultimate source of the idea. M. R. Godden, ‘An Old English penitential motif’, *ASE* 2 (1973): 221-39; for *Christ III*, see 232-3; for Alcuin and Boniface, see 235-6.



Drihtene beo min þingere þæt ic mote myne sinna *and* mine giltas gebetan  
(*Handbook*, ll. 76-79).<sup>644</sup>

The addressee is very specifically referred to as ‘Drihtenes sacerð’ (priest of the Lord), demonstrating that the role of confessor was one given specifically to a priest. This would invite the argument that confessional prayers, along with the prayers used as part of it, always needed the participation of a confessor, and therefore, unlike the prayers for the Hours or the Feasts of the Cross, could not be adapted for use as private confessions.

### **Monastic confession**

However, solitary confession should not be considered in contrast to sacerdotal confession alone. There were other contexts in which sin could, and was expected to be, confessed. According to the *Regularis concordia*, monastic confession should take place in a number of ways. At Chapter each day, after the Rule or the Gospel had been read by the prior, monks who had committed any fault were expected to ask for forgiveness before the whole community, telling the prior what they had done wrong (*RC*, ll. 407-15). As mentioned above, on Christmas Day the abbot heard individual confessions from each of his monks. Afterwards, however, he was expected to prostrate himself and ask forgiveness of all the brothers together (ll. 703-4), which indicates that the leaders of religious houses were sometimes expected to confess to their inferiors.

Furthermore, there are also a few brief references in monastic sources to confession to a fellow monk or nun. According to the *Regularis concordia*,

Compline on weekdays was followed by prayer and then, after a signal from the

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<sup>644</sup> ‘Now I ask you humbly, priest of the Lord, that you may be a witness for me on the Day of Judgement, so that by you the devil may not be able to gain power over me, and that you may be my advocate to the Lord, so that I may make amends for my sins and my offences.’

prior, ‘inuicem sibi dent confessionis salubre remedium’ (l. 562).<sup>645</sup> Confession in itself is therefore enough to bring a certain degree of healing to a sinner, no matter who it is offered by. Similarly, the *Galba Prayerbook* contains a confession which, though originally intended for use as a dialogue confession between two priests, appears to have been used by the sisters of the Nunnaminster, where the manuscript was owned.<sup>646</sup>

The confession opens with a general confession to God and ‘coram sacerdote tuo’ (*Prayer-Book*, 130, l. 3; ‘before your priest’), with the masculine ‘tuo’ implying that, of course, the priest is male; in the closing rubric, ‘ipse sacerdos’ (‘the priest’) suggests the same (133, l. 16). However, the opening rubric later added to the text reads, ‘Incipit confessionem [*sic*] inter presbiteros’ (130, l. 1),<sup>647</sup> and the speaker almost entirely consistently<sup>648</sup> refers to herself using feminine grammatical forms, such as ‘transgressa sum’ (130, l. 13; ‘I have transgressed’) and

fui ... inobediens et contentiosa et inuidiosa et iracunda et auara et cupida et rapax et incredula (132, ll. 9-11).<sup>649</sup>

This would suggest either that women could be presbyters, or, at the very least, that they were using prayers which were theoretically only for the use of the ordained, two possibilities on which Alexandra Barratt has commented:

it would cause quite a stir in certain quarters if the Anglo-Saxon Church turned out to have harboured women *presbyteri*. What is more likely, of course, is that a women’s community was trying, somewhat unsystematically,

<sup>645</sup> ‘They are to give the healing remedy of confession to one another in turn.’

<sup>646</sup> Muir has found that this example of a dialogue-style *Confiteor* was based on a text in *De psalmodum usu*. Bernard James Muir, ed., *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book (BL MSS Cotton Galba A.xiv and Nero A.ii (ff. 3-13))*, HBS 103 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988), 130, n. 1; Alcuin, *De psalmodum usu liber*, PL 101, cols. 499A-501B.

<sup>647</sup> ‘Here begins a confession between priests.’ ‘Confessionem’ is emended by Muir to ‘confessio’.

<sup>648</sup> This prayer does contain one masculine phrase ‘non consolatus sum’ (131, ll. 15-16; ‘I have not consoled’).

<sup>649</sup> ‘I have been ... disobedient, quarrelsome, envious, wrathful, avaricious, greedy, acquisitive and unbelieving.’

to adapt its exemplars for female use; some of the girls, new to Latin as well as theology, did not realize that not all prayers are suitable cases for such treatment.<sup>650</sup>

Barratt's doubt stems, of course, from the fact that the refrain in this text reads, 'Dimittat dominus omnia peccata tua' (*Prayer-Book*, 130, l. 12),<sup>651</sup> when such a pronouncement was intended for use by a priest. The appearance of the 'Confessio inter presbiteros' in as informal a manuscript as *Galba*, and with the feminine grammatical forms, suggests that it was used in dialogue between nuns, perhaps in preparation for meeting the priest, or in his absence. This testifies to the wide range of forms which confession could take in the monastery.

### **Public confession and penance**

Solitary confession can also be contrasted with the confessional process undergone by the laity in public rites. Evidence for these ceremonies can be found in a range of homilies and there is a description of them in *Handbook IV*, while prayers and directions for the rites themselves were recorded in pontificals. Of these, I will focus above all on the *Lanalet Pontifical*, which includes a comparatively long series of prayers for absolution by a bishop.<sup>652</sup> I will also discuss the *Egbert Pontifical*, and

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<sup>650</sup> Alexandra Barratt, 'Review of *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book*, ed. Bernard James Muir', *JTS* 40:2, 655-7 (1989): 656.

<sup>651</sup> 'May the Lord forgive all your sins.'

<sup>652</sup> In addition to the examples from the *Egbert* and *Lanalet Pontificals* which are discussed here, rites for the expulsion of penitents on Ash Wednesday and their readmittance on Maundy Thursday can also be found in the *Samson Pontifical* and *Winchcombe Sacramentary*, the *Leofric Missal* and the *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 146 (*Samson Pontifical*), *Parker Library on the Web*, version 1.3, accessed 18 May 2011, <<http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/>>, 16-22, 31-7; Anselme Davril, ed., *The Winchcombe Sacramentary (Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 127 [105])*, HBS 109 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995), nos. 358-60; Nicholas Orchard, ed., *The Leofric Missal*, 2 vols, HBS 113-14 (London: Boydell Press, 2002), II, nos. 486-93, 766-9; H. A. Wilson, ed., *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, HBS 11 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1896), 270-2; G. H. Doble, ed., *Pontificale lanaletense (Bibliothèque de la ville de Rouen A. 27 cat. 368)*, HBS 74 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1937), 75-80, 140-3.

confessional prayers in London, British Library Cotton Vespasian D. xx and the *Portiforium of St Wulstan*.

Public confession and penance have already been studied in detail in recent years. Sarah Hamilton shows that public penance and excommunication, which were developed for public sins by the Carolingian church, were known in Anglo-Saxon England alongside sacerdotal confession and penance.<sup>653</sup> For example, Ælfric writes in his homily for the seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost that ‘ðā digelan gyltas man sceal digelice betan. 7 þa openan openlice’ (‘Dominica XVII post Pentecosten’, ll. 113-4).<sup>654</sup> In addition, Brad Bedingfield has investigated the various references to public penance in late Anglo-Saxon texts, including the pontificals and additional works associated with Wulfstan.<sup>655</sup> He concludes that public penance of some kind certainly took place, although the rites described in liturgical texts were probably used in a variety of ways, and the practice of public confession and absolution were mixed with those for the ashing of penitents on Ash Wednesday.<sup>656</sup> The texts on which Bedingfield focuses include the *Handbook* and the eleventh-century pontificals, which can be examined in detail for the prayers used in public penitential rites.<sup>657</sup>

*Handbook* IV describes how the process of public confession and penance was supposed to work. On Ash Wednesday, each bishop would be at his episcopal

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<sup>653</sup> Hamilton, ‘Remedies for ‘Great Transgressions’’, 83-105.

<sup>654</sup> ‘One must amend the secret sins secretly, and the public ones publicly.’ Peter Clemons, ed., *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: the First Series: Text*, EETS ss 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 459-64; Hamilton, ‘Remedies for ‘Great Transgressions’’, 83.

<sup>655</sup> Brad Bedingfield, ‘Public Penance in Anglo-Saxon England’, *ASE* 31 (2002): 223-55. See also Sarah Hamilton, ‘Rites for Public Penance in Late Anglo-Saxon England’, in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, eds. M. Bradford Bedingfield and Helen Gittos, HBS Subsidia 5 (London: Boydell Press, 2005), 65-103. Frantzen has argued that, since the anonymous homilies make no reference to public penance and Ælfric and Wulfstan do, the practice of public penance did not exist when the former were composed. Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 157, see also 158-63.

<sup>656</sup> *Ibid.*, 248-55.

<sup>657</sup> More detail about the development of confession in the early and medieval church can be found in Martin Dudley and Geoffrey Rowell, eds., *Confession and Absolution* (London: SPCK, 1990).

seat, and everyone in that *scire* who had committed any of the eight chief sins would come and reveal their sins to him (*Handbook*, ll. 113-7). The bishop would teach each one penance according to the gravity of the sins committed, and, where appropriate, expel them all from the church community (ll. 117-121). On Maundy Thursday, these penitents would gather at the same place again, where the bishop gave them his absolution and blessing, and the penitents' priest would have to ensure that they had fulfilled their penance (ll. 121-9).

According to *Handbook IV*, this is a custom which 'man healt begeondan sæ'<sup>658</sup> (l. 113), although the writer adds that it should be practised amongst all Christian peoples (ll. 124-5). Nevertheless, the presence of rites for public confession and absolution in Anglo-Saxon pontificals implies that this ceremony did, in fact, take place in England. The *Egbert Pontifical*, for instance, includes four prayers for a bishop to say, with this rubric:

ORATIONES ET PRECES SUPER PENITENTEM CONFITENTEM PECCATA SUA MORE SOLITO. FERIA. .IIII. INFRA QUINQUAGESIMAM (*Egbert*, 130, ll. 11-12).<sup>659</sup>

These prayers are immediately followed by a series of prayers for Maundy Thursday (131-2), with the heading 'ORATIO AD RECONCILIANDUM PENITENTEM FERIA .V. IN CENA DOMINI' (131, ll. 5-6).<sup>660</sup> One of these is in Old English, indicating that the laity's need for liturgy in their own language was recognised and in some way met (131-2, n. 30).

A penitent was expected to make a confession of sin, using a formal confession such as the one found in *Handbook II*.<sup>661</sup> In fact, Max Förster

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<sup>658</sup> 'One keeps beyond the sea.'

<sup>659</sup> 'Prayers and preces over a penitent confessing his/her sins in the usual manner on the fourth day [of the week] before Lent.'

<sup>660</sup> 'Prayer for reconciling a penitent, on the fifth day [of the week], on the feast of the Lord's supper.'

<sup>661</sup> See pages 234-5 above.

demonstrated that this prayer is a shorter version of the prayer ‘Dryhten þu halga god’, which is found in the mid-tenth century manuscript London, British Library Cotton Vespasian D. xx.<sup>662</sup> In Vespasian D. xx, the prayer is preceded by a rite for assigning penance and giving absolution, to be used by a bishop or priest, a Mass for penitence and confessional prayers.<sup>663</sup> Hamilton infers, from a reference to the absolution of penitents and excommunicants, that in the Vespasian manuscript the prayer was intended for use by a bishop in a liturgical ceremony.<sup>664</sup>

The two texts of this prayer demonstrate that, in public confession as well as sacerdotal, a comprehensive and general confession was made of the sins which the speaker had ever committed against all people (‘Dryhten þu halga god’, ll. 13-20). The list of sins (ll. 20-41) is considerably longer than that in *Handbook II* (*Handbook*, ll. 39-47). For example, after a pair of parallel passages in which both prayers confess to false oaths, pride and recklessness of God’s commands (*Handbook*, ll. 44-7; ‘Dryhten þu halga god’, ll. 32-4), in ‘Dryhten þu halga god’ the penitent goes on to confess a number of other sins not included in the shorter prayer, before the two texts reconverge:

Ic eom ondetta ealra gesewenlicra lusta . 7 ungesewenra þara þe Ic æfre gefremede . on ciricean oððe butan ciricean ... Ic ondette hatheortnesse 7 sleacornesse . slapornesse . 7 unnytte wæccean . feondscipe 7 feowunge modes 7 muðes 7 dæda (‘Dryhten þu halga god’, ll. 34-6, 39-41).<sup>665</sup>

<sup>662</sup> Förster, ‘Zur Liturgik’, 25-30. Förster demonstrates in a comparative table that each line of the prayer in *Handbook II*, up to line 64, is paralleled in ‘Dryhten þu halga god’, but the latter prayer adds an opening passage expressing sorrow for sins, and throughout the prayer, it adds extra confessions which do not appear in the *Handbook II* prayer. ‘Dryhten þu halga god’ can be found in H. Logeman, ‘Anglo-Saxonica Minora’, *Anglia* 11, 97-120 (1889), 97-100; Gneuss, no. 395.5; Ker, no. 212.

<sup>663</sup> Hamilton, ‘Remedies for ‘Great Transgressions’’, 91-2.

<sup>664</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>665</sup> ‘I confess all the visible and invisible desires which I have ever committed, inside or outside of the church ... I confess anger and laziness, somnolence and unnecessary wakefulness, hostility and hatred of mind and mouth and deeds.’

‘Dryhten þu halga god’ also includes a list of body parts (ll. 41-53), which again is more comprehensive than that in the shorter prayer (*Handbook*, ll. 48-55). The existence of this prayer in two different versions is a good example, not only of the flexibility with which a liturgical form could be adapted, but also of a rite conducted at least partly in the vernacular.

On Maundy Thursday, the bishop would pronounce absolution over the penitent. The context of this ceremony can be seen in the second of two almost identical series of prayers for penitents in the *Pontificale Lanaletense*. Although the second series (*Lanaletense*, 140-3) is incomplete, it has an explanatory rubric which the first series lacks:

Incipit absolutio dicenda ab episcopo super conuersum et penitentem . qui conuersus . prosternatur coram altare . et psalmum decantet quinquagesimum . si autem est idiota . ex intimo corde crebro dicat . deus miserere peccatori seruo tuo et faciat episcopus letanias super eum et haec [*sic*] sequantur orationes (140, ll. 1-6).<sup>666</sup>

This indicates not only the setting of the prayers of absolution, but also that the ceremony was used with learned people, who could sing a penitential psalm in Latin, as well as unlearned laypeople.

The accompanying prayers are longer and more numerous than similar compositions found in *Egbert*. They are generalised absolutions, asking forgiveness for all of the penitent’s sins, rather than specifying which he has committed. These prayers have some features in common with the prayers of solitary confession, which

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<sup>666</sup> ‘*Here begins an absolution to be said by the bishop over a convert and penitent. Let each convert prostrate himself before the altar and chant the fiftieth psalm. However, if he is an uneducated man, let him say frequently, out of his inmost heart, ‘God, have mercy on your servant, a sinner’, and let the bishop say litanies over him and may these prayers follow ...’* Here, I have quoted from the second series of absolutions in *Lanaletense*, as it includes this rubric. However, in all other quotations from this pontifical, I have quoted from the first series of absolutions on pages 75-80, as they are a more complete version of the same sequence of prayers.

will be discussed below. They often ask for forgiveness by recalling God's mercy shown in the Bible. For example:

Precor domine clementiam tue maiestatis ... Qui in humeris tuis ouem perditam reduxisti ad caulas . qui publicani precibus uel confessione placatus es . tu etiam domine huic famulo tuo placare (77, ll. 21, 23-5).<sup>667</sup>

Likewise, the bishop prays that God, who does not desire the death of a sinner, may have clemency upon the penitent (80, ll. 2-10). The frequent references to the Bible imply that, if God was merciful once, he will be merciful again.

The prayers also ask God to look upon the penitent's sorrow for his sin. This can be seen in the *Lanaletense* prayer 'Deus humani generis benignissime conditor':

Moueat pietatem tuam fletus ipse miserorum tuorum medere uulneribus . Tú benignam iacentibus manum porrige . ne aecclesia tua sui corporis portione priuata temeretur. ne grex tuus detrimentum sustineat ... Tibi igitur humiliamur omnes . tibi supplices fundimus preces . tibi fletum cordis offerimus (78, ll. 5-8, 10-11).<sup>668</sup>

As with the prayers for solitary confession, this implies that tears as well as words were an important part of prayer. This prayer is also notable for asking that God may stretch out his hand upon the penitent. Again, as will be seen, some solitary confessions express closeness to God by imagining his actions and how he hears the prayer.

However, the prayers for public absolution also have some features which are specific to the genre and which are not shared with the solitary confessions. For example, the bishop has the power to grant forgiveness, 'non electione meriti sed

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<sup>667</sup> 'I ask, O Lord, the clemency of your majesty ... you who brought the lost sheep back to the sheepfold on your shoulders, you who were pleased by the prayers and the confession of the publican, may you be pleased also, O Lord, by this your servant.'

<sup>668</sup> 'May this weeping move your pity to heal the wounds of your wretched people. Stretch out your kind hand to those who are prostrate, lest your church may be deprived of a part of its body, lest your flock may sustain harm ... Therefore we all humble ourselves to you, we pour out prayers to you, we offer the tears of our heart to you.'



dono gratiae tuae' (78, ll. 19-20).<sup>669</sup> Prayers in the pontificals often refer to Christ's giving Peter the power of binding and loosing, which gives the bishop the authority to forgive sins (75, ll. 25-6). It is perhaps for this reason that the prayers for public absolution, more than any others, frequently refer metaphorically to sins as chains: 'sana illius uulnera . relaxa facinora . et delictorum catenas absolue' (79, ll. 26-7).<sup>670</sup> Finally, there is an emphasis on the church, the body of Christ, to which the penitent is being readmitted: 'eum unitati corporis aeclesie tuę et membrorum perfecta remissione restitue' (76, ll. 28-9).<sup>671</sup> The very nature of public confession and absolution involves a stronger awareness of the bishop's authority, inherited from the apostles, to forgive sin, and of the sinner's separation from the body of the church over which the bishop presides.

Public confession was therefore important for laypeople and monastics alike, and important enough to translate into the vernacular. It involved all of the personal guidance of sacerdotal confession, together with a public ceremony of readmittance into the body of the church. Although, as will be shown, solitary confession shares some of its purpose and techniques with sacerdotal and public confession, ultimately, however, they offered something which solitary confession could not.

The *Portiforium of St Wulstan* includes not only a personal service-book but also a series of private prayers, many of which are for use in solitary confession.<sup>672</sup> After these private prayers follows a set prayer for sacerdotal confession, followed by a blessing and prayer for forgiveness. The confession has a lacuna of one folio,

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<sup>669</sup> 'Not by the choice of merit, but by the gift of your grace.'

<sup>670</sup> 'Heal his wounds, loosen his crimes and untie the chains of his faults.'

<sup>671</sup> 'Restore him by perfect forgiveness to the unity of the body of your church and its members.'

<sup>672</sup> Anselm Hughes, ed., *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 391)*, HBS 90, 2 vols. (Leighton Buzzard: Faith Press, 1960), II, 1-24. For an introduction to this text, see pages 95-6 above.

but the beginning and end survive (if we may assume that they are the same prayer); furthermore, the opening is clearly made to a confessor:

*Confe[ss]io.* Ego uolo esse confessus deo omnipotenti et angelis eius et tibi homini dei de omnibus peccatis meis que ego feci postquam natus fui [*sic*] et baptismum accepi usque in istam horam (*Portiforium*, II, 23, ll. 15-17).<sup>673</sup>

The blessing on, and prayer for, the penitent which follow, however, feature glosses changing most of the second- and third-person pronouns to the first-person:<sup>674</sup>

Da nobis domine ut sicut publicani precibus et confessione placatus es, ita et *huic/mihi* famulo tuo .illi. placare domine, et precibus *eius/meis* benignus aspira, ut in confessione flebili permanens, et petitione perpetuam clementiam tuam celeriter *exoret/exoram*, sanctisque altaribus sacramentis restitutus, rursus celesti glorie mancipetur (*Portiforium*, II, 23, ll. 32-4; 24, ll. 1-2).<sup>675</sup>

This prayer was evidently designed to reunite the penitent with the church, and this same text was in fact used in the public penitential ceremonies discussed above (*Lanaletense*, 76, ll. 14-19; *Egbert*, 131, ll. 34-5; 132, ll. 1-3).

The presence of this prayer in the *Portiforium*, with first-person glosses, indicates that public confessional prayers, like any other liturgical form, could be adapted for private use. However, this is an unusual example. The prayers for solitary confession in manuscripts such as the *Portiforium* and Tiberius A. iii appear to represent a separate genre, rather than comprising extracts taken directly from the

<sup>673</sup> 'I want to confess to God Almighty, and to his angels, and to you, a man of God, of all my sins which I have committed, since I was born and received baptism, up to this hour.'

<sup>674</sup> Neither Ker nor Montague James comments on the hand used in this gloss, which is evidently similar to the main hand. Ker, no. 67; Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), II, no. 391; *Parker Library on the Web*, version 1.2, accessed 25 April 2011, <<http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/>>, manuscript 391, 617.

<sup>675</sup> Emphases mine. 'Grant us, O Lord, that, just as you were pleased by the prayers and confession of the publican, so also, O Lord, be pleased by this/me your servant [name] and breathe kindly upon his/my prayers, so that, remaining in tearful confession, by petition he/I may swiftly entreat your perpetual mercy, and, restored to the holy altars and sacraments, may be surrendered again to heavenly glory.'

liturgy. In this chapter so far, I have shown that there were many kinds of confession available in late Anglo-Saxon England. In all of the examples discussed, the priest's, abbot's or bishop's role was essential in order that the penitent might be restored to the body of the church or monastery in this life, and be assured of salvation in the next. However, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that Anglo-Saxon monastics, and perhaps laypeople also, practised confession and penitence to God alone. In the remainder of this chapter, I will provide a new analysis of solitary confession, arguing that, though it was in some ways similar to confession before a superior, it also had certain characteristics which were unique to the needs of a person praying without a confessor.

### **Evidence for solitary confession**

It cannot be proven with any certainty that the confessions in private prayerbooks were intended for use in solitude; however, there are good reasons for believing that this was the case. Before offering a detailed reading of solitary confessional prayers, I will consider the evidence for the existence of private confessional prayer. To do so, I will draw upon the texts outlined in table 4.1 above: the *Regula Benedicti*; the poems *The Rewards of Piety* and *Resignation A*; the *ordo* for morning prayer in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*; Ælfric's homily *Dominica III post epiphania Domini*; *Handbook I*; and the rubrics to solitary confessional prayers. These texts indicate that solitary confessional prayer did take place and was considered a form of confession in its own right, but one which was complementary to sacerdotal confession, not a substitute for it.

Solitary confession clearly took place, and was in fact expected to be undertaken daily. According to the *Regula Benedicti*, monks are expected to confess

their sins before God alone: one of the marks of a good monk in Chapter Four of the *Regula* is, ‘mala sua praeterita cum lacrimis vel gemitu cotidie in oratione Deo confiteri’ (*Rule*, ch. 4.57).<sup>676</sup> Solitary repentance continued to be regarded as important during the following centuries: in Anglo-Saxon England, it was also taught through poetry, such as the relatively little-studied homiletic poem *Instructions for Christians*.<sup>677</sup> This explains how a person can live a good life, which includes doing ‘wop and hreowe for his misdæda’ (*Instructions for Christians*, l. 14).<sup>678</sup> Although the poem insists that both prayer and fasting are necessary for eternal bliss (ll. 7, 9), it also implies that inner repentance is more necessary than the physical discipline of fasting:

Gif mon mid ealra      in[n]ancundre  
 heortan [gehygde]      gehreowað his synna,  
 and fulfæstlice þencð      þæt he forð ofer þæt  
 þam æfre to              eft ne gecyrre  
 þeah he ne fæste nawiht      \*\*\*  
 þonne þreora dagas,      þeah wile drihten hine  
 fæderlice onfon              æt his forðsiðe (ll. 166-72).<sup>679</sup>

Solitary confession is, effectively, obligatory. As well as saying prayers of confession, it involves thinking over one’s sins and shedding tears of repentance.

An example of how this requirement was put into practice can be seen in the *ordo* for morning prayer in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*.<sup>680</sup> The reader is told to sing certain canticles in morning prayer (*ÆP*, no. 53.1-2). This should be done every

<sup>676</sup> ‘Every day with tears and sighs to confess your past sins to God in prayer’.

<sup>677</sup> This appears in Cambridge, University Library Ii. I. 33, a manuscript of the second half of the twelfth century. James L. Rosier, ed., ‘“Instructions for Christians”: a Poem in Old English’, *Anglia* 82 (1964): 4-22; Ker, no. 18.

<sup>678</sup> ‘Lamentation and sorrow for his misdeeds.’

<sup>679</sup> ‘If a man repents of his sins with all the thought of his mind within, and earnestly thinks that he will journey over that to which he will not return again, even though he does not fast at all [...] than three days, even so the Lord will receive him like a father at his going forth.’

<sup>680</sup> Beate Günzel ed., *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook* (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii), HBS 108 (London: Boydell Press, 1993), no. 53. This *ordo* was discussed in more detail on pages 111-13 above.

Sunday, but to this is added the further advice, ‘[m]ihtest þu gewunian þæt ðu hit sunge ælce dæge, þonne ðu ærest onwoce’ (no. 53.3).<sup>681</sup> The reader is then told to make his confession to God alone:

cweþ ðonne God ælmihtig, ‘For þinre miclan mildheortnesse 7 for ðissa godes worda mægne, miltsa me, 7 syle me minra gedonra synna forgyfnesse, 7 ðara towardra gescildnessa ...’ (no. 53.4)<sup>682</sup>

This must be done ‘dihlice, þær ðu sylf sy’ (no. 53.6).<sup>683</sup> The Old English poem *The Rewards of Piety* assumes that solitary repentance will take place in a similar context.<sup>684</sup> The reader is told that he will be able to flee from demons,

gif þu filian wilt  
 larum minum, swa ic lære þe  
 digollice þæt þu on dægred oft  
 ymbe þinre sawle ræd swiðe smeage  
 (*Rewards of Piety*, ll. 68b-71).<sup>685</sup>

It therefore appears that repentance involved thinking about one’s sins in solitude, and that this ought to take place in the early morning.

Solitary confession was not, however, expected to replace sacerdotal confession. Ælfric complained that

Sume men wenað þæt him genihtsumie to fulfremedum læcedome; gif hi heora synna mid onbryrdre heortan gode anum andettað. 7 ne þurfon nanum

<sup>681</sup> ‘You could get used to singing it every day, when you first wake up.’

<sup>682</sup> ‘Then say to God Almighty, ‘For your great mercy, and for the power of these words of God, have mercy on me, and grant me forgiveness of the sins I have committed, and protection against future ones’.’

<sup>683</sup> ‘Secretly, where you are alone.’

<sup>684</sup> Robinson argues convincingly that the poems previously known as *An Exhortation to Christian Living* and *A Summons to Prayer* are in fact one poem, which he titles *The Rewards of Piety*. Because *A Summons to Prayer* begins with the word ‘[þ]ænne’ (‘then’), it is unlikely to be the start of a new poem. Although it is macaronic, and *An Exhortation for Christian Living* is not, it is not unknown for an Old English poem to end with a short macaronic section: *The Phoenix* sets a precedent for this. Fred C. Robinson, ‘“The Rewards of Piety”: “Two” Old English Poems in their Manuscript Context’, in *The Editing of Old English*, ed. Fred C. Robinson, 180-95 (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994), 181-3. All translations from this poem are taken from this edition.

<sup>685</sup> ‘[I]f you will obey my teachings, as I teach you privily / that you should often at dawn / think carefully about your soul’s benefit’.

sacerde geandettan gif hi yfeles geswicað; ac gif heora wena soð wære þonne nolde drihten asendan þone þe he sylf gehælde to þam sacerde mid ænigre lace (*Dominica III post epiphania Domini*, ll. 68-72).<sup>686</sup>

This echoes Alcuin's warnings, quoted in Chapter One above, that one cannot be saved by one's own prayers alone.<sup>687</sup> The examples quoted above suggest that confessing in the sight of God alone, with tears and sighs over one's sins, was not only permissible but actively encouraged – but as a preparation and a complement to confession to a priest. Ælfric's use of the phrase 'to fulfremedum læcedome' ('as complete healing') is significant: private confession may offer healing, just not complete healing.

Similar sentiments can also be discerned in *Handbook I*, which was clearly designed to promote solitary confession as a preparation for going to a priest. First of all, it explains why confession is necessary, and then it instructs that the penitent 'prosternat se humiliter in conspectu Dei super terram'<sup>688</sup> (*Handbook*, ll. 8-9). Although he does not yet confess his sins, he is expected to pour out tears and adoration (l. 9), which are as much a part of confession as the prayers. The penitent should then ask the angels and saints for their intercessions, before saying certain prayers and the *Creed* (ll. 9-19). It is then that the penitent is expected to confess to both God and his confessor: 'post hæc incipiat confessionem suam coram Deo et coram sacerdote confitens peccata sua' (ll. 20-1).<sup>689</sup> Solitary confession therefore had its place as a preparation for sacerdotal confession: the two were complementary.

<sup>686</sup> 'Some men believe that it will suffice them as complete healing if they confess their sins with an incited heart to God alone, and that they do not need to confess to a priest if they turn away from evil. But if their belief were true, then God would not have wanted to send him whom he himself healed to the priest with any offering.' Clemoes, *Catholic Homilies*, 241-8.

<sup>687</sup> Alcuin, *Epistolae*, Ernst Dümmler, ed., *Epistolae Karolini aevi (II)*, MGH, *Epistolae* 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), <<http://www.dmgh.de/>>, 216, ll. 27-9; 217, ll. 1, 23-5; see pages 73-4 above.

<sup>688</sup> 'Should prostrate himself humbly on the ground in the sight of God.'

<sup>689</sup> 'After these, may he begin his confession, confessing his sins in the presence of God and of his priest.'

*Handbook* I clearly distinguishes between the prayers ‘in conspectu Dei’ and the confession ‘coram Deo *et* coram sacerdote’, suggesting that the former description refers to a confession before God alone. This is significant, as it strengthens the hypothesis that certain prayer rubrics refer specifically to solitary confessions. For instance, the prayer ‘Eala þu ælmihtiga god’ in Tiberius A. iii is labelled a ‘*Confessio et oratio ad deum*’ (*Four unedited prayers*, no. 1, l. 1).<sup>690</sup> Similarly, the prayer ‘Confitibor tibi’ in the *Portiforium* begins with a rubric and a confession specifically to God alone:

*Confessio pura.* Confitibor tibi domine omnia peccata mea quecumque feci omnibus diebus uite meae (*Portiforium*, II, 15, ll. 16-17).<sup>691</sup>

This is distinctly different from the form of confession further on in the same manuscript, for use with a priest:

*Confe[ss]io.* Ego uolo esse confessus deo omnipotenti et angelis eius *et tibi homini dei* de omnibus peccatis meis (*Portiforium*, II, 23, ll. 15-16).<sup>692</sup>

These rubrics indicate that solitary confessions were recognised as *confessiones*, just as sacerdotal confessions were.

As discussed above, confessions made to the priest or bishop could be made before an altar and relics. This also appears to be the case in the solitary confession ‘Qui in hunc mundum’, which appears to have been designed for use in monastic

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<sup>690</sup> ‘Confession and prayer to God.’ Phillip Pulsiano and Joseph McGowan, eds., ‘Four Unedited Prayers in London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A.iii’, *Mediaeval Studies* 56 (1994): 189-216. See also the rubric, ‘Alia oratio ad deum deuote corde dicenda’ (‘another prayer to God, to be said with a devoted heart’) in Hughes, *Portiforium*, II, 17, l. 33.

<sup>691</sup> ‘*Pure confession.* I confess to you, O Lord, all my sins, whatever I have committed during all the days of my life.’ See also ‘Confiteor tibi, domine, quia ego peccavi nimis coram te & coram angelis tuis’ (‘I confess to you, O Lord, because I have sinned greatly before you and before your angels’), in Arundel 155. Ferdinand Holthausen, ed., ‘Altenglische Interlinearversionen Lateinischer Gebete und Beichten’, *Anglia* 65, 230-54 (1941): no. 19, ll. 71-2.

<sup>692</sup> Emphasis mine. ‘I want to confess to God Almighty, and to his angels, and to you, a man of God, all my sins which I have committed.’

houses.<sup>693</sup> The version of ‘Qui in hunc mundum’ in Arundel 155 is clearly intended for solitary use in the presence of relics, as the prayer rubric states:

In quacunq̄ue die cantaverit aliquis istam orationem, non nocebit illi diabolus, neque ullus homo impedimentum facere potest (‘Interlinearversionen’, no. 18).<sup>694</sup>

Furthermore, in this manuscript, the prayer includes the words,

Ad portam aecclesię tuę, domine Jesu Christe, confugio et ad pignora sanctorum tuorum prostratus indulgentiam peto (‘Interlinearversionen’, no. 18, ll. 16-18),<sup>695</sup>

with ‘pignora’ (relics) glossed as ‘lichaman’ (bodies). This would suggest that private confession, like confession to a priest, could be made in church, in the presence of holy relics. This indicates not only the seriousness with which such confessions were taken, but also, perhaps, the need to validate a private confession by making it before the saints. Of course, copies of the text may have circulated in environments where there were no relics, which is suggested by the version of ‘Qui in hunc mundum’ in the *Portiforium of St Wulstan*: it has ‘suffragia’ (‘intercessions’, ‘support’) instead of ‘pignora’.<sup>696</sup>

There is therefore enough evidence to suggest that solitary confession was an important and accepted part of the confessional process. The penitent was expected to think about his or her sins, and weep over them, when alone in the morning, or in preparation for visiting the priest. Prayers such as those in Tiberius A. iii and the

<sup>693</sup> Muir notes, from the version in *Galba*, that the penitent confesses to having turned up late to the *opus Dei* (‘work of God’). Muir, *Prayer-Book*, 68, n. 19.

<sup>694</sup> ‘On whatever day someone sings this prayer, the devil will not harm him, nor will another man be able to hinder him.’ A similar rubric begins the version in the *Galba Prayerbook* and *Bury Psalter*, and ‘Tempus meum prope est’ in the *Portiforium*. Muir, *Prayer-Book*, 61, ll. 1-3; André Wilmart, ed., *The Prayers of the Bury Psalter*, repr. from *Downside Review* 48 (1930), no. 3, ll. 1-6; Hughes, *Portiforium*, II, 12, ll. 22-4.

<sup>695</sup> ‘O Lord Jesus Christ, I flee to the door of your church and ask for mercy prostrated before the tokens of your saints.’

<sup>696</sup> Hughes, *Portiforium*, II, 3, l. 13.



*Portiforium* were also intended for making a confession of sins before God alone.

Having established the place of solitary confession in the confessional process, I will now examine the texts of confessional prayers in detail.

### **The characteristics of solitary confessional prayers**

Solitary confessions resemble prayers for sacerdotal confession in a number of ways. They include lists of sins and sinful body parts; they draw on Biblical examples in asking for God's mercy; they are intended to stir up tears and sorrow for sin; and they express closeness to God by imagining the penitent's prayer from his perspective. Set prayers for any kind of confession show a tendency towards generality and comprehensiveness. However, the solitary confessions differ from other forms of confession by making greater use of hyperbole and repetition, by being more emotional, and by placing great emphasis on the innumerability of the speaker's sins.

Prayers for solitary confession can be found in a number of late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, including private prayerbooks, additions to earlier psalters, and liturgical compendia. They are usually 'long prayers' of the kind identified in Chapter Two: they are normally composed of many parts in different styles, and tend not to have been adapted from liturgical forms.<sup>697</sup> I will focus this discussion upon two manuscripts, which include both some of the more common and more unusual confessional prayers of the time, both in Latin and Old English.

The *Portiforium of St Wulstan* contains a long series of private prayers, of which the majority are solitary confessions. The following table indicates the location of all the prayers in this sequence, with confessional prayers in plain type,

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<sup>697</sup> See pages 101-3 above.

and those which I discuss in detail in bold. Prayers of other kinds are noted in italics and are not listed individually.

*Table 4.2: The private prayers in the Portiforium of St Wulstan, indicating the confessional prayers.*

Page no. in edition. <sup>698</sup>	Page no. in MS	Prayers
1-2	581-3	<i>Liturgical prayers; prayers to the Trinity</i>
3-5	583-8	<b>‘Qui in hunc mundum’</b>
5-7	588-90	(Oratio et confessio) <b>‘Ego humiliter te adoro’</b>
7	590-1	(Oratio sancta) <b>‘Qui es trinus unus’</b>
7-8	591-2	(Oratio) <b>‘Mane cum surrexero’</b>
8-12	592-9	<i>Prayers to the cross and the saints</i>
12-13	599-600	(Oratio Sancti Gregorii) <b>‘Tempus meum prope est’</b>
13-14	600-1	‘Peccavi domine et nimis peccavi in homine’
14-15	601-603	(Anglice) <b>‘For þinre þære miclan mildheortnesse’</b>
15	603-4	<i>Prayer to St Swithun</i>
15	604	(Confessio pura) ‘Confitibor tibi domine omnia peccata mea’
15-17	604-6	(Alia oratio unde supra) <b>‘Qui es trinitas unus’</b> <sup>699</sup>
17	606-7	(Item alia) ‘Qui es omnium sanctorum’
17	607-8	(Unde supra) ‘Miserere nobis misericors trinitas’
17-18	608-9	(Alia oratio ad deum deuote corde dicenda) ‘Miserere domine, miserere Christe’ <sup>700</sup>
18-23	609-16	<i>Prayers to the cross</i>
23	616-7	(Conf[ess]io) ‘Ego uolo esse confessus’
23	617	‘Benedicat te deus celi’
23-4	617	‘Da nobis domine ut sicut publicani’
24	617-8	<i>Ordo for prayer before the cross; prayer to the Virgin</i>

Additionally, I will refer to three Old English prayers for solitary confession in Tiberius A. iii, which are included as part of a collection of confessional texts in that manuscript alongside the first three sections of the *Handbook*.<sup>701</sup>

<sup>698</sup> Hughes, *Portiforium*, II, 1-24.

<sup>699</sup> A longer version of the prayer on page 7.

<sup>700</sup> This prayer, attributed to Alcuin, is based on earlier texts by Marius Victorinus and, to a lesser extent, Augustine. Stephan Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch für Karl den Grossen: Seine Rekonstruktion und seine Stellung in der frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte der libelli precum*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 89 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2003), 214-5 and n. 307.

<sup>701</sup> These prayers also appear in London, British Library Royal 2. B. v; however, as I have focused on Tiberius A. iii in this chapter, all citations of ‘Eala þu ælmihtiga god’ and ‘Si ðe wuldor and þanc’ are based on this manuscript. The prayer ‘For þinre þære miclan mildheortnesse’ appears in both

Table 4.3: Solitary confessional prayers in London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A. iii (Ker, no. 186.9, a-f).

Page no. in edition <sup>702</sup>	Folio no.	Prayers
206-8	44r-45v	(Confessio et oratio ad deum) ‘Eala þu ælmihtiga god unasegendlicere mildheortnesse’
8-11 <sup>703</sup>	45v-46r	(Man mot hine gebiddan...) ‘Ic eom andetta ælmihtigan Gode’
-	46r-v	‘Tibi flecto genua mea’
209-10	46v-47r	‘For þinre þære mycelan mildheortnyse’
210-12	47r-48r	‘Ic þe eom andetta’
212-6	48r-50v	‘Si ðe wuldor and þanc’

Solitary confessions have some features in common with prayers for use in sacerdotal or public confession, indicating that different forms of confession had a common purpose, and so I will begin by examining this common ground. Following this, I will identify the characteristics which are specific to solitary confessions alone.

The listing of sins has been seen in prayers for sacerdotal and public confession alike, and it also features in solitary confessions: for example, ‘Qui in hunc mundum’ (*Portiforium*, II, 4, ll. 31-5) and ‘Ego humiliter te adoro’ (6, ll. 10-18). These suggest that solitary confession was intended to be very generalised, not made in response to any particular sin, but part of the reader’s usual private prayers:

Peccauī per superbiam et per inuidiam. Peccauī per detractationem et per auaritionem, peccauī per malitiam et per mendatium, peccauī per fornicationem et per gulam (‘Ego humiliter te adoro’, *Portiforium*, II, 6, ll. 10-12).<sup>704</sup>

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Tiberius A. iii and the *Portiforium*: in the case of this prayer, I quote from the *Portiforium* as I use that manuscript more frequently than Tiberius. Pulsiano and McGowan, ‘Four Unedited Prayers’, 189. For the context of these prayers, and all the confessional texts, in Tiberius A. iii, see Cooper, ‘Lay Piety’, 49-50.

<sup>702</sup> Where not stated, these page numbers refer to Pulsiano and McGowan, ‘Four Unedited Prayers’.

<sup>703</sup> Förster, ‘Zur Liturgik’.

<sup>704</sup> ‘I have sinned through pride and through envy. I have sinned through evasion and through avarice; I have sinned through malice and through deceit; I have sinned through fornication and through gluttony ...’

It is unclear however, how these generalised confessions were intended for use in solitary prayer. Above, it was seen that a prayer for sacerdotal confession in Tiberius A. iii instructs the penitent to confess only the sins which he had actually committed.<sup>705</sup> It is possible that the solitary confessions were intended for use in the same way, with the penitent using the prayer as an examination of conscience, selecting the sins which he or she needed to confess.

Alternatively, Allen Frantzen has argued that these complete lists of sins were a necessary part of solitary confession:

In a ceremony not concluded by the assigning of penance – such as the public reconciliation of penitents – and in private prayer, long confessions served an obvious purpose. They were a way to ensure that the penitent had confessed completely; and they were sure to impress on the sinner his weakness and his need to guard against it.<sup>706</sup>

If the relationship between God and the penitent was not guided and supported by a confessor, whose skill was necessary to ensure that all sins were confessed and absolved before the Judgement, there was the risk that some sins might be left unconfessed. For this reason, in private confessional prayer, it was particularly important that the speaker should spare no effort in emphasising his sinfulness. So, although lists of sins feature in prayers for both solitary and sacerdotal confession, they may have had a different use in the different contexts.

Again, as in the forms of public and sacerdotal confession, other prayers apparently designed for solitary confession ask forgiveness upon each part of the body which has sinned. In the prayers for use with a priest or bishop, the various limbs and organs are merely named, and ‘Ego humiliter te adoro’ follows this pattern:

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<sup>705</sup> Förster, ‘Zur Liturgik’, 8-9.

<sup>706</sup> Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 88.

Peccau in oculis meis et in auribus meis et in naribus meis. Peccau in lingua mea et in gutture meo (*Portiforium*, II, 6, ll. 18-19).<sup>707</sup>

In ‘Si ðe wuldor and þanc’, by contrast, the list of body parts is more creative. Each sinful part of the body is contrasted with the corresponding parts of the holy body of Christ:

Min drihten, si þe þanc þæs þe þu þiné fét léte on deaðe acolían þe þu ærest mid eodest 7 mancynn to life laðodest. Forgyf me for þinra fota áre eall þæt ic æfre mid minum fotum unnyttes geeode oððe unnyttes gedyde (‘Four Unedited Prayers’, no. 4, ll. 71-4).<sup>708</sup>

This is reminiscent of the prayer ‘Adoro te’ discussed in Chapter Three, in which Christ’s wounds heal the speaker’s soul, and his death is the speaker’s life.<sup>709</sup> In both prayers, a similarity is found between Christ and the speaker only to emphasise the difference between them.

Frantzen has compared lists of this kind to the *loricae*, in which the speaker prays for protection over each part of his or her body.<sup>710</sup> They could also be seen in the light of exorcisms such as one in the *Antiphony of Bangor*, in which the devil

<sup>707</sup> ‘I have sinned in relation to my eyes and my ears and my nose. I have sinned in relation to my tongue and my throat.’ It should be remembered that this prayer, with its simple list of sins, also appears in the *Book of Cerne*. A. B. Kuypers, ed., *The Prayer Book of Aedelwald the Bishop, Commonly Called the Book of Cerne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), no. 10. Compare also ‘Dryhten þu halga god’, ll. 41-53, in Logeman, ‘Anglo-Saxonica Minora’.

<sup>708</sup> ‘My Lord, thanks be to you that you let your feet grow cold in death, with which you first went and led mankind to life. Through the grace of your feet, forgive me all the foolish places to which I have ever gone or folly committed with my feet.’ Frantzen has commented on the equally inventive list in Alcuin’s prayer ‘Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae’, which was discussed on pages 74-8 above. Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 89; Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, no. 3a, ll. 7-26. For a comparative edition of the many variants of this text, including in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, see Jonathan Black, ed., ‘Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks: Alcuin’s *Confessio peccatorum pura* and the Seven Penitential Psalms (Use 1)’, *Mediaeval Studies* 65, 1-56 (2003): 25-40.

<sup>709</sup> See page 203 above.

<sup>710</sup> Allen J. Frantzen, ‘Spirituality and Devotion in the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials’, *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 22, 117-28 (2005): 123. *Loricae* were known in late Anglo-Saxon England: for example, the *Lorica of Laidcenn* appears in London, British Library Harley 585, the *Lacnunga*. Edward Pettit, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers from British Library MS Harley 585: The Lacnunga*, 2 vols., Mellen Critical Editions and Translations 6 (Lewiston, NY, Queenston and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 2001), I, ll. 315-498.

is cast out from each of a man's limbs and organs.<sup>711</sup> Lists of sinful body parts were therefore only one of several closely-related ways in which the body could be prayed for, in public and private settings: casting out the devil, asking forgiveness for past sin, asking for future virtue, and praying for protection.

The solitary confessions divide sins into kinds according to the theological schemes used by priests and bishops in examining penitents. One of these was that of the eight chief sins. This is the method used for self-examination in 'Eala þu ælmihtiga god unasecgendlicere mildheortnesse'. This vernacular prayer begins as a direct translation of 'Deus inestimabilis misericordiae', but the list of body parts is replaced with a confession based on the eight chief sins.<sup>712</sup> For example:

Ic syngode gelome þurh asolcennysse ða ða me god ne lyste don, ne gán to godes húse, ne nan ellen niman to ænigum góðan weorce; ac ic lyfede min lif lange on solcennesse butan godum weorcum 7 godum biggenge ('Four Unedited Prayers', no. 1, ll. 38-40).<sup>713</sup>

This way of dividing up sin would have been known to the speaker from sacerdotal confession, and a useful aid for when there was no priest to help. While 'Dryhten þu halga God' and 'Qui in hunc mundum' contain admissions of having neglected the Hours or the *opus Dei* ('Dryhten þu halga God', ll. 55-64; *Portiforium*, II, 4, ll. 34-5), this prayer has a more general confession of not having gone to church. Along

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<sup>711</sup> Patrick Sims-Williams has examined the close similarity between a body part list in Isidore's *Etymologiae*, that in the *Lorica of Laidcenn*, and that in the *Bangor* exorcism. Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Thought, Word and Deed: an Irish Triad', *Ériu* 29, 78-111 (1978): 89-93; F. E. Warren, ed., *The Antiphonary of Bangor: an Early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan*, HBS 4 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1893), ff. 30v-31r.

<sup>712</sup> Lines 1-15 of 'Eala þu ælmihtiga god' are translated from 'Deus inestimabilis misericordiae' (which can be found in Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, 3a, ll. 2-5). Ker, no. 186.9(a) (London, Cotton Tiberius A. iii). This prayer is a good example of how an influential and widely-copied Latin prayer was both faithfully translated and changed into something completely different according to the needs of the copyist or translator.

<sup>713</sup> 'I have often sinned through sloth, when I did not desire to do good, nor go to God's house, nor take any courage in doing any good work, but I have long lived my life in sloth without good works and good worship.'

with the use of the vernacular language, this suggests that it may have been particularly suitable for a layperson, although its usage cannot ultimately be proven.

Another scheme for understanding sin can be seen in ‘Tempus meum prope est’, in which the penitent asks forgiveness for ‘[q]uicquid locutus fui [*sic*], aut cogitavi, aut feci’ (*Portiforium*, II, 13, ll. 3-4).<sup>714</sup> The threefold division of sin into thoughts, words and deeds is an ancient one: Patrick Sims-Williams finds it the works of Cyril of Alexandria and in *opuscula* attributed to Ephrem of Syria, the latter of which he suggests may have been the source for Gregory the Great’s use of this ‘triad’.<sup>715</sup> However, it was in Irish penitential literature that it found its most extensive use. Sims-Williams attributes this to the Irish emphasis on secret confession to priests, whereby it was spread across the Continent by Irish, and later Anglo-Saxon, missionaries.<sup>716</sup> It was of particular use in ninth-century penitential texts, such as those in *De psalmodum usu* and the *Confiteor*, which made the triad widespread until the *Confiteor* was formally included in the Mass in the eleventh century.<sup>717</sup>

The presence of the triad in prayers from the early Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks, such as ‘Mane cum surrexero’ in Royal 2 A. xx, is due to the Irish influences on the prayerbooks.<sup>718</sup> These prayers, of course, were later copied into the late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks. Sims-Williams argues that the Irish church, which laid great importance on introspection, found this threefold classification of sins to be useful as it placed as high a value on thought and spoken sin as on sinful actions, and was simpler than Cassian’s scheme of eight chief sins whilst still encompassing all forms

<sup>714</sup> ‘Whatever I have said, or thought, or done.’

<sup>715</sup> Sims-Williams, ‘Thought, Word and Deed’, 80-1.

<sup>716</sup> For examples of the use of the triad in Irish or Irish-influenced texts, see *ibid.*, 82-103, especially 95; for the Irish emphasis on sacerdotal confession, see 103-4.

<sup>717</sup> *Ibid.*, 105-7.

<sup>718</sup> *Ibid.*, 99-103.

of sin.<sup>719</sup> For the same reasons, the triad must have been of particular relevance to solitary confession, in which the penitent cannot hide from his or her secret thoughts and deeds; and in which, without a priest, the penitent must have a method of classifying sins which is simple to use and which covers all the kinds of sin which can be committed.

The prayers for public absolution examined above tend to draw on Biblical examples in order to ask God's mercy. This is equally true of prayers for solitary confession. In particular, these prayers portray God as the Creator, sometimes with specific references to the book of Genesis. For example, the speaker of 'Tempus meum prope est' asks,

Effunde mihi lacrimas sicut fundasti aquas super terram, quia obduratum est cor meum quasi petra (*Portiforium*, II, 12, ll. 33-4).<sup>720</sup>

Similarly, 'Qui in hunc mundum' contains the petition,

Domine de limo terre formasti me, ossibus ueni neruis formasti me. Domine pro tua pietate custodi me, saluum me fac (4, ll. 26-8).<sup>721</sup>

In this way, the creation of the human race is emphasised as the foundation of the relationship between God and the penitent.

Likewise, the speaker establishes a precedent with God by recalling times when he aided the Christian saints, or, more frequently, the holy men and women of the Old Testament: he helped them then, and he will help the penitent now. 'Qui in hunc mundum' begins,

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<sup>719</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>720</sup> 'Pour forth my tears, just as you established the waters above the earth, because my heart is as hard as stone.'

<sup>721</sup> 'O Lord, you formed me from the clay of the earth, with bones I came forth, you formed me with nerves. O Lord, in your mercy, guard me, make me whole.'



Domine ihesu [*sic*] christe qui in hunc mundum propter nos peccatores de sinu patris aduenisti, ut de adae peccato nos redimeres, quia scio et credo non propter iustos sed propter peccatores in terris habitare uoluisti; Audi et exaudi me domine deus meus peccatorem ... (3, ll. 1-4)<sup>722</sup>

Both the Old and New Testaments are invoked in a later passage from ‘Qui in hunc mundum’:

Miserere mei deus miserere mei rex gloriae, qui es unus et uerus, qui es solus et iustus, in quo omnia et per quem omnia facta sunt. Exaudi me domine orantem sicut exaudisti susannam et liberasti eam de manu inimicorum duorum testium. Exaudi me orantem sicut exaudisti petrum in mari, paulum in uinculis (5, ll. 11-15).<sup>723</sup>

This use of Biblical language emphasises the universality of human wrongdoing, but is also particularly significant in considering the nature of private confession. While the prayers for public absolution do address God in this way, they also make frequent reference to the bishop’s authority to absolve sins. As no priest or bishop was present to aid the penitent in solitary confession, the Biblical comparisons become all the more important, ensuring that the confession is valid and the penitent will be heard.

Solitary confessions, like the other genres of confessional prayer, often express a desire for the gift of tears, to weep over one’s sins as they deserved. As it is the speaker him- or herself whose sins are being confessed, these pleas are more impassioned than in the penitential ceremonies:

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<sup>722</sup> ‘O Lord Jesus Christ, who came into this world from the bosom of the Father because of us sinners, so that you might redeem us from the sin of Adam, because I know and believe that you wanted to live on earth not because of the just, but because of sinners: O Lord my God, hear and listen to me, a sinner ...’

<sup>723</sup> ‘Have mercy on me, O God; have mercy on me, King of Glory, you who are the one and the true, who are the only and the just, in whom all things and through whom all things were made. Hear me praying, O Lord, as you heard Susannah and freed her from the hand of her two hostile witnesses. Hear me praying, as you heard Peter on the sea, and Paul in chains.’

Suscita in me fletum penitentie, et mollifica cor meum durum et lapideum, et accende in me ignem timoris tui quia sum cinis mortuus ('Qui es trinitas unus', *Portiforium*, II, 16, ll. 35-7).<sup>724</sup>

This is also evident in 'For þinre þære miclan mildheortnesse':

min drihten gehnexa þa heardnysse minre þære stænenan heortan · 7 forgif me teara genihtsum þæt ic mæge þa misdæda bewepan 7 behreowsian þe ic earning dæghwamllice ongean þinne willan gewyrce (14, ll. 25-7).<sup>725</sup>

If solitary confession was mainly intended as a preparation for sacerdotal confession, then its main purpose would have been to stir up sorrow and tears over sin in the presence of God, before making a more complete confession to the priest and receiving absolution. Tears and sorrow were therefore essential to all kinds of confession, but to solitary confession in particular.

As argued above, confession to a priest is absolutely necessary as a preparation for the Day of Judgement. However, the solitary confessions still have a role to play in making the penitent aware of death and judgement. The speaker of 'Qui in hunc mundum' asks for mercy

usque in finem meum, et in illa hora tremenda quando anima mea assumptura fuerit de corpore meo (3, ll. 16-17).<sup>726</sup>

It is rarer to ask directly for entry into the joys of heaven. However, the speaker of 'Peccau domine, et nimis peccau in homine' not only prays for a blessed afterlife, but pictures this relationship ahead of time:

<sup>724</sup> 'Awaken in me the tears of penitence, and soften my hard and stony heart, and ignite in me the fire of the fear of you, because I am dead ash.'

<sup>725</sup> 'My Lord, soften the hardness of my stony heart, and give me abundant tears, so that I may weep over and repent my misdeeds, which I, a wretch, daily commit against your will.'

<sup>726</sup> 'Up until my end, and in that terrible hour when my soul will have been taken from my body.' Hughes notes that 'fuerit' has been 'interlined'.

Ita deprecor te domine ut resuscites me de morte mea, ut merear esse ad dexteram tuam et audire uocem tuam dicentem mihi: Uenite benedicti patris mei percipite regnum (13, ll. 22-5).<sup>727</sup>

The lone speaker is envisaged taking a part in the salvation granted to all the blessed, to whom Christ speaks with the plural ‘uenite’. This connection between the salvation of the many and of the one praying is also found in ‘Gloriosissime conditor mundi’, in which the speaker prays:

dignatus es carnem ex immaculata uirgine sumere ... ut claustra dissipares inferni, et humanum genus liberares de morte: Respice et miserere michi misero oppresso facinorum pondere, multarumque nequitiarum labe polluto (21, ll. 25-9).<sup>728</sup>

In this way, the speaker is made conscious of his own place in the salvation offered to all humankind.

Here, the penitent asks God to look upon him and have mercy, which is reminiscent of ‘Deus humani generis benignissime conditor’, a prayer for public absolution discussed above, in which God is asked to extend his hand upon the penitent in forgiveness.<sup>729</sup> In ‘For þinre þære miclan mildheortnesse’, the penitent more vividly imagines God’s response to him, and what is happening in his mind when he considers him:

min drihten ne læt me næfre færlicum deaðe of þissum earman life gewitan ·  
Ac loc hwænne min tima beo · 7 þin willa sy · þæt ic þis hlæne lif forlætan  
scyle · læt me mid gedefenesse mine dagas geendian (14, ll. 8-11).<sup>730</sup>

<sup>727</sup> ‘Therefore I beg you, Lord, that you may revive me from my death, that I may deserve to be at your right hand and hear your voice saying to me, ‘Come, blessed ones, gain the kingdom of my Father’.’

<sup>728</sup> ‘You deigned to take on flesh from the immaculate Virgin ... so that you might destroy the gates of hell and free humankind from death. Look upon and have mercy on miserable me, burdened by the weight of sins and befouled by the dishonour of many crimes.’

<sup>729</sup> See page 248 above.

<sup>730</sup> ‘My Lord, never let me travel out of this wretched life by a sudden death, but look to when my time will be and when it be your will that I will have to give up this transitory life. Let me end my days in peace.’ For another example of this motif, see the *Bury Psalter* prayer ‘Tu es deus

Again, the prayers for use with a confessor refer to death and judgement, but this solitary confession implies a more intimate bond between God and the penitent, by making a more conscious reference to God's knowledge of the specific day on which this particular man will die.

The prayers for solitary confession therefore have a number of features in common with other forms of confession: a tendency towards generality; lists of sins and sinful parts of the body; the use of schemes for classifying sins; references to events in the Bible; the desire for tears; and the view of oneself from God's perspective. However, these attributes are often all the more necessary in solitary prayer, because there was no priest to help the penitent to confess, and to lend the confession his authority.

Some aspects of solitary confession are specific to that genre of prayer. These prayers make greater use of exaggeration, hyperbole and synonyms in an attempt to express the speaker's overall sinfulness. He or she is far more emotional and self-conscious than in the public prayers, but is also more conscious of a personal bond with God and with his or her friends and family. Above all, these prayers emphasise the number of sins which the speaker has committed in his or her life, and they do so in several ways. Firstly, solitary confessions typically request that God forgive all of the speaker's sins, each and every one that he has ever committed:

Ego te peto remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum ... tibi nunc uolo confiteri omnia peccata mea, multiplicata sunt enim debita mea numerum non habent ('Ego humiliter te adoro', *Portiforium*, II, 6, ll. 2, 7-8).<sup>731</sup>

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indulgentiarum', in which the speaker asks forgiveness of the sins of others, 'quorum numerum et nomina tu scis' ('of whom the number and names you know'). Wilmart, *Bury Psalter*, no. 4, l. 8.

<sup>731</sup> 'I ask you for the forgiveness of all my sins ... to you I now wish to confess all my sins, for they have multiplied; my debts have no number.' Compare 'omnia peccata mea et omnia mala mea' ('Qui in hunc mundum', 3, l. 6; 'all my sins and all my evils'); 'omnes iniquitates meas ego agnosco' ('Tempus meum prope est', 12, ll. 35-6; 'I acknowledge all my wickednesses').

The innumerability of sins is another common motif:

Te ego precor domine et [*sic*] inlumines cor meum quia peccata mea  
innumerabilia sunt ualde ('Tempus meum prope est', 12, ll. 29-30).<sup>732</sup>

This is emphasised with an unnecessary 'ualde' ('greatly'), which is clearly hyperbolic as there can hardly be degrees of innumerability. Similarly, in the section of 'Eala þu ælmihtiga god unasecgendlicere mildheortnesse' about the eight chief sins, the word *oft* ('often') appears seven times, its synonym *gelome* three times, and *fela* ('many') once ('Four Unedited Prayers', no. 1, ll. 17-47). Finally, the speaker of 'Peccauī domine' asks all the saints and angels to pray for him,

ut merear superare omnes iniquitates meas quas commisi a iuuentute mea  
usque in presentem diem (*Portiforium*, II, 13, ll. 38-9).<sup>733</sup>

This suggests particularly strongly that the prayers are intended to encompass all possible sins.<sup>734</sup>

This may explain why prayers of solitary confession have a tendency towards synonyms and repetition. A form of this can be seen in 'Qui in hunc mundum':

*Audi et exaudi me domine deus meus peccatorem et culpabilem, et indignum,  
et negligentem, et obnoxium* (*Portiforium*, II, 3, ll. 4-5).<sup>735</sup>

<sup>732</sup> 'I implore you, O Lord, that you may illuminate my heart, because my sins are greatly innumerable.' Compare 'ic eaðe ne mæg mine gyltas atellan' ('Eala þu ælmihtiga god unasecgendlicere mildheortnesse', 'Four Unedited Pprayers', no. 1, l. 47: 'I cannot easily enumerate my sins').

<sup>733</sup> 'That I may deserve to overcome all the sins which I have committed from my youth up to the present day.'

<sup>734</sup> Other examples of this request are: '[q]uicquid locutus fui [*sic*], aut cogitauī, aut feci a iuuentute mea dimitte michi' ('Tempus meum prope est', 13, ll. 3-4; 'whatever I have said, or thought, or done from my youth onwards, forgive me'); 'omnia peccata mea quecumque feci omnibus diebus uite meae' ('Confitebor tibi domine', 15, ll. 16-17; 'all the sins which I have committed all the days of my life').

<sup>735</sup> Emphases mine. 'Hear and listen to me, O Lord my God, a sinner, culpable and unworthy, and neglectful, and guilty.'

This not only exemplifies the intensifying use of internal rhyme, but is also analogous to the use of synonyms in Old English verse. The speaker of ‘Eala þu ælmihtiga god unasecendlicere mildheortnesse’ uses a number of synonyms (*ofermetto*, *upahefednes* and *modygnes*, all to refer to pride) as if to cover all possible sins which could have been committed in each category (‘Four Unedited Prayers’, no. 1, ll. 17, 20). Something similar is at work in the litanic kind of prayer found embedded in the two versions of ‘Qui es trinitas unus’ in the *Portiforium*:

Abscide a me domine seculi huius cupiditatem. Da mihi uoluntariam paupertatem. Expelle a me iactantiam mentis et tribuit [*sic*] mihi conpunctionem cordis (*Portiforium*, II, 16, ll. 28-30).<sup>736</sup>

Here, a variety of synonyms for ‘take away’ and ‘give’ are used in the repetitive structure of the petitions. This style not only ensures that every possible sin is included, but also emphasises the strength of the penitent’s desire to be healed.

The speaker of solitary confessional prayers is also particularly conscious of him- or herself. This is evident in the rhetorical questions which occasionally arise in, for example, ‘Ego humiliter te adoro’: ‘Quid debeam agere[?] Quid debeam facere[?] Quid debeam loqui[?] Aut tacere[?]’ (*Portiforium*, II, 6, ll. 38-9).<sup>737</sup> A penitent frequently refers to himself directly and explicitly with the words ‘ego sum’ (I am) in several places, accusing himself of being a sinner. As already discussed, in ‘Qui in hunc mundum’ the speaker refers to himself as ‘peccatorem et culpabilem, et indignum, et negligentem, et obnoxium’ (3, ll. 4-5),<sup>738</sup> while in the prayer ‘Confitibor tibi domine’, the speaker requests that God may soften his heart, ‘quia

<sup>736</sup> ‘Cut off from me, O Lord, the love of this world; give me voluntary poverty. Remove from me the boastfulness of the mind and allow me compunction of heart.’

<sup>737</sup> Extra punctuation mine. ‘What should I do? How should I act? What should I say? Or not say?’

<sup>738</sup> ‘A sinner, culpable and unworthy, and neglectful, and guilty.’

sum cinis mortuus, salua me dormientem, custodi me uigilantem' (15, ll. 32-3).<sup>739</sup>

The penitent also recognises himself as God's servant: the prayer 'Ego humiliter te adoro' has, close to its end, the request: '[d]efende me ... ne derelinquas me unum et miserum famulum tuum N.' (6, l. 39; 7, ll. 1-2).<sup>740</sup>

The speaker of these prayers admits fully that he has sinned against God in almost every way possible. However, the bond between them remains in place, as he has never abandoned God: 'peccaui, erraui, tamen non te negaui; nec te dereliqui, deos alienos non adoraui' ('Qui in hunc mundum'; 3, ll. 8-9).<sup>741</sup> In the absence of an ordained priest, the validity of the confession rests all the more on the strength of the bond between God and the penitent. It is noteworthy that, while prayers to the cross ask for protection against the temptations of the devil, solitary confessional prayers rarely mention temptation, but instead place the blame on the penitent's own sinfulness. After its list of sins, the speaker of 'Ego humiliter te adoro' concludes,

Si nunc erit uindicta tua tanta quanta in meipso sunt peccata multiplicata iudicium tuum domine quomodo sustineam, sed habeo te sacerdotem magnum. Confiteor peccata mea tibi domine deus meus. Tu es unus sine peccato (6, ll. 23-6).<sup>742</sup>

The weight of the speaker's sins can seem to be so heavy that nothing greater can be imagined, but nevertheless he has God as his defence.

While prayers for public penance in the *Lanalet Pontifical* ask that the penitent may be reunited with the body of the church, private prayer allows the speaker to pray for forgiveness for his or her fellow Christians. Considering the

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<sup>739</sup> 'Because I am dead ash; save me while I am sleeping; guard me while I am awake.'

<sup>740</sup> 'Defend me ... do not abandon me, your lone and pitiable servant [name].'

<sup>741</sup> 'I have sinned, I have erred, but I have not denied you, nor abandoned you; I have not worshipped other gods.' Virtually the same wording is used in 'Confitebor tibi domine', 15, ll. 22-3.

<sup>742</sup> 'If your vengeance will now be so great as sins are multiplied in me, O Lord, how may I sustain your judgement? But I have you, a great priest. I confess my sins to you, O Lord my God: you alone are without sin.'

particularly personal focus of ‘For þinre þære miclan mildheortnesse’, it is not surprising that it is one of the few prayers in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in which the speaker prays for his friends and family:

Ic bidde ðe min drihten, eadmodlice þæt ðu me gehelpe 7 ealra minra freonda 7 maga · 7 ealra ðæra þe to minre gebedræddene ðencað · 7 hihtað · libbendra 7 forðgewitendra ... Eac ic bidde ðe min drihten þæt ðu gemildsige eallum þam ðat me god dydon · 7 god tæhton · 7 syle ece forgifenyse eallum þam de [sic] me yfel cwædon · oððe geþohtan · oððe gyta to donne ðencað (14, ll. 34-6, 39-41; 15, l. 1).<sup>743</sup>

Like Alcuin’s letters, this prayer evokes a network of people close to one another, depending on each other’s prayers. Prayers for others tend to be concerned with asking for forgiveness for sins: this is recommended in Ælfric’s homily for the eighth Sunday after Pentecost:

nu dæghwomlice godes gecorenan mid geleafan þære halgan ðrynnesse anbidiað. biddende heora sawla hælðe. and heora freonda. and awendað heora geðohtas. and word. and weorc to gode (‘Dominica VIII. Post Pentecosten’, ll. 36-9).<sup>744</sup>

In the prayer ‘Suscipere digneris domine’, attached to the *Vespasian Psalter*, the speaker sings the psalter

*pro* me miserrimo infelice. seu *pro* cunctis consanguineis meis. uel *pro* amicis meis. necnon *pro* illis qui in me habent fiduciam. *et pro* cunctis fidelibus uiuentibus siue defunctis. Concede domine ut isti psalmi omnibus proficiant ad salutem. *et ad ueram penitentiam faciendam. uel emendationem. et ad uitam eternam* (*Vespasian*, no. 1, ll. 2-5).<sup>745</sup>

<sup>743</sup> ‘I ask you humbly, my Lord, that you help me and all of my friends and relatives and all those, living and passed on, who wish and hope for my intercession ... Also, I ask you, my Lord, that you have mercy upon all those who have done and taught me goodness, and give eternal forgiveness to all those who have said or thought evil of me, or who think to do so in the future.’

<sup>744</sup> ‘Now God’s disciples wait daily with belief in the Holy Trinity, asking for the health of their souls, and of their friends’, and they turn their thoughts, and words, and deeds to God.’ Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies, the Second Series: Text*, EETS ss 5 (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1979), 230-40.

<sup>745</sup> ‘For me, unhappily most miserable, or for all my relatives, or for my friends, and also for those who have trust in me, and for all the faithful, living or dead. Grant, O Lord, that these psalms may bring about salvation for all, and the making of true penitence, or emendation [of life], and eternal



As in ‘For þinre þære miclan mildheortnesse’, the speaker prays not only for himself and his friends and family, but also for all those who are relying on him for prayer, and for all the faithful, testifying to the importance of the links between the monastery and the outside world, particularly where ensuring the remission of sins was concerned. In this way, a monk did not only receive absolution from his own spiritual superiors, but also had a part to play in praying for the wider community and so bringing them to salvation.<sup>746</sup>

Despite the importance of sacerdotal confession, and of taking part in communal penitential ceremonies, solitary confession still had an important part to play in the confessional process, particularly as a preparation for meeting the priest. Although liturgical confessional prayers tended not to be used in solitude, there are certain similarities between prayers for the penitential ceremonies and those for use before God alone. The lists of sins and sinful body parts become all the more necessary, as, without a priest, the penitent is at risk of leaving some sins unconfessed. Again, without the guidance of a confessor, the penitent him- or herself needs to have a theological scheme, such as the eight chief sins or the division into thoughts, words and deeds, in order to ensure that no sins were forgotten. The comparison of the penitent to Biblical figures is again all the more necessary in solitary confession, as the speaker needs an assurance that the prayer has sufficient authority and that God will listen to it. As these prayers are intended to prepare the penitent for sacerdotal

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life.’ Sherman M. Kuhn, ed., *The Vespasian Psalter* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1965), appendix II, 312.

<sup>746</sup> Other examples of prayers asking forgiveness for departed friends and family include ‘Tu es deus indulgentiarum’ in the *Bury Psalter*, and a series of short prayers marked ‘Pro defunctis’ in *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*. Wilmart, *Bury Psalter*, no. 4; Günzel, *Ælfwine’s Prayerbook*, nos. 76.32-43. Victoria Thompson has written on prayer and tears for friends who have already died, in a text in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley Laud Miscellaneous 482. Victoria Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, ASS 4 (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2004), 74-5.

confession, they are more concerned with inspiring sorrow for his or her sins than are the prayers for use with a confessor. Although the aid of a priest will be essential on the Judgement Day, the solitary prayers are used to incite the penitent's awareness of both Judgement and of heaven.

It is primarily in their style and in the consciousness of the bond between God and the penitent that solitary confessional prayers differ from those used with a priest. The speaker becomes more self-conscious, and alludes more often to the bond between him- or herself and God. The confession becomes valid, not through the apostolic authority of a bishop, but through the penitent's still unbroken bond with God. Solitary prayer becomes more emotional and hyperbolic, emphasising that the speaker's sins are frequent and innumerable, and using repetition and synonym in order to stress that he or she is truly contrite. Finally, whereas the communal prayers are concerned with restoring the penitent to the community of the church, solitary prayers allow him or her to pray for the sins of others, friends, family and the rest of the monastery. Private though they are, these prayers are not only about the speaker's own bond with God, but also about his or her place in a worshipping community.

### **Poetry as private prayer**

The relationship between penance and Old English poetry has been explored by Allen Frantzen, who analyses poems which include exhortations to repentance, and those which are themselves based on the process of confession and absolution, such as the sequence of prayers in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201.<sup>747</sup> However, these poems are simply *about* penance, with the exception of *Judgment Day II*,

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<sup>747</sup> Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, 175-97.

which, in Frantzen's view, in itself 'is a devotional confession'.<sup>748</sup> It can also be argued that other Old English poems may themselves have been confessional prayers written in verse form.

This thesis has often been concerned with the fluidity of the different genres of text in the early medieval church: for instance, it has frequently demonstrated how prayers which were composed for liturgical use could be adapted for private prayer. In the previous section, it was shown that prayers for use in solitary confession made use of synonyms and repetition, much like Anglo-Saxon vernacular verse. From this, it is logical to conclude that poems may themselves have functioned as prayers; and indeed, poetry of religious instruction often appears in liturgical compendia, outside of the main poetic codices.<sup>749</sup> The original users of these manuscripts may not have differentiated between prose prayers which used rhythm and alliteration, and poems which were addressed to God, so there is no reason why texts composed according to Anglo-Saxon poetic conventions may not have been used as prayers.<sup>750</sup>

*The Rewards of Piety*, mentioned briefly above,<sup>751</sup> is believed by Graham Caie to have been used as a form of private instruction by priests as a part of the confessional process. The first part of the poem teaches right behaviour, while the second gives absolution.<sup>752</sup> Caie's argument is reinforced by the fact that, like a

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<sup>748</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

<sup>749</sup> For example, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201: Gneuss, nos. 65 and 65.5; Ker, no. 49.

<sup>750</sup> How vernacular poetry was used in monastic culture is by no means clear. However, Michael Drout has examined the possible uses of wisdom poetry in post-Reform monasteries. Michael D. C. Drout, 'Possible Instructional Effects of the Exeter Book 'Wisdom Poems': a Benedictine Reform Context', in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence: Papers Presented at the International Conference, Udine, 6-8 April 2006*, eds., Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari and Maria Amalia D'Arconco, Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 447-66.

<sup>751</sup> For Robinson's argument that *An Exhortation to Christian Living* and *A Summons to Prayer* are one poem, which he names *The Rewards of Piety*, see Robinson, "'The Rewards of Piety'", 181-3.

<sup>752</sup> Graham D. Caie, 'Codicological Clues: Reading Old English Christian Poetry in its Manuscript Context', in *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England: Approaches to Current Scholarship and Teaching*, ed. Paul Cavill, 3-14 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 8-10. Caie agrees with Robinson that the two poems are in fact one, although he does not himself use the title *The Rewards of Piety*.

number of private prayers,<sup>753</sup> the first macaronic line of the poem contains a space for the priest to use the penitent's name: 'þænne gemiltsað þe, ·N·, mundum qui regit, / ðeoda þrymcyningc' (*Rewards of Piety*, ll. 82-3).<sup>754</sup> Subsequent uses of the word 'þe' (ll. 86-7, 103-6a; you) in this poem are therefore directed towards this particular penitent and his or her conscience.

It therefore follows that, if an address by a priest to a penitent could be written in verse, then a prayer for use in solitary confession could also take a poetic form. Sarah Larratt Keefer has studied the use of liturgical phraseology in the poem titled *A Prayer*, found in London, British Library Cotton Julius A. ii and London, Lambeth Palace Library 427:

Ic þe andette, ælmihtig god,  
 þæt ic gelyfe on þe, leofa hælend ...  
 and ic ...  
*dæges and nihtes* do, swa ic ne sceolde,  
*hwile mid weorce,* *hwile mid worde,*  
*hwile mid gēpohte,* þearle scyldi,  
 inwitniðas *oft and gelome* (*A Prayer*, ll. 56-7, 61a, 63-66).<sup>755</sup>

Keefer notes that, in the lines which I have italicised above, the poem translates the phrase 'peccavi in cogitatione, in locutione et opere',<sup>756</sup> familiar from formal confessions of sin as discussed above.<sup>757</sup> She also sees in the phrase 'dæ(i)ges and nihtes' (by day and by night), which occurs three times in the poem (*A Prayer*, ll.

<sup>753</sup> For example, from the prayer 'Qui in hunc mundum', 'Exaudi me domine ... ut auertas iram tuam de me famulo tuo, N.' ('hear me, O Lord ... that you may avert your wrath from me, your servant, [name]'). Hughes, *Portiforium*, II, 4, ll. 19-20.

<sup>754</sup> '[T]hen will the King of nations show mercy on you, ·N·, / forever without end, he who rules the world'. All translations from this poem are taken from Robinson's edition.

<sup>755</sup> Emphases mine. 'Almighty God, I confess to you that I believe in you, dear Lord ... and I ... severely guilty, commit by day and by night, as I ought not, evil acts, sometimes in deed, sometimes in word, sometimes in thought, often and frequently.' Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ASPR 6 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), 94-6.

<sup>756</sup> 'I have sinned in thought, in word and in deed.'

<sup>757</sup> Sarah Larratt Keefer, 'Respect for the Book: a Reconsideration of 'Form', 'Content' and 'Context' in Two Vernacular Poems', in *New Approaches to Editing Old English Verse*, eds. Sarah Larratt Keefer and Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, 21-44 (Cambridge and Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, 1998), 39-40, n. 31.

12a, 17a, 63a), an echo of the confession of the phrase ‘regulariter die cotidie noctuque’.<sup>758</sup> It could be added to Keefer’s observations that ‘oft and gelome’ recalls the expressions of the frequency of sin in ‘Eala þu ælmihtiga god unasecgendlicere mildheortnesse’.<sup>759</sup>

Keefer also notes that the version of *A Prayer* in Lambeth Palace 427 is an excerpt from the full poem, encompassing the section which expresses sorrow for sin.<sup>760</sup> This was copied onto the end of a blank folio after a glossed confessional prayer, and is followed by the *Confitebor tibi*, suggesting that the scribe selected these lines of the poem to fit a penitential context.<sup>761</sup> It is furthermore arguable that the user of the psalter may not have regarded it as definitively either a prayer or a poem, but instead may have understood it as simply an act of contrition for sin.

*A Prayer* is not the only poem which can be seen in this light. Alan Bliss and Allen Frantzen have already argued that the first half of *Resignation*, which they term *Resignation A*, should

be classified with Old English versified prayers such as the *Pater Noster*, the *Gloria*, and the *Psalms*.<sup>762</sup>

This is clearly correct, as it begins by addressing God directly as ‘þu’:

Age mec se ælmihta god,

<sup>758</sup> ‘Regularly by day and commonly by night.’ Keefer, ‘Respect for the Book’, 40, n. 31. Keefer notes that this phrase can be found in Muir, *Prayer-Book*, 140, ll. 2-3.

<sup>759</sup> ‘Oft and gelome’ is also, of course, a phrase typical of Wulfstan: see, for example, the *Sermo Lupi* in Napier, *Wulfstan*, no. 59, ll. 20, 29.

<sup>760</sup> Keefer, ‘Respect for the Book’, 39-40.

<sup>761</sup> *Ibid.*; Gneuss, no. 517; Ker, no. 280.

<sup>762</sup> Alan Bliss and Allen J. Frantzen, ‘The Integrity of *Resignation*’, *Review of English Studies*, n. s. 27, 385-402 (1976): 395. In contrast to *The Rewards of Piety*, Bliss and Frantzen argue, *Resignation* was originally two separate poems. They note that line 69 of the poem ends the fifteenth quire of the *Exeter Book*, but that there appears to be a folio missing from the quire. That the first poem ended and another new one began in the course of this missing folio is evident from the nature of the two texts. While *Resignation A* is a verse prayer, *B* is clearly a narrative poem. The former uses frequent imperatives, addressing God in the second person, asking for forgiveness, while the latter refers to God in the third person. *Ibid.*, 388-95.

helpe min se halga dryhten! Ðu gesceope heofon ond eorþan  
 ond wundor eall, min wundorcynning (*Resignation*, ll. 1-3).<sup>763</sup>

After this, the speaker commends himself to God's keeping in these words:

	Ic þe, mære god,
mine sawle bebeode	ond mines sylfes lic,
ond min <i>word</i> ond min <i>weorc</i> ,	witig dryhten,
ond eal min leoþo,	leohtes hyrde,
ond þa manigfealdan	mine <i>geþohtas</i> (ll. 5b-9). <sup>764</sup>

Although this is not a confessional prayer, the speaker uses the formula of words, deeds and thoughts in order to pray for himself.

Thomas Bestul compares *Resignation A* to the penitential psalms and the Old English confessional prayers which emerged in the tenth century, such as 'Dryhten þu halga god'.<sup>765</sup> However, a better comparison would be the confessional prayer 'In naman þære halgan þrynesse', in the *Galba Prayerbook*. After a brief invocation, the speaker of this prayer prays to God,

þam ic bibiode minre sawle gehealdness⟨e⟩ and mines lichoman min word  
 and weorc and mine geþohtas, mine heortan and minne hyge, min leomu and  
 min lioðu ... (*Prayer-Book*, 136, ll. 3-6).<sup>766</sup>

The similarity between the poem and the opening of the prayer is striking. A comparison of the two quotations immediately above shows that the speakers of each text commend ('bebeode'/'bibiode') their souls ('sawle') and bodies ('lic'/'lichoman') to God, followed by their words, deeds and thoughts ('min word

<sup>763</sup> 'Uphold me, almighty God, help me, holy Lord! You created heaven and earth, and all wonders, my wondrous king.' George Philip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, eds., *The Exeter Book*, ASPR 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), 215-18.

<sup>764</sup> Emphases mine. 'Mighty God, I commend to you my soul and my own body, and my words and my deeds, wise Lord, and all my limbs, guardian of light, and my numerous thoughts.'

<sup>765</sup> Thomas H. Bestul, 'The Old English *Resignation* and the Benedictine Reform', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 78 (1977): 18-23.

<sup>766</sup> 'To whom I commend the preservation of my soul and of my body, my words and deeds and my thoughts, my heart and my mind, my limbs and my members ...'

ond min weorc ... [ond] mine gēpohtas'), and all of their limbs ('leoþo'/'lioðu'). After their opening lines, both the poem and the prayer go on to name more parts of the body which the speaker asks to be protected, in much the same way as a confessional prayer or a *lorica* does (*Prayer-Book*, 136, ll. 6-8).<sup>767</sup> The writers of the two texts were evidently both composing a confession according to a familiar formula.

In this way, poets drew on their knowledge of liturgy and private confessional prayer in order to create vernacular poems. Considering the closeness in content and purpose between the prayers and the poems, there is no reason why these poems should not simply be considered as prayers in their own right. Whereas in *The Rewards of Piety*, the speaker is a priest who addresses the penitent as *þu*, in *A Prayer and Resignation A*, the speaker is the penitent him- or herself, addressing God. Since confessional prayers often use memorable phrases with balanced syntax, alliteration and rhyme, it is reasonable to suppose that some prayers may have been cast in poetic form.<sup>768</sup> It may therefore not be appropriate to make too rigid a category distinction between 'prayer' and 'poem' in Old English literature: just as texts for one purpose such as the charms could be written in metrical, semi-metrical or prose form, so also could the prayers be.

## Conclusion

The two chapters previous to this one were concerned with the adaptation of liturgical prayers for private use. It was demonstrated that it was common to create forms of private worship in this way, as the liturgies of the Hours and of the Cross

<sup>767</sup> For a further discussion of the *lorica* and its relationship to the confessional prayers, see nn. 711-12 above.

<sup>768</sup> For example, Jonathan Black has commented on this in relation to 'Deus inestimabilis misericordiae'. Black, 'Alcuin's *Confessio*', 7-8.

did not require the participation of a priest. The adaptation of confessional prayers was a more complex undertaking. It was essential to confess before someone who had the skill and authority to heal the wounds of sin. Monks were expected to confess in private to their abbot, and laypeople to their priest, and there is evidence to suggest that confession was available to all. Sacerdotal confession was valuable because it allowed the sinner not only to make a formal confession of all kinds of sins, but also to be questioned by the priest so that his or her own personal sins could be found out. The confessor could assign penance according to the severity of the sins committed and the status of the sinner. Similarly, public penitential ceremonies were presided over by the bishop, who had authority inherited from the apostles to hear confessions and assign penance. Confession to a priest, abbot or bishop was therefore indispensable, as it ensured that the penitent's sins would be forgiven on the Judgement Day.

Nevertheless, while confession to a priest was the most essential kind, other forms of confession were still considered to be beneficial. Confession to another monk is specifically said to be a form of spiritual healing. Furthermore, it is evident, from monastic rules, penitential texts, poetry and *ordines* for private prayer, that solitary confessional prayer was not only widespread but expected of everyone, especially monks. Although it was not intended to replace sacerdotal confession, it could function as a preparation for it.

With this in mind, the characteristics of solitary confessional prayers can be better understood. They have much in common with prayers for confession and absolution in sacerdotal and public contexts: they include long lists of sins, they draw on the Bible to recall God's mercy, and they are intended to provoke tears for the penitent's sins. However, these characteristics are more important in the solitary



prayers than in the sacerdotal ones. The penitent cannot risk leaving out any of his or her sins; the Biblical *exempla* need to be invoked in order to establish a relationship between God and the penitent, in the absence of a priest's authority; and a prayer intended as a preparation for full confession needs to inspire the anguish which would then be healed as part of sacerdotal penance. For this same reason, solitary confessions are more emotional and hyperbolic in their language, emphasising the innumerability of the speaker's sins from his or her birth up until the present moment. While these prayers may speak of sin in general terms, they use very specific ones as far as sinning humanity is concerned: the speaker is particularly conscious of himself and God's awareness of him, even down to his knowledge of the day on which he will die. Solitary confessional prayer, like any other kind, requires an awareness of death and judgement, but it also looks towards the speaker's own part in the salvation of all the faithful.

Table 4.4: The private prayers referred to in this chapter in my main manuscripts.

Name	Page nos.	Carolingian libelli precum				Early Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks			Late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks/compendia				AS psalters		
		Trecensis	Parisinus	Turonensis	Paris 2731A	Cerne	Nunnaminster	Royal 2 A. xx	Portiforium	Galba	Aelfwine	Tib A. iii	Arundel 155	Bury	Vesp. A. i
Ælce sunnandæg bebed þe	252-3										no. 53				
Confitibor tibi domine omnia peccata mea	255, 271					no. 24			15				no. 22		
Confiteor tibi, domine	255												no. 19		
Eala þu ælmihtiga god unasecgendlicere mildheortnesse <sup>769</sup>	255, 262-3, 269-70	no. 1.18		no. 2.3	no. 3a					no. 26		no. 1	no. 17	no. 17	no. 5
Qui in hunc mundum/ Auxiliatrix esto mihi	255-6, 259, 262-6, 269-71	no. 1.4	no. 2.7			no. 18		221	3-5	no. 25			no. 18	no. 3	
Ego humiliter te adoro	259-61, 268-71					no. 10			5-7	no. 31					
Si ðe wuldor and þanc	261											no. 4			
Tempus meum prope est	263-4, 269								12-13	no. 16			no. 16	no. 16	
Mane cum surrexero	263	no. 1.2	no. 2.4			no. 6		209-10	7-8	no. 67					
Qui es trinitas unus	266, 270	no. 1.3				no. 15	58-60		7 and 15-17	no. 24					
For þinre þære miclan mildheortnesse	266-8, 272								14-15			no. 2			
Peccau domine, et nimis peccau	267, 269								13-14	no. 17					
Gloriosissime conditor mundi	267	no. 1.5							19 and 21-2	no. 68.2			no. 10		
Tu es deus indulgentiarum	268													no. 4	
Suscipere digneris	272-3													no. 1	

<sup>769</sup> This prayer begins as a translation of 'Deus inestimabilis misericordiae', the texts of which are far more widespread than this table can show. See Black, 'Alcuin's *Confessio*', 25-40.

## CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have undertaken a detailed study of the hitherto relatively little-researched subject of late Anglo-Saxon private prayer, one of the most important parts of everyday monastic life. It was in private prayer that the monk or nun expressed his or her deepest needs to the Creator, and therefore private prayer reveals most about the late Anglo-Saxon monastic understanding of the relationship with God. I have undertaken this analysis by examining which texts were selected and put together into sequences in prayerbooks, paying close attention, where possible, to the physical and sensory aspects of prayer as well as the verbal. Arguing that the usage, not the origins of a prayer, is what makes it a private prayer, I have inquired more deeply into how an eleventh-century monk or nun regarded and used the surviving prayerbooks, than into the composition and textual transmission of any given prayer.

In Chapter One, I examined some of the precedents for Anglo-Saxon private devotion. Ninth-century prayerbooks, both English and Continental, provided a stock of specifically private prayers on which the later prayerbooks drew. I also demonstrated the importance of liturgical models for private prayer, such as the penitential psalms and the Divine Offices. This chapter therefore showed how private prayers of liturgical and extra-liturgical origin were already closely associated with one another before the composition of the eleventh-century English prayerbooks.

Chapter Two justified the categorisation of some prayers and prayerbooks as being for private use. I proposed that private prayer is not one single genre: it

includes both prayers which were adapted from communal rites and those which were not, and encompasses a range of different lengths and styles. This chapter analysed in detail how prayers were grouped together in manuscripts in order to form detailed *ordines* for private devotion, with instructions for use. It was through these idiosyncratic prayer programmes, I argued, that the Special Offices, and ultimately the Books of Hours, were developed.

Chapter Three applied the previous chapter's focus on the daily Offices to the liturgies for the feasts of the cross. In this chapter in particular, it was made clear that the various genres of religious writing, such as liturgical prayer and hymnody, cannot be separated from one another and from private prayer. Prayer to the cross, more than any other kind of prayer, symbolises how acts of worship focus on gestures and images in equal measure to words, and the veneration of Christ through the cross was the most important way in which all Christians, both monastic and lay, could express their faith in everyday life.

Chapters Two and Three showed how easily prayers originating in a liturgical setting could be adapted for private use. Confessional prayer, the subject of Chapter Four, was potentially more difficult to translate into a private context. The role of a confessor was essential for granting complete forgiveness, penance and guidance for the future, none of which solitary confession could ensure. Nevertheless, abundant evidence survives to show that solitary confession was not only acceptable but also encouraged. In Chapter Four, I first demonstrated what confession was in the late Anglo-Saxon era, in order to uncover the use and purpose of solitary confession. While these confessions were required to be very general, paradoxically, they were also the most intimate kind of confession, and indeed of private prayer.

In addition to these findings, much more could be written on the subject of private Anglo-Saxon prayer, or of Continental prayer of the same period. I have not discussed the many prayers to the saints and angels, or the meaning of contemporary terminology such as *bona oratio* ('good prayer') and *pura oratio* ('pure prayer'). I have also left unexamined most of the psalters, generally originating in the early Anglo-Saxon period, with prayers attached to them in the tenth and eleventh centuries. A good foundation for more comprehensive studies could be laid through the creation of a complete database or catalogue of Anglo-Saxon prayers, using Thomas Bestul's list of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing private prayers, or Gneuss's *Handlist*, as a starting point.<sup>770</sup> A more comprehensive study of the manuscript record of the *Prayers ad horas* would also be an important contribution to the study of private prayer in the early Middle Ages.

Although we can be confident that monks and nuns were expected to pray in private, and although there are some witnesses to how this was undertaken, ultimately we cannot be certain exactly how private prayer was performed and how prayer texts were used. Nevertheless, this very lack of prescriptiveness is the reason why the study of private prayer is an essential part of the study of liturgy. It was in private prayer, which was required but not regulated, that monks and nuns had the most freedom to experiment with liturgical forms. Therefore, it is in their selections from communal prayers that we can see which parts of the liturgy were considered to be the most important and the best for expressing one's needs to God. It is in the adaptation of prayers for grammatical number and gender, and in the insertion of the speaker's own name into his or her prayers, that we can see how acceptable it was to

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<sup>770</sup> Thomas H. Bestul, 'Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, assisted by Virginia Darrow Oggins, Studies in Medieval Culture 20 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), 124-6.

reuse liturgical prayers for other purposes, and in which the thoughtful self-awareness of eleventh-century monks and nuns is seen most clearly.

Late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks drew on two traditions, one of prayers originating in the liturgy, and another of prayers originally intended for private use. However, these traditions did not remain distinct from one another, as the relationship between private and public prayer is always a cyclical one. For example, the liturgy of the Hours had its origins in private worship, was developed into a communal rite in the monasteries, and was subsequently adapted for use in personal devotion once more. Phrases from liturgical prayers, hymns and the Bible were drawn upon as a common language from which new prayers could be built up: all that the monk or nun had ever heard, read or chanted went into it and was drawn out from it. This can be seen above all in the unusual private prayers attached to the *Vespasian Psalter*, which make extensive use of antiphons and hymns for the feasts of the cross.

Most importantly of all, it is in the late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks that the roots of the Special Offices and Books of Hours can be seen. Muir has speculated on the use of personal devotionals in the *Galba Prayerbook*, and proposed that, although that manuscript contains no Special Offices, the *Prayers ad horas* show the Book of Hours in its earliest stages.<sup>771</sup> I have extended his hypothesis by arguing that it was from private prayer programmes such as those in *Galba* that the Special Offices themselves arose. The study of private prayer, as well as considering the texts of individual prayers, should examine how prayers were used in conjunction with one another to form private acts of worship.

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<sup>771</sup> Bernard James Muir, ed., *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book (BL MSS Cotton Galba A.xiv and Nero A.ii (ff. 3-13))*, HBS 103 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988), 147, n. 1; Bernard J. Muir, 'The Early Insular Prayer Book Tradition and the Development of the Book of Hours' in *The Art of the Book: its Place in Medieval Worship*, eds. Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998), 19.

My study of the *Prayers ad horas* shows that the text in *Galba* is more rooted in the Carolingian prayerbook tradition than has so far been demonstrated. Although the history of these prayers has been examined to some extent by Banks, Muir and Waldhoff, until now the overall development of the sequence has not been traced. Two separate traditions of these prayers existed, one being a set of collects for some of the canonical Hours, and the other being a longer series of prayers for all the Hours, including some extra-canonical Hours. These two traditions are found respectively in the sacramentaries and in the Carolingian *libelli precum*. In tenth- and eleventh-century England, the two traditions are represented in the collectars and in the *Galba Prayerbook*. I have demonstrated the unusual closeness of the *Galba* translations to the sequence presented in the *Libellus Parisinus*. Additionally, I have noted how the psalm devotional *De laude psalmoreum* was a direct influence on the instructions for private prayer in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*. In these findings, I have shown that the Carolingian *libelli precum* had a closer influence on the late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks than has so far been noted.

Interestingly, both the *Ad horas* in *Galba* and the private devotions in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* are Old English texts, closely translated from the Latin. The importance of the vernacular in this period can be seen particularly well in private prayerbooks. Although English was not the main language of private prayer, prayer manuscripts change freely between languages, usually without any distinguishing rubric, suggesting that it was perfectly acceptable to pray in the mother tongue. English was important enough that the liturgy was explained and glossed in it, and prayers of private origin were also translated into it, such as the *Prayers ad horas*, 'Deus inestimabilis misericordiae', and the prayers for the Veneration of the Cross. Prayers which appear to have been originally composed in Old English are amongst

the most intimate and self-conscious examples in the canon of Anglo-Saxon private prayer.

A strong awareness of one's own body is also a notable feature of private prayer. In addition to the concern for posture and gesture which is shared with liturgical prayer, prayers such as the *loricae* bless and protect each part of the body, while private confessions emphasise the part played by each sense, limb and organ in committing sins and virtues. Thus in private prayer one becomes more aware of one's own potential to commit both good and evil. Making the sign of the cross was a way of expressing faith in a God whose glory was ultimately beyond words. To conclude, I can do no better than to return to the directions for private morning prayer in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*:

Ne mæg ænig mann on his agen geþeode þa geswinc 7 þara costnunga nearonessa, þe him onbecumað, Gode swa fulfremedlice areccan, ne his mildheortnesse biddan, swa he mæg mid þillicum sealnum 7 mid oþrum swilcum.<sup>772</sup>

Prayer, in the words of the psalms and of other good prayers, let the Anglo-Saxon monk give a voice before God to his sufferings and temptations, uniting his mind with God and the course of every day with the life of Christ.

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<sup>772</sup> 'No man can tell God so effectively, in his own language, of the hardship and oppression of the temptations which come to him, nor ask his mercy, as he can with these psalms and with other such.' Beate Günzel ed., *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii), HBS 108 (London: Boydell Press, 1993), no. 53.8.



## ABBREVIATIONS

- ASE*            *Anglo-Saxon England*
- ASPR*            Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, eds., George Philip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, 6 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931-53).
- ASS*            Anglo-Saxon Studies (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY)
- ÆP*            Beate Günzel, ed., *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii), HBS 108 (London: Boydell Press, 1993).
- CCCC*            Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
- CCCM*            Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout)
- CCSL*            Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout)
- Cerne*            A. B. Kuypers, ed., *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop, Commonly Called the Book of Cerne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902).

- CSASE Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge)
- CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna)
- EEMF Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile (Copenhagen)
- EETS Early English Text Society
- EME* *Early Medieval Europe*
- Epistolae* Ernst Dümmler, ed., *Epistolae Karolini aevi (II)*, MGH, Epistolae 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895).
- Galba* Bernard James Muir, ed., *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book (BL MSS Cotton Galba A.xiv and Nero A.ii (ff. 3-13))*, Henry Bradshaw Society 103 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988).
- Gellone* A. Dumas and Jean Deshusses, eds., *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis: Textus*, 2 vols., CSEL 159-159A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981).
- Gneuss Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: a List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 241

(Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001).

- Gregorian* Jean Deshusses, ed., *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien: ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn., Spicilegium Friburgense 16, 24 and 28, 3 vols. (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1992).
- Handbook* Roger Fowler, ed., 'A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor', *Anglia* 83 (1965): 1-34.
- HBS Henry Bradshaw Society (London)
- JTS* *Journal of Theological Studies*
- Ker N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Berlin)
- Moeller Edmund Eugene Moeller and Joanne Maria Clément, eds., *Corpus Orationum*, edited by Bertrand Coppieters 't Wallant, CCSL 160, 14 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992-2004).
- NQ* *Notes and Queries*

n. s.           New series

*Nunnaminster* Walter de Gray Birch, ed., *An Ancient Manuscript of the Eighth or Ninth Century Formerly Belonging to St. Mary's Abbey, or Nunnaminster, Winchester* (London and Winchester: Simpkin and Marshall, 1889).

o. s.           Original series

*Parisinus*    André Wilmart, ed., *Precum libelli quattuor aevi karolini* (Rome: Ephemerides Liturgicae, 1940), 33-45.

PL             Patrologia Latina, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64).

*Portiforium* Anselm Hughes, ed., *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 391)*, Henry Bradshaw Society 89-90, 2 vols. (Leighton Buzzard: Faith Press, 1958-60).

*Prayer-Book* Bernard James Muir, ed., *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book (BL MSS Cotton Galba A.xiv and Nero A.ii (ff. 3-13))*, Henry Bradshaw Society 103 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988).

RC             Lucia Kornexl, ed., *Die Regularis concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 17 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1993).

- Royal* A. B. Kuypers, ed., *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop, Commonly Called the Book of Cerne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), 201-25.
- Rule* Timothy Fry *et al*, eds., *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1981).
- s. s. Supplementary series
- Trecensis* André Wilmart, ed., *Precum libelli quattuor aevi karolini* (Rome: Ephemerides Liturgicae, 1940), 9-30.
- Turonensis* André Wilmart, ed., *Precum libelli quattuor aevi karolini* (Rome: Ephemerides Liturgicae, 1940), 63-166.
- Vespasian* Sherman M. Kuhn, ed., *The Vespasian Psalter* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1965), 312-21.

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